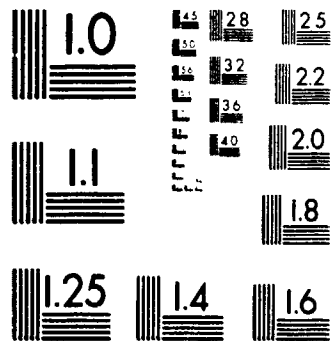


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FEED THE FLAME
A NATURAL HISTORY OF THE OTTAWA
LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY

by
Barbara Gaizauskas

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
June 1990

Department of History

Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario

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the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
acceptance of the thesis,

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LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY

submitted by Barbara Gaizauskas
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines intellectual life in Victorian Ottawa through the history of the Ottawa Literary and Scientific Society. This organization was the outgrowth of the Ottawa Mechanics' Institute and Athenaeum, the most important English intellectual society in pre-Confederation Ottawa. The influence of the newly arrived dominion civil service on the indigenous culture is also considered by examining its impact on the Ottawa Literary and Scientific Society and its still thriving offspring, the Ottawa Field Naturalists' Club. Despite the heterogeneous nature that has always characterized Ottawa's population, its intellectual and cultural vitality is shown to have paralleled that of Toronto and Kingston. That its intellectual development expressed itself in organizations that were a generation older in other communities is more a reflection of size and ethnic diversity than any inherent shortcoming. These conclusions are reached through a study of both the Ottawa Mechanics' Institute and Athenaeum and Ottawa Literary and Scientific Society records, which reveal the services they offered to the community. These included lectures on a wide range of topics both scientific and literary, classes for clerks and working men, and the only English language library available in Ottawa until the opening of the Ottawa Public Library in 1906. By this time the Ottawa Literary and Scientific Society, in spite of a great change in character over its fifty year history, was an anachronism.

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INTRODUCTION

In which questions are raised, organizations introduced, sources identified and Ottawa located on a broad canvas.

During the last half of the nineteenth century both England and the United States witnessed great changes of attitude towards science and society. Machinery replacing manual labour, Darwin's astonishing theory of evolution and the increasing tempo of communication all contributed to a greater general interest in science. In the field of natural science particularly, both amateur and professional scientists were able to take part in observing and

classifying the world around them, and to exchange information with enthusiasts around the world. The need to understand new methods of production and to push technology to the limits of invention encouraged the formation of societies to diffuse the new knowledge and societies whose aim was to acquire more. The latter were often local natural history societies. The former can be further divided. Those organizations such as Mechanics' Institutes were established to give working men some understanding of their work. The other group, such as the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, was largely patronized by gentlemen amateurs who were interested in the changes overtaking their world. As industry became more mechanized these gentlemen were joined by industrialists and merchants who had a vested interest in technological progress. The character of the societies diffusing knowledge underwent profound changes around the middle of the century, and in the last quarter they virtually disappeared - except in Ottawa. The evolution of such organizations offers a view of the intellectual life of a community that lies outside established educational institutions. It can reveal the intellectual vigour of the whole community.

The role of the Mechanics' Institute in cultural and intellectual life has not been thoroughly studied either abroad or in North America. Two studies have looked extensively into the intellectual life of two Victorian

cities: Manchester in England and, as part of a larger study, New York.¹ Because Victorian Ottawa has received an unflattering press as a city of intellectual activity an obvious question arose.² Is this reputation justified? Did Ottawa lag as far behind other Ontario cities in providing her citizens with mental stimulation as she seemed to outpace them in alcoholic stimulation? What comparisons could be made with intellectual activity in Victorian England and in the United States? Did the arrival of the dominion civil service in the last half of the 1860's influence the indigenous intellectual life of the city? With these questions in mind the following study was undertaken.

Organizations, often with unwieldy names, take centre stage in this story. For convenience, they have been reduced to acronyms. The following are those that recur most frequently:

¹ Robert H. Kargon, Science in Victorian Manchester (Baltimore, 1977); Thomas Bender, New York Intellect: A history of Intellectual Life in New York City from 1750 to the Beginning of Our Own Time (New York, 1987).

² See, for example, John H. Taylor, Ottawa, An Illustrated History (Toronto, 1986) p.133; Sandra Gwyn, The Private Capital (Toronto, 1984) Chapter 2; Shirley E. Woods, Ottawa: The Capital of Canada (Toronto, 1980). Goldwin Smith, the first honorary member of the OLSS, described Ottawa as the "nearest lumber village to the North Pole". Quoted in Elizabeth Wallace, Goldwin Smith: Victorian Liberal (Toronto, 1957) p.68.

Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society	MLPS
Mechanics' Institute	MI
Kingston	KMI
Toronto	TMI
Bytown	BMI
Ottawa Mechanics' Institute and Athenaeum	OMIA
Ottawa Literary and Scientific Society	OLSS
Ottawa Natural History Society	ONHS
Ottawa Field Naturalists' Club	OFNC
Young Men's Christian Association	YMCA

A few comments should be made regarding sources.

Although books on Victorian ideas and people are numerous, there are few on the popular organizations that were a result of the great changes in Victorian society. Passing reference may be found in the literature on Victorian education because of the contribution to adult education these societies made. More information is to be found in the history of libraries' literature since many Mechanics' Institutes entered the twentieth century as free public libraries, generally funded through local taxation. (In the Canadian Encyclopedia for instance, Mechanics' Institutes do not warrant a separate entry. Only one brief paragraph under Libraries deals with their contribution to Canadian intellectual life.)

Ottawa, however, is fortunate in her primary sources. The BMI and the OMIA minute books are preserved at the National Archives of Canada,³ while the papers of the OLSS

³ The Public Archives of Canada, recently renamed the National Archives of Canada, will be referred to as NAC, the Ottawa Municipal Archives as OMA in the Footnotes.

are housed at the Ottawa Municipal Archives. The latter contain various annual reports: treasurers', librarians', presidents' and those to the Royal Society of Canada. Unfortunately none of these series is complete and the greatest gaps are those in the 1870's. Further pieces of the story may be found in the records of the ONHS and the OFNC at the National Archives of Canada. Two very prominent members of the OLSS, Edmund Meredith and Otto Klotz, left detailed diaries which are also at the National Archives of Canada. In the present study specific dates suggested by events were examined. This was also the case with local newspapers. Frequently OLSS meetings were written up, and knowing their dates made a search in newspapers and diaries practicable. In some cases the search drew a blank. A further important source of information about the less notable members was the Ottawa City Directory available from 1861 on. Finally, there are several local histories (listed under Secondary Sources in the Bibliography) which throw more light on some of the colourful figures in Ottawa's history who were active members in these societies.

The comparison with other Ontario communities shows Ottawa in a more favourable light than the literature would lead one to expect. There is no doubt that the evolution of intellectual life in Victorian Ottawa parallels closely that

in England and the United States but it does so a generation later. Not until the community had reached a certain size was there any prospect that societies fostering such life would survive. There must also be a potential nucleus of members, determined and enthusiastic, to provide strong leadership. Ottawa's experience illustrates the necessity of these conditions.

The life of a society such as the OLSS takes on its own special character, a character shaped by past and present members. The changing character of the Society studied here is reflected in its motto. For the indigenous Mechanics' Institute and Athenaeum of the 1850's and 60's 'Feed the Flame' (of intellectuality) was adequate. By the turn of the century the motto had been transformed into 'Alere Flammam', a reflection of the society's current self-image. In its lifetime the OMIA-OLSS played an important role in the cultural life of the city. Its influence should not be over-looked.

CHAPTER I

GENESIS

In which a survey is made of the origins and evolution of
some nineteenth century cultural and intellectual
organizations in England and their transplant to
North America.

Of the variety of nineteenth century organizations
founded to encourage intellectual study and discussion,
those bearing such names as Literary and Scientific or
Literary and Philosophical Societies were among the earliest
and the most genteel. These mushroomed in provincial
English towns as well as in London during the first half of
the century. Indeed, the Manchester Literary and
Philosophical Society, one of the best-known of these

societies, could date its founding to the previous century.¹ In the late 1760's Dr. Thomas Percival had set up his practice in that city. His medical studies had taken him to Edinburgh and Leiden universities and he had become a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1765. He gathered around him a circle of gentlemen sharing his philosophical interests. By 1785 the group had become formally established and published its first volume of Memoirs. The Preface to this volume makes clear that the objectives of the Society not only included imparting knowledge but also the encouragement to contribute new knowledge.² Membership was limited to fifty gentlemen: only those of the educated middle upper class need apply. It was a society of gentlemen with cultural aspirations and financially able to pay the annual subscription.

Meetings were held regularly for the presentation of papers and discussion. Excluded topics were religion, British politics and practical aspects of medicine. (Since over half the founding members were engaged in medical fields, this restriction was imposed to avoid becoming a professional society.) Admissible subjects ranged widely;

¹ Robert H. Kargon: Science in Victorian Manchester (Baltimore, 1977). The discussion of scientific activity in 19th century Manchester has drawn heavily from this source.

² Ibid., 6.

natural philosophy, sciences, literature, civil law and the arts. An elected committee of fourteen selected the papers that were to be published. From the early minutes of this society it is clear that only a scant third of the membership played an active role, and that the business of the society was often postponed through lack of a quorum.³ Similar problems were to dog the Ottawa Literary and Scientific Society a century later. Apathy proved to be endemic to most of these intellectual societies. In general, a profile of the active members can be found in the society's executive.

In the early years the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society generated little interest among the manufacturers and merchants. With the arrival of John Dalton the Society took on new life. Dalton, lower middle class, provincial, Dissenter and largely self-taught, was elected to the Society in 1794. He represented the new type of scientist whose devotion set them apart from the amateur dilettantes of Manchester. His leadership qualities were soon apparent. After the turn of the century the Society provided him with a laboratory and equipment. It was from this secure base that he attained international fame.⁴ He

³ Ibid., 7-8 and 27 ff.

⁴ As recently as February 1989 reference was made to Dalton's contributions to the MLPS in Scientific American, V. 260:2 (1989), p. 42.

remained an active member of the Society until his death in 1844. Particularly important was his contribution to the Committee of Papers. He wrote a large number of those published in the Memoirs. By 1840, his health undermined by a series of strokes, his role had diminished. With the original founders gone, the Society lost its vigour, and its annual income in 1840 was only half (or less) that of similar societies in Bath and Bristol.

Relevant to the present study is the observation that the leadership changed very slowly over the first sixty years: the same names appear regularly on the executive lists. In Manchester virtually all the active members were associated with the medical fraternity or were Dissenters connected to the Manchester Academy. The old network had drawn in a little new blood from their connections in the community, and as the 19th century progressed the new active members were frequently men of business. They saw a practical need of enlarging the local scientific scene. They were attracted to the proposals of such educational reformers as Lord Brougham and George Birkbeck. The industrialists and businessmen understood the connection between science, commerce and industry and therefore the need for an informed middle and working class.⁵ As a result of their concern, the Manchester Mechanics' Institute was

⁵ Kargon: op.cit., p. 29.

founded in 1824.

Before turning attention to the development of the Mechanics' Institute movement in England the formation of another society in Manchester should be noted, a development that we shall see occur later in Ottawa. This was the Manchester Natural History Society, typical in name and aim to many others founded in England at this time.⁶ Established in 1821, many of its members were also prominent in the Literary and Philosophical Society. The immediate cause of its birth was the death of a prominent MLPS member who owned a valuable entomological and ornithological collection. The first objective of the new society was to purchase and to house this valuable collection. Prospective (and prosperous) members were asked to subscribe £10 initially with a fee of one guinea to be levied annually. After thirty members had been signed up, admission was to be by election only. Members and their families would be the only ones permitted to enjoy the collection. In the mid 30's a new building was purchased for the collection and the society tried to reach a wider public including school children and working men. By mid-century the wealthy subscribers had lost interest so as the society's public role increased its income decreased. In other parts of Scotland and England natural history societies continued to

⁶

Ibid.

flourish, many more as well endowed initially as Manchester's had been. Rather than purchasing a collection to provide a focus for their society, members were encouraged to make collections of local flora, fauna and geological samples. Whether elite or open, both types of organization expressed the early 19th century popular interest in natural science as a manifestation of divine providence, an interest which eventually led to the astounding theories of Lyall and Darwin.⁷

Both Literary and Philosophical/Scientific and Natural History Societies found their support mainly in the middle classes, the professional men (especially those in medicine) and among the gentlemen amateurs anxious to keep abreast of the latest ideas. As the century wore on more industrialists, business men and skilled craftsmen joined their ranks. Not only did membership express their rise in social status, but it became more important for them to understand the direction in which science was now moving. Indeed it seemed necessary to have a scientific approach to almost every problem. Another contributing factor to a

⁷ For a more detailed discussion of Natural History Societies see Chapter 1 in Carl Berger: Science, God and Nature in Victorian Canada, (Toronto, 1983). Suzanne Zeller deals with the scientific role played by the Montreal Natural History Society in promoting the Geological Survey of Canada in Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation. (Toronto, 1987), Chapter 2. The OLSS supported their efforts.

wider popular interest was the spread of the utilitarian ideas of Bentham. It was obvious that a study of natural science was potentially useful. This opinion could be comfortably grafted to the belief in God, the Divine Planner. Each new bit of knowledge, no matter how apparently insignificant, could add to the understanding of His Plan. Even the amateur could make a useful contribution to scientific knowledge.⁸

Early in the 19th century there were few members of the upper classes of England who saw the need for educated farm labourers or the increasing number of factory workers. Such was not the case in Scotland where, in 1697, the Church of Scotland had decreed that every parish should have a school. The respect for education and the encouragement of those committed to acquiring knowledge bore fruit in the highly regarded University of Edinburgh. It was felt that every man's earthly existence could be enhanced by the use of his

8

These observations are a distillation of observations made in the following sources: Richard D. Altick, Victorian People and Ideas (New York, 1973). Carl Berger, Science, God and Nature in Victorian Canada (Toronto, 1983). T.W. Heyck, The Transformation of Intellectual Life in Victorian England (London, 1982). D.H. Munro, "Bentham, Jeremy", Encyclopedia of Philosophy, V. 1-2, (New York, 1967), p. 280. Suzanne Zeller, Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation (Toronto, 1987).

mind.⁹ By 1825 this philosophy had spread throughout the industrial centres of Britain and its practical manifestation was the Mechanics' Institute.

The first Mechanics' Institute, not surprisingly, was founded in Glasgow.¹⁰ In the early 1790's Dr. John Anderson, professor of natural philosophy at the University of Glasgow, initiated a special course on experimental physics to which some tradesmen and mechanics were invited.¹¹ On his death Anderson bequeathed his scientific property, including apparatus, museum and library, to an institution which was to be named Anderson University. In 1796 it received its charter from the city of Glasgow. It was to this university that Dr. George Birkbeck (1776-1841) was appointed professor of natural philosophy in 1796. His demand for new equipment brought him in direct contact with the artisans of the city: the smith, the joiner, the glassblower. He soon discovered their eagerness to know more about the physical processes of their art. He was

⁹ Richard D. Altick, The English Common Reader (Chicago, 1957) p. 10. Richard D. Altick, Victorian People and Ideas (London, 1982), p. 247.

¹⁰ Mechanic is defined in the Oxford Dictionary as "having a manual occupation; working at a trade". See also R.D. Altick, The English Common Reader p. 188, footnote 2.

¹¹ J.W. Hudson, The History of Adult Education (London, 1851), pp. 26-53.

moved to offer them, for a small fee, courses in elementary science. That he had a great gift for a clear presentation seems apparent: by the fourth lecture there were four hundred in attendance. When Birkbeck moved to London in 1804 the lectures were continued by his successor. Eventually some disagreement arose between the class members and the administration. In 1823 matters came to a head and the former decided to form their own independent association named the Glasgow Mechanics' Institute. Initially it had 374 subscribers who resolved to be self-sufficient with their own subscribers' dues but, as it happened with so many Mechanics' Institutes, by mid-century they were dependent on local donors to maintain their library and lectures, effectively losing administrative control.¹²

Similar institutions soon mushroomed throughout England and Scotland. The London Mechanics' Institute was formed late in 1823 through the efforts of two founders of the Mechanics' Magazine, J.C. Robertson and Thomas Hodgkin. The latter was an ex-naval officer who had fought in the Napoleonic Wars. After a dispute over naval discipline he published a scathing criticism on the subject. Reduced in rank and pay he settled in London where he became one of the

¹² R.D. Altick, The English Common Reader, (Chicago, 1957), p. 190. G.D.H. Cole, "Introduction" to Thomas Hodgskin, Labour Defended Against the Capital, reprinted in New York, 1963.

radicals in the circle frequented by Jeremy Bentham and Francis Place. He travelled extensively in Europe studying economic and social conditions. His socialist opinions on the value of labour made him an important figure in the nascent labour movement of the 1820's.¹³ When Birkbeck heard of the proposal to form a London Mechanics' Institute he offered his support and became the first president. The London Mechanics' Institute owed much of its initial success to sponsors. One of the most influential (and controversial) of these was Lord Brougham.

Henry Brougham¹⁴ (1778-1868) was raised in Edinburgh. His father owned an estate in Westmoreland but his mother was Scottish, a niece of William Robertson, historian and principal of Edinburgh University. As a youth Brougham showed superior intellectual abilities. Trained in both Scottish and English law he settled in London working as a journalist as well as a lawyer. He contributed regularly to the Edinburgh Review, one of its first regular contributors. Before long Brougham was deeply involved in politics and eventually became Lord Chancellor in the reign of George IV. No matter how devious and dubious some of his political

¹³ G.D.H. Cole, "Introduction" to Thomas Hodgskin, Labour Defended Against the Capital, reprinted in New York, 1963.

¹⁴ Robert Stewart, Henry Brougham (1778-1868) (London, 1985).

manoeuvres were, his two abiding passions were the abolition of slavery and the education of every citizen. He pressed for universal schooling and when the organization of the Mechanics' Institutes came to his attention he became an enthusiastic supporter, writing to friends around the country soliciting their interest in local Institutes. Contrary to what has been written in recent years¹⁵ Brougham played no direct part in these organizations. Rather, he felt they should be run by the working men they were to benefit, not by the sponsors.¹⁶ Typical of his efforts to help was the founding of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. The object was to have experts in scientific fields write lectures on their specialty to be read by a member of those Institutes which could not afford to pay a lecturer. The organs for the SDUK were the Penny Magazine and the Penny Cyclopaedia.¹⁷ Brougham's most lasting contribution to education was the founding of the University of London, a non-residential university which operated on the Scottish lecture system. Here, as in the

¹⁵ See, for example, Richard Altick, The English Common Reader (Chicago, 1957), p. 188 ff. and Jim Blanchard, "Anatomy of Failure: Ontario Mechanics' Institutes, 1935-59", Canadian Library Journal V. 38 (1981), p. 393.

¹⁶ Stewart, op.cit., 184 ff.

¹⁷ Penny Magazine was recorded as part of the Ottawa Mechanics' Institute's library in the 1850's.

Mechanics' Institutes and the SDUK, neither politics nor religion were subjects for discussion.

By mid-century there were 610 Institutes with 102,050 members in England alone.¹⁸ They travelled under a variety of names: Mechanics' Institute, Literary and Scientific Institute, Athenaeum, Literary and Mechanics Institute, Literary and Philosophical Society and the more humble Working Man's Institute. Their founders had three underlying convictions.¹⁹ The first of these held that progress in science could be accelerated by having the workers themselves more aware of the basic principles underlying the use of their skills. They might even be able to contribute to that progress. The second conviction was that the spread of rational ideas would dispel myth and superstition, and discourage unacceptable political or social attitudes. Finally, the provision of healthy recreation and educational entertainment would prove more attractive than the pub.

Originally the intention had been to give instruction in the arts which the men practised at work. Initial enthusiasm was gratifying but unfortunately short-lived. In

¹⁸ Hudson, op.cit., vi.

¹⁹ See Altick, The English Common Reader, 188-9; J.L and B. Hammond, The Age of the Chartists: A Study of Discontent, 1832-1854, pp. 323-4; Blanchard, op.cit., p. 393 and Kargon, op.cit., p. 21-2.

part this was due to the long hours these working men spent at work. They had no energy left to absorb a scientific lecture at night after ten hours or more on the job. This was particularly true if the lecturer was unable to present his material in an interesting way and at a level these men could understand. At first the management of most of these organizations was in the hands of committees of donors and patrons who had little understanding of the members' interests. Inevitably, once the novelty wore off attendance began to decline. In some of the larger centres, such as London, clerks and shop assistants began to displace the working man. Libraries became more widespread. Mutual improvement societies proliferated. The conservative establishment Church of England had always been in opposition to mass education movements such as the Mechanics' Institutes represented. The education of the lower classes, it was feared, would lead to discontent and social unrest. The Church joined other evangelical groups in providing alternative, attractive organizations such as the YMCA. Socializing became a necessary and accepted adjunct to the Institutes' activities.²⁰

What of the Manchester Mechanics' Institute? As we have seen the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society

²⁰ See Hudson, *op.cit.*, ix ff. for a discussion of the declining interest in Mechanics' Institutes by mid-century.

and the Natural History Society were dominated by the same group of upper-middle class professional people with a later addition of merchants and industrialists.²¹ It was from this same group that the sponsors of the Mechanics' Institute came. Their aim was clearly stated:

The Manchester Mechanics' Institution is formed for the purpose of enabling Mechanics and Artisans, of whatever trade they may be, to become acquainted with such branches of science as are of practical application in the exercise of that trade.... It is not intended to teach the trade of the Machine-maker, the Dyer, the Carpenter, the Mason or any other particular business, but there is no Art which does not depend, more or less, on scientific principles and to teach what those are, and to point out their practical application will form the chief objects of this institution.²²

Launched in 1825 the Manchester Mechanics' Institute was in deep trouble only five years later with subscriptions declining annually. Over the next decade, in an effort to sustain interest, voting privileges were extended to all subscribers. Nevertheless by 1840 the working class members in English Mechanics' Institutes were outnumbered more than two to one by the middle class merchants, professional men, clerks and shopkeepers.²³ As a result there was a decline in the number of lectures on scientific subjects and a further decline in the numbers of working men for whom the

²¹ Kargon, op.cit., p. 20.

²² Ibid., p. 20.

²³ Hammond, op.cit., p. 325, footnote 3.

Institute had been founded. Poetry, travel, elocution, drama and history were the subject of more than half the lectures given in the 1840's.²⁴

In the meantime an Athenaeum had opened to provide reading rooms and a place for young men, clerks as well as professional and business men, to socialize and discuss topics of mutual interest. Lectures on a wide variety of topics were offered. Although academic classes were not a success, the Gymnastic Club proved to be the principal drawing card along with the Essay and Discussion Society. Dramatic and musical societies were also sponsored. The annual Soirées, begun in 1843, became the Athenaeum's national attraction. Well-known literary figures were brought in for these events to propagandize the merits of such institutions.²⁵

Some friends of the Manchester Institute, realizing the working men were being pushed out, organized yet another society which was called the Lyceum. Other Lyceums sprang up across the country and the Lyceum movement became very popular in the United States. The Lyceum membership fee was considerably lower than that for the Institute. Members had access to a reading room and wholesome evening entertainment. Membership was also offered to women.

²⁴ Kargon, op.cit., p. 24.

²⁵ Altick, The Common Reader, p. 203-4.

Initial enthusiasm was high and they continued to be well patronized until mid-century.²⁶

One other organization that was gaining momentum by mid-century was the Young Men's Christian Association. It was the offspring of the strong surge of evangelicalism that had swept through both Nonconformist and low church congregations earlier in the century. The YMCA's founding is generally dated as June, 1844 and the credit for leadership given to George Williams (1821-1905).²⁷ Son of a Somerset farmer, his future was determined in his teens when he felt a personal conversion to Christianity. Shortly after he moved to London where he became a draper's apprentice in the prosperous firm of Hitchcock, Rogers. Mid-century drapers in London formed an interlocking fraternity. Williams gathered up a small group of the firm's apprentices for regular prayer and discussion meetings which, through personal contact with other drapers, soon became large enough to require some sort of organization. Many of their employers were Nonconformists and sympathetic, encouraging meetings on their own premises. Once the YMCA became formally structured and as many of the original members prospered (including Williams who married

²⁶ Hammond, op.cit., p. 329-330.

²⁷ Clyde Binfield, George Williams and the YMCA: A Study in Victorian Social Attitudes (London, 1973).

Hitchcock's daughter and ultimately took over the firm) they were able to provide solid support that ensured the YMCA's success. Williams himself joined the low Anglican church after his marriage and through his contacts there was able to add low church support to what had been a Nonconformist nucleus. Starting out to encourage non-denominational individualism, the organization soon found itself in the educational field. Before the end of the century association branches were offering reading rooms, popular lectures and above all, gymnasia. Earnestness had given way to manliness. For young men of evangelical convictions the YMCA was an attractive alternative to the local Institute or Athenaeum. Although the YMCA was founded to meet conditions in mid-century London, by the end of the century it had branches worldwide and was proving amazingly adept at responding to community needs.

The idealism of self-help and mutual improvement programmes found ready support in North America. Although the moral climate was right the great difference in social and economic climate affected the results of the transplantation. Hudson, writing on the adult education in mid 18th century England, has nothing but praise for both the American and Canadian efforts.²⁸ Particular enthusiasm is expressed in describing the Franklin Institute of

²⁸ Hudson, op.cit., p. 216 ff.

Pennsylvania, established in 1826. Unlike the older Mechanics' Institutes in England, the Franklin was thriving, offering free weekly lectures, annual exhibitions of the mechanics' arts, a substantial library and a museum. The Maryland Institute in Baltimore rivalled it, and in addition possessed a machine shop and laboratories for its members and issued a weekly scientific newspaper. The annual fair or exhibition was one attraction most American Institutes adopted. The management of these Institutes was in the hands of those who benefited from them.

Hudson singled out and praised New York city specifically for the number of libraries available with small admission fees. This city had already a history of intellectual societies.²⁹ During the 1790's the Friendly Club met regularly for the exchange of ideas as a means of self-improvement. It was an example of the popular learned, self-improvement societies that bear family resemblance to the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. Here business men and professionals met weekly to discuss a wide range of topics, scientific and literary. They shared a common concern that the pursuit of wealth in their society was becoming obsessive. In New York, unlike Boston, the clergy had no prominent representation in intellectual

²⁹ Thomas Bender, New York Intellect: A History of Intellectual Life in New York City from 1750 to the Beginning of our Time (New York, 1987), Chapter 2.

circles. As in England, intellectual life in early 19th century New York was centred on conversation, not the printed word; lectures were more important than print for the diffusion of knowledge.

Early in the 1800's the New York Institute was founded to serve as an umbrella for a number of societies with overlapping cultural interests, combining the commercial (a Museum) with non-profit organizations. Here there were no disciplinary boundaries and no marked division between learned and general, popular cultures. In the 1820's the Mechanics' Institutes made their appearance in New York and elsewhere in the United States. They were supposed to appeal, as in England, to artisans and apprentices, offering lectures and classes based on self-help principles. In New York the Institute was sponsored by the General Society of Mechanics and Trades. By and large the success of the Institutes in the U.S.A. was comparatively short-lived, but they were important in their influence on the development of vocational and technical schools.³⁰

Lyceums, referred to earlier, also appeared in the 1820's; the first was in Millbury, Mass. These institutions tended to be small town organizations open to everyone. Important public issues were raised for discussion and

³⁰ Bender claims the Freemasons were also an important group active in the education movement in New York. Op.cit., p. 58ff.

lectures or classes offered in a wide variety of subjects: art, science, history. At the peak of their popularity, around 1830, there were over 3,000 in the United States. By the end of that decade they were in decline; they had become virtually extinct by the time of the Civil War. Their importance lay in the support they gave to the establishment of public schools and libraries.³¹

In Upper Canada, the development of intellectually oriented societies came more slowly. As we have seen the earliest of these in England appeared in large industrial centres: there were none in Canada. Not until the Mechanics' Institutes opened in the 1820's did any of the English societies concern themselves with the working man. In Upper Canada, Toronto (York) was the first community to see what could be considered an intellectual society struggle for existence. In 1831 a Literary and Philosophical Society was founded under the patronage of Sir John Colborne, the Lieutenant-Governor of the day. The aim of this society was "the investigation in Natural and Civil History of the Colony and the whole interior as far as the Pacific and Polar Sea throughout the Animal, Vegetable and Mineral Kingdoms".³² This implies the purpose of the

³¹ Glen Burch, 'Lyceum', Collier's Encyclopedia, V.12, p. 613 (New York, 1955).

³² Edith G. Firth (ed.), The Town of York 1815-34 (Toronto, 1966), p. 334ff.

society was to acquire knowledge rather than diffuse it, a purpose similar to that of the Manchester Society after Dalton became its leading figure. The Toronto group also expected to support a library and a museum. Despite advertisements that stressed membership open to all, few Toronto citizens responded and the organization expired within the year. Its aspirations had proved unrealistic in a town of only 5,000 souls, half of whom had arrived in the past few years.³³

Much of Toronto's population increase had come from Britain, immigrants who had witnessed the birth and rapid growth of the Mechanics' Institutes at home. Thus when the York Mechanics' Institute was founded in 1830 it proved to be a much healthier plant although fragile in its early years. The founding members were middle class: one of the secretaries was James Lesslie, a member of a Kingston family of booksellers. (He set up a library on his own business premises for the use of his employees.) Lesslie's diaries recount the initial problems the Institute faced.³⁴ In its third year of operation it could boast of 166 members of whom sixteen were honorary. Turn-over, however, was great: 46 new, 41 lost. The annual report of that year lists the

³³ J.M.S. Careless, Toronto to 1918 (Toronto, 1984), p. 43.

³⁴ Quoted in Firth, op.cit., p. 334-336.

subjects discussed: principles of matter, astronomy, climate and electricity were among them, accompanied by experiments and illustrations. The popular conversation classes discussed science and art. On the other hand the drawing and music classes drew little interest.³⁵ Although the original purpose may have been, as in England, to provide self-help opportunities for the working man, the attempted inclusion of art and music suggests that in Toronto too the Mechanics' Institute was a middle class society. After an uncertain beginning it became a thriving organization enjoying the patronage of the well-to-do who enjoyed the lectures, the social affairs and the library. In 1854 a large Institute building was erected in the downtown area containing meeting rooms, music hall and library.³⁶ Less than thirty years later it had lost its popular appeal and in 1883 it was finally absorbed into the Toronto Public Library system.³⁷

Kingston was not long in following Toronto's lead. From the notice of the organizational meeting recorded in the British Whig, March 11, 1834, it is clear that mechanics and tradesmen are interchangeable terms:

³⁵ Ibid., p. 347.

³⁶ Careless, op.cit., p. 86.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 139.

KINGSTON MECHANICS' INSTITUTE

from the British Whig,
March 11, 1834.

On Friday evening a numerous and most highly respectable body of mechanics, interspersed with some few of the inhabitants of Kingston, assembled at McKay's Tavern, to discuss the propriety of forming a Mechanics' Institute. Some of the leading and old Mechanics of the town were not present, their absence being occasioned it is presumed from piques, in not being consulted previous to the calling of the meeting. The staying away was unkind; they should have recollected that it is now three years since a Mechanics' Institute has been in full operation at York, during which time, ample opportunity has been afforded them to establish a similar institution in Kingston, and if they have not thought proper so to do, they should not blame their younger tradesmen if they step forward to do that, which more properly belonged to them. Another cause why they were not consulted is, that neither of the two originators of the meeting, Mr. D. Urquhart or Mr. C. Sewell, has much personal acquaintance among his fellow tradesmen, or we make no doubt, that every concession would have been made to the opinions and wishes of the elder tradesmen. As it is, we trust that petty jealousies of any kind will be avoided and that the whole corps of mechanics will muster strongly at the Court House on Friday evening next to receive the report of the Constitutional Committee and to elect the office bearers of the Infant Society.³⁸

The first proposal read "That it is expedient to establish a Scientific and Literary Society to be called the Kingston Mechanics' Institute".³⁹ The secretary elected that night was William Lesslie of the same bookseller family as James Lesslie, so active in the founding of the Toronto Institute. McKay's Tavern was the locale of Kingston's organizational

³⁸ Historic Kingston: Transactions of the Kingston Historical Society, V. 1-10, (Belleville, 1974), p. 45 of V.5.

³⁹ Ibid.

meeting and subsequently provided space for a newspaper reading room and later a library. By 1841 a salaried librarian had been hired who reported a brisk circulation of books, both instructive and entertaining:

The library is still a source of great advantage to the Institution, and from the instructive and amusing character of the books.....is well attended and appears fully to answer the purpose contemplated by the foundation of a circulating library in connection with the institution.⁴⁰

During the 1850's the Kingston Institute maintained a membership of about 1% of the town's population, a proportion similar to Toronto. It was not without struggle, however, and annual membership drives included exhibitions and festivals. In fact the Kingston Institute, unlike Toronto, was never affluent enough to build its own quarters. As its fortunes waxed and waned the Ontario Department of Education introduced evening classes for adult students with a curriculum suited to their needs. Queen's University also began to offer evening lectures: it was the embryonic period of its Extension Department.⁴¹ For the serious student, these evening courses offered more

⁴⁰ H. Pearson Grundy, "Libraries in Kingston 1811-1849", Ontario Library Review, V. 33 (1949), p. 7.

⁴¹ Margaret Colhoe, "Kingston Mechanics' Institute to Free Public Library", Historical Kingston, V.33 (1985), p. 45.

satisfaction than the amateurish, irregular intellectual activities of the Mechanics' Institutes. Whether in Britain, the United States or Upper Canada, it was the library and the reading room with its variety of newspapers that the subscribers appreciated the most.

By 1850 numerous Institutes had sprung up around the province: London, Hamilton and Niagara for example. Some, like Kingston and Toronto, had applied for and received government grants with which to buy "philosophical apparatus" and reading material.⁴² Admittedly, comparisons with the British Mechanics' Institutes must be made cautiously: the Canadian communities did not have the population or the sharp social and cultural distinctions that obtained in England. Ethnic and religious differences were of an entirely different order. No matter what an immigrant's origins were, they were all confronted with the hardships of settling a new land. Only in Toronto does there appear to have emerged a group considered to be sufficiently high class to have aroused suspicion when the formation of a Literary and Philosophical Society was

⁴² Eric C. Bow, "The Public Library Movement in Nineteenth Century Ontario", Ontario Library Review, V.66 (1982), p. 3. Annual grants were made to all Mechanics' Institutes from 1849 to 1858. "The purpose was in most cases to acquire philosophical apparatus."

proposed.⁴³

And what of Ottawa? Here was probably the only Canadian Mechanics' Institute that by 1850 had suffered a premature death.

⁴³ Firth, op.cit., p. lxxx. Since the Toronto Literary and Philosophical Society was founded under Sir John Colborne's patronage, and since the organizers felt it necessary to stress in their advertisements that it was not to be an exclusive society, they apparently thought they would be regarded suspiciously as an elite group. See also Hudson, op.cit., p. 167, for his assessment of the attitude the members of the Literary and Philosophical Societies had towards the Mechanics' Institutes. They held themselves aloof from any association with what they considered lower class institutions.

CHAPTER II

STILLBORN AND REBORN

In which a Mechanics' Institute is founded in Ottawa,
disappears and is founded again successfully.

The Bytown Mechanics' Institute (BMI) was established
in 1847.¹ A public notice called attention to a meeting of

¹ This was not the first stirring of intellectual activity in Bytown. In 1845 the clerks of Bytown organized the Mercantile Library Association. Thomas MacQueen gave a talk on "The Cultivation of the Human Mind". See Lucien Brault, Ottawa Old and New (Ottawa, 1946), pp. 280-281. Brault refers to "the first organization of an intellectual character mentioned in the annals of Bytown is the Mechanics' Institute founded on Jan. 20, 1847". (p. 287). There is no record of who or what prompted this organizational meeting. None of the founding executive were recent British immigrants and there is no evidence of influence from other Ontario communities that had formed Mechanics' Institutes.

January 10th for the purpose of forming an Institute. At that meeting the Rev. James T. Byrne gave an address entitled "The Importance of Knowledge to the Working Classes". The implication that the Institute would serve the intellectual interests of the working classes may be questioned after reading the resolutions passed that evening. One of them stated that "the annual subscription be not less than five shillings", a considerable sum for a working man.² Another resolution decreed that approval for admission of apprentices would be left with a committee of trustees.³ It is an interesting comment on the accepted intellectual status of clergymen that they were to be accepted as honorary members.

Scarcely a month later a constitution was adopted and an executive of seven elected. Thomas McKay, the contractor for the Rideau Canal, was president for the first two of the three seasons the BMI was active and most of the names on the executive lists for these years were also well known in the community at that time. Included were Dr. Hamnett Hill whose family formed a thick network of relationships in the upper echelon of society, G.W. Baker, a Bytown magistrate,

² National Archives of Canada (NAC), Bytown Mechanics' Institute and Athenaeum, MG28 I-1. Quoted in Otto Klotz "Historical Sketch", Transactions of the OLSS, 1 (1897-1898), p. 3.

³ Klotz, op.cit., p. 3.

and three other members who were mayors during this period. No less familiar were the names of Elkanah Billings and W.P.Lett. Table II.1 gives a summary.⁴

Elkanah Billings (1820-1876) was the son of a prosperous United Empire Loyalist farmer in Gloucester.⁵ He was well educated, attending the St.Lawrence Academy at Potsdam, N.Y. after primary education at local schools. In 1844 he was accepted into the Law Society of Upper Canada. Returning to Ottawa he set up in practice, at one point in partnership with Robert Hervey. In 1849, the last year recorded for the BMI, he moved to Renfrew. He returned to Ottawa in the summer of 1852, just months before the Institute was reborn. Billings had been secretary of the original organizing committee and the first corresponding

⁴ Ibid. p. 14. The following were consulted for information about occupations of the executives; Naomi Slater Haydon, Looking Back: Pioneers of Bytown and March (Ottawa, 1980). Historical Sketch of the County of Carleton with a new introduction by C.C.J.Bond (Belleville, 1971), pp. 35-37, 77, 164, 174-177, 296-312. (Originally published as The Illustrated Historical Atlas of Carleton County (Toronto, 1879).) W.P.Lett, Recollections of Bytown and its Old Inhabitants (Ottawa, 1874). John Taylor, Ottawa, An Illustrated History (Toronto, 1986). Harry and Olive Walker, Carleton Saga (Ottawa, 1968).

⁵ A.Désilets and Yvon Pageau, "Billings, Elkanah", Dictionary of Canadian Biography (Toronto, 1972) V.X. p. 64.

TABLE II.1
Profile of the Executive 1847-1849

OFFICE President	1847 Hon. Thos McKay (1792-1855) Rideau canal con- tractor, sawmill and gristmill owner, legislative councillor	1848 Thos. McKay	1849 G.W. Baker
First Vice President	G.W. Baker Postmaster, Bytown magistrate	John Scott MPP, Bytown mayor, 1847, 1850 first president of Board of Trade, 1851	Robert Hervey Mayor, 1849 lawyer
Second Vice President	Dr. Hamnett Hill Connections with many original Bytown settlers	L.B. Lewis Mayor, 1848	Hamnett Hill
Correspond- ing Sec.	Elkanah Billings Lawyer, GSC paleontologist after 1856	W.P. Lett Journalist and writer, sect'y of Fire Brigade first city clerk of Ottawa (1855)	W.P. Lett
Recording Sec.	H. Bishoprick Druggist, exciseman	H. Bishoprick	S.C. Keir
Treasurer	Andrew Drummond	Andrew Drummond	Andrew Drummond

secretary of the Institute. He again took a prominent role in the revived organization until his move to Montreal in 1856.⁶ In addition to practising law, Billings published numerous articles on geology, the results of his current studies on fossils. During these years he established a reputation through his published articles in serious journals such as the Canadian Naturalist and Geologist⁷ which he launched just before his move to Montreal. It was to be his mouthpiece until his death in 1876. His early palaeontological studies had attracted the attention of William Logan, director of the Geological Survey of Canada, which ultimately led to Billings's appointment as palaeontologist with the Geological Survey of Canada and thus to GSC headquarters in Montreal. Ottawa's small intellectual community lost one of its most active and scientifically qualified members.

⁶ Ibid., p. 64. See also NAC, BMIA, MG28 I-1.

⁷ In 1852 Billings contributed a nine part series of articles to the Citizen reviewing William Logan's "Report of Progress" in the Geological Survey of Canada for 1851-2. The most important of his more than 200 articles was his 500 page report on palaeontology found in Logan's 1865 "Report" of the GSC. It is known by the title "Geology in Canada". The earliest volumes of the Canadian Naturalist and Geologist were written entirely by Billings. Volume 1:2 (1856) for example includes short essays on the deer of British North America, on bears, on ornithology as well as on geology. An article in his particular field, "Devonian Fossils in Canada", appeared in V. III:6 (1858) along with essays on a variety of natural history subjects. By V. VI (1861) there were essays contributed by other naturalists.

Another enthusiastic supporter of the BMI was William Pittman Lett (1819-1892), son of an Irish officer who settled in part of the Rideau Military Settlement.⁸ Lett was educated in local schools and settled in Bytown about 1839. A young man with a literary bent, he immediately became involved in journalism, founding a semi-monthly literary journal, the Orange Lily, in the year of the BMI's disappearance, 1849. The Orange Lily did not last long. When Bytown was incorporated as the City of Ottawa in 1855 Lett was appointed first city clerk, a post he held until 1891. His interests included amateur theatricals and the composition of poems: the only published poems (1874) are found in Recollections of Bytown and its Old Inhabitants. It is in this verse history of Ottawa that reference to some of the founding members of the BMI is found. With the exception of S.C.Keir and A.Drummond, all members of the early executive (Table II.1) pass in and out of the published histories of Ottawa.⁹

A few weeks after the 1847 constitution was approved, the Rev. Mr. Byrne again addressed the Institute on the subject of female education, followed in March by the Reverend Mr. Duries's lecture on "The Phenomena of the

⁸ Edwin Welch, "Introduction" to W.P.Lett, Recollections of Old Bytown and Its Inhabitants, (Ottawa, 1874).

⁹ See Note 4 above.

Atmosphere". Although the Minute Books note that a large audience attended John Scott's lecture on "The Steam Engine" in November, 1849, they reveal little else about the educational events sponsored by the Institute. They do, however, reveal two recurring problems. The first was money, and the second, a corollary of the first, was acquisition of materials to form a library. For all the idealism in the constitution's aim to diffuse knowledge amongst the working men, one is left with the impression that the executive were more interested in providing themselves and fellow members with up-to-date reading material. The first substantial donation to the organization was £65 from Stewart Derbshire, the first Bytown representative in the provincial government and Queen's Printer from 1841 until his death in 1863.¹⁰ A large part of this sum was used to purchase the seventh edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica. The acquisition of books made necessary the rental of space suitable for use as a reading room and library.¹¹ In the early years the

¹⁰ Michael S. Cross, "Derbshire, Stewart", Dictionary of Canadian Biography (Toronto, 1976), V.IX, p. 203.

¹¹ The importance of keeping their books in circulation may be inferred from the scale of fines imposed on overdue books: it rose exponentially when the allotted two weeks expired.

Congregational church basement had to suffice.¹²

During the second year of the Institute's operation the executive applied for a provincial grant through the offices of John Scott, the local MPP and first vice-president of the Institute.¹³ For the immediate future a fund raising tea, a Soirée, was sponsored. This proved less than a successful financial venture however pleasant the social aspects may have been. Mr. Lewis, the current mayor and the Institute's second vice president, was obliged to honour his promise to cover any deficit. This proved to be over £5.¹⁴

The Minute Books for the BMI record nothing after 1849, the year of Billings' departure for Renfrew and Lett's unfortunate venture into publishing. The implication is that the organization folded. Several reasons suggest themselves. The first is financial: the subscription list was small and there is no record that a provincial grant was

¹² W.A.Waiser, in The Field Naturalist (Toronto, 1989), p. 120, claims the Clarendon Hotel at Sussex and George St. was "the home of the city's first public reading room and the headquarters of the Bytown Mechanics' Institute". The BMIA records give no evidence that the BMI was ever situated in Lower Town.

¹³ Klotz, op.cit., p. 5.

¹⁴ Ibid.

made.¹⁵ The loss of Billings' participation and Lett's personal preoccupations may also have had an injurious effect. The explanation offered by Brault¹⁶ seems unlikely. He claims that in the first years French-speaking members were a part of the executive. When a new executive was elected after the Stony Monday Riots in September, 1849,¹⁷ none were French Canadian. All the French Canadian members

¹⁵ Neither Toronto nor Kingston Mechanics' Institutes was able to interest more than 1% of their population at mid-century. Ottawa's population in 1849 was 6,284 (Taylor, op.cit. p. 210). Perhaps a third of these were English-language Protestants, the group to which the Institutes had the greatest appeal. This provided a small base indeed. As far as grants were concerned, the provincial government began issuing them the year the BMI folded. Presumably help came too late.

¹⁶ Lucien Brault, Ottawa Old and New (Ottawa, 1946), p. 289.

¹⁷ The Stony Monday Riots, September 17, 1849, erupted during a period of economic depression in the lumber trade. The immediate cause was a proposed visit to Ottawa by Lord Elgin who was exploring possible sites for a capital in the United Canadas. Supported as a liberal administrator by the Reform party and moderate Tories, Lord Elgin's visit was not favoured by the conservative Tories. The latter, abetted by Mayor Robert Hervey, were able to prevent the convening of a meeting from which an invitation to Lord Elgin could be issued. Two Lower Town councillors took the initiative and called a meeting in the Market on September 17. The mayor called a meeting of his own for September 19 to quell any possibility of the invitation being extended. The Tories and their supporters crashed the first meeting, tempers flared, a stone flew, the two factions battled. The Tory forces prevailed with the aid of a rifle detachment from Barrack's Hill. One of those arrested was John Scott, the MPP who was responsible for sponsoring the BMI petition for a grant. The events of Stony Monday may have contributed to the failure of this petition.

then resigned in protest and subsequently formed their own literary association, Institute canadien français d'Ottawa, founded in 1852. Brault's conjectures are not supported by Table II.1: none of the executive officers identified were French Canadian.

Brault's explanation does raise the question of social division within the Bytown community. As Taylor clearly points out,¹⁸ stratification was clearly apparent in Victorian Ottawa. It is still visible today. It is important to acknowledge this because it had a great influence on any organization that sought a foothold in the cultural and intellectual life of the city. Who and how numerous were the working classes to which the BMI was proposing to diffuse knowledge? How numerous were potential full-paying members? A glance at a few figures for 1851 suggests the latter group must have been quite small.¹⁹ If the working classes referred to in the constitution were mechanics and artisans only, then that group would also have been small. In a total population of 7,760 there were only 1801 males over twenty, 2028 were under twenty. Well over half the population was Roman Catholic (4,798), divided between those of Irish and French backgrounds each with their own societies and associations. This separating

¹⁸ John H. Taylor, Ottawa, pp. 71-73.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 210-214.

process, as Taylor describes it, was well under way when the BMI was founded in 1847. Lower Town was a distinct community already and the lumbermen, both employers and employees, formed another distinct community. The army held aloof on Barracks Hill. Only 3.2% of the total population are listed as professional people, 12.1% were in commerce. BMI membership in all categories must have been drawn largely from the portion of this group that were Protestant English and not all of those would have been attracted to a Mechanics' Institute.²⁰

There were other factors that discouraged participation. The working men spent long, hard days on the job. Where was the energy to walk through a dark, bitterly cold night to hear a lecture by someone inexperienced at popularizing a subject? From the few records we learn that the speakers were local people, amateurs on the topics which they addressed. There was no incentive to upgrade one's position through attendance, only the inner drive of curiosity and mental alertness. These have never been common human attributes. The years under scrutiny were not easy ones. In 1847 the town was stricken with a typhus epidemic which carried off the Rev. Mr. Drurie, one of the original founding committee, along with many others. Fear of contagion kept people away from public association. 1849

²⁰ See also Note 15 above.

was a year of economic depression and political unrest that culminated in the Stony Monday Riots in September. On January 1, 1850 Bytown was incorporated as a town so one might expect 1849 to have been a year when citizens were more interested in politics than in intellectual pursuits.²¹

In Britain, industrial growth had provided the impetus for the founding of the Mechanics' Institutes. Although the first English Mechanics' Institute was formed in London in 1823, the following two years saw their establishment in the northern industrial towns: Manchester, Newcastle, Leeds (1824), Birmingham and Liverpool (1825).²² It is not surprising then that Bytown, predominantly a lumber town with a large number of itinerant workers, failed to support an Institute. By mid-century the small town Lyceum movement in the United States was on the decline, and in England the shift in membership in the Institutes from working men to the middle class was almost complete. Toronto had followed a similar pattern. In Kingston, as in other small Ontario communities where Institutes had been established prior to

²¹ For example, Dr. Hammett Hill chaired the meeting convened after the riot was quelled. Mr. Hervey was mayor.

²² J.L. and B. Hammond, The Age of the Chartists 1832-54 (Hamden, Conn., 1962), p. 323, fn.2. The picture of Institute development in industrialized areas is confirmed in Hudson, op.cit. p. 222ff where all the organizations operating in 1850 are listed. The number in the northern counties greatly exceeds that in the south.

1850, the local society was more uniform than in Britain and, as in Bytown, the possession of a library was an important consideration in their founding. As Susanna Moodie observed in 1851:

Every large town has its Mechanics' Institute and debating society which tend generally to foster a love of literature, and draw out the mental resources of the community. Men of education deliver lectures gratis at the institutes and are sure to obtain a good audience.²³

These were community centres where working men and middle class men came together for companionship and mental stimulation. They were supported largely by subscriptions and private donations with some help from provincial government grants after 1849. Any organization in a community as splintered as mid-century Bytown would find its survival continually threatened.

The absence of records from 1850 to 1853 indicates the BMI was moribund, but the spirit of such an association did not die completely. Early in 1853 another public meeting was announced "to reorganize this highly important institution".²⁴ In the chair was Judge Christopher Armstrong who had donated a portrait of Queen Victoria to the BMI in 1848. Elkanah Billings was again the secretary.

²³ Susanna Moodie, Life in the Clearings (Toronto, 1959), p. 293.

²⁴ Newspaper report. See Appendix I. BMIA, NAC MG28 I-1.

A prospectus was issued shortly thereafter deploring the lack of cultural and intellectual facilities in a town of its size, now over 8,000. (By including "cultural" in the list of the town's shortcomings and observing that no association of an intellectual nature existed, the preamble overlooks the recently formed Institut canadien français d'Ottawa.)²⁵ The prospectus, which is reproduced in Appendix I, stressed the importance of providing for youths some intellectual stimulation in the years between leaving the Common School and becoming involved in adult responsibilities with set patterns of thought. The appeal brought £130 7s 6d in subscriptions. Annual fees had been set at 5s for mechanics, 10s for clerks and 20s for merchants. Unfortunately there is no breakdown of the total annual income from subscriptions until the 1855-6 annual report.

This time around the Institute was successful in garnering a £50 grant from the provincial government which had, in fact, been making annual grants to all Mechanics' Institutes through the Department of Agriculture since 1849. Thus when the Bytown Mechanics' Institute and Athenaeum was officially established on January 29, 1853, it was on a

²⁵ Brault, op.cit. p. 289.

firmer financial base than previously.²⁶ Not only more money but more vitality seemed to infuse the reorganized Institute. Only six months after its establishment they were able to sponsor a reception and exhibition "of Natural and Industrial Productions" of the area for Lord Elgin, the Governor General, on his visit to Bytown (Fig. II.1).²⁷ The Institute now added a curator to its list of executive officers for it proposed to set up a museum of natural history. Thus in 1855 a competition was announced with prizes offered for the best collection in each of seven categories; Coleoptera and Hemiptera, Lepidoptera and Neuroptera, Hymenoptera, Diptera and Aptera, Snakes, Frogs, Proteus and Crayfish, River and Land Shells, Indigenous Botanical Specimens and Mineralogical Specimens. The interesting point about the competition is that the two classes for which the largest awards were given (£10 10s) were those of most practical value: indigenous botanical specimens and mineralogical specimens. The awards in the other classes were only £2 10s. The society had moved some distance from providing practical lectures for mechanics, its purpose stated in the prospectus. It was now closer to the contemporaneous English Institute, a social and

²⁶ Athenaeum: 2a. A literary or scientific club (1864).
 b. A literary club room, reading room etc.
 (1822). Oxford Universal Dictionary.

²⁷ Klotz, op.cit., pp. 8-9.

intellectual meeting place for middle class gentlemen.

The awards appear surprisingly generous; equivalent in sum to a year's government grant. The apparent affluence of the Institute at this time was due in part to the fund-raising efforts of the ladies of Bytown. The previous October they had held a highly successful bazaar from whose receipts they were able to donate the substantial sum of £200 6s 6½d. The ladies' patronage was actively solicited (Figure II.2) and many wives of subscribers who purchased family tickets to the lecture series must have enjoyed the social privileges as well. Lectures were held in the Temperance Hall, the old Congregational Church near the Sappers' Bridge in whose basement the old BMI had rented space for its reading room and library. These quarters remained home to the OMIA until 1863 when it moved to the premises of George Hay, a hardware merchant and active member of the Institute, on Lot 26 on the south side of Sparks Street. When the name Bytown, evocative of a rough and tumble frontier town, was officially changed to Ottawa in 1855, the Institute effected the same change.

A glance at the annual lists of executive officers for the years preceding the arrival of the civil service in 1865 reveals a cross section of the professional and business men of English-speaking, Protestant Ottawa.²⁸ The names of Dr.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 15-16.



VIVAT REGINA.

1853.
Knowledge
Is Power.

1853
Bytown
Industrial Exhibition.

OTTAWA CITIZEN.



Amongst the many Agencies employed for the advancement
of our race

Exhibitions of Natural & Industrial Productions of Countries,

ARE PECULIARLY CHARACTERISTIC OF THE TIMES :

And it is pleasing to observe that in Diffusing Useful Knowledge,
and inducing General and Permanent Benefits, they are
eminently successful.

*Prompted by a laudable feeling, the Committee of the BYTOWN
MECHANICS INSTITUTE AND ATHENAEUM determined to improve
the occasion of the Visit to Bytown of His Excellency Lord Elgin,
Governor General of British North America, to have an Exhibition of*

The Products of the Ottawa Country.

*However humble such an Exhibition may appear, when compared
with those to which all the nations of the Earth are contributors, it
is not the less valuable, nor are those who are instrumental in its
creation the less entitled to credit.*

The occasion of the Visit to this place of His Excellency LORD
ELGIN, who is distinguished for learning and talents and for
the interest taken by him in such Exhibitions, and in
Science and Industry, has been most appro-
priately and happily chosen; and while the Exhibition
will not be without interest to the Noble Visitor and other
strangers, the visit will be characterised by this pleasing feature,
and be identified with the

Industrial Progress of our Country.

*In accomplishing the great object of this and similar Exhibitions,
and all kindred efforts in the same cause,*

The Press takes it's place as a Co-worker in the Field

*It labours in the improvement of Arts, and the Arts gratefully
reply by increasing its capacities and power,—thus presenting an
example of most important mutual benefits, resulting from*

GENEROUS PURPOSES AND UNITED EXERTIONS.

Ottawa, July, 1853.



Coat of Arms,
Town Council of the
Town of Bytown.

View of the Locks on
the Rideau Canal at
Bytown at its entrance from the Ottawa

Coat of Arms—
Town Council of the
Town of Bytown.

Figure II.1

Hamnett Hill, the first president of the reorganized Institute, and Elkanah Billings are already familiar. Dr. E. Van Cortlandt, the first librarian, had also been active in the earlier organization. Among the professional people doctors predominate: Dr. Cortlandt was soon joined by Dr. Garvey (first vice president, 1856), Dr. Loughlin (curator, 1857) and Dr. J.A. Grant (president, 1858). Mr. Hay was not the only active hardware merchant; Mr. Alexander Workman was president in 1854 and 1855. In 1860 he joined the list of Institute members who served as mayor of Ottawa. H.J. Friel, president in 1857, had been mayor in 1854 and was to be re-elected in 1863 and 1869. He died in office in 1869.

Friel (1823-1869) illustrates the danger of generalizations concerning the ethnic and religious homogeneity of the Institute's membership.²⁹ Born in Montreal of Irish Catholic parents, he and his family moved to Bytown in 1827. Orphaned in his teens, Friel was apprenticed to the owner of the Bytown Gazette. He was well suited to a career in journalism, possessing a natural literary ability combined with an intense interest in politics. He bought half interest in the Bytown Packet in 1846 where he was able to express vigorously his reform views, views not likely shared by many of the staunch Tories in the OMIA. Two years later he married Mary Anne O'Connor,

²⁹ Michael S. Cross, "Friel, Henry James", Dictionary of Canadian Biography (Toronto, 1976), V.IX, p. 287.

Ottawa, 21st September, 1855.

Madam,

Your kind Patronage of the
Course of Lectures of the Institute and
Athenaeum is respectfully requested.

The Temperance Hall, which is
leased for the purpose, will be made in
every way comfortable, as regards sitting,
warmth, and ventilation.

Vocal and Instrumental Music
will precede and follow the Lectures
each evening.

The names of the Gentlemen
advertised for the Course, guarantee
that the Entertainments will be of a
highly moral and intellectual character,
the subjects chosen bearing the stamp of
the most refined taste.

Chas. John. Forth
Chairman

daughter of a prominent merchant and the first female white child born in Bytown. His political activities led to his arrest after the Stony Monday Riots, accused of complicity in the looting of the government arsenal in Hull where Reform leaders had intended to get arms. Friel had been elected to Bytown's first town council in 1847 at the age of twenty-four, and remained active in city politics the rest of his life. Elected alderman for the East Ward in 1850, 1853 and 1854 he was appointed mayor by his fellow aldermen in 1854. He ventured unsuccessfully into provincial politics but remained successful in the civic arena. Throughout all these busy years he was one of the most active members of the OMIA serving not only as president but almost continuously as a trustee from the Institute's reorganization in 1853 until his death.

The operating structure was similar to that in other communities. There were four classes of members:³⁰

1. Ordinary member for whom all privileges obtained

- a) Master mechanics, merchants, professional men and employers generally

Subscription \$4 (£1) annually

- b) Clerks, apprentices, employees generally

Subscription \$2 (10s) annually

2. Life membership for those who donated \$50 or more.

³⁰

BMIA, NAC MG28 I-1.

3. Corresponding members who were non-resident and who were elected by the trustees. No vote.
4. Honourary memberships could be given to men eminent in their service to science or art and who rendered important service to the society. No vote.

The trustees, who met monthly, were elected by the voting members in order of their preference. From the submitted lists the twenty most frequently mentioned members were considered elected. They in turn selected the president and other officers as well as appointing members to various committees from amongst themselves. There was a finance committee and one responsible for the lecture series. In addition there was a five member managing committee that met weekly to deal with problems in any department and to endorse payment of expenses. It is primarily the minutes of the Managing Committee and those of the Trustees that have been preserved.³¹ Since these minutes are concerned largely with financial and library matters, it is fortunate that some thoughtful member included extensive newspaper coverage of the annual meetings from 1853 to 1869. In addition there are many reports of the public lectures during the 1850's. This decade witnessed increasing industrialization in the lumber

³¹ Ibid. These records of the early Mechanics' Institutes were donated by Otto Klotz in 1917. V.1 contains the records of the Bytown Mechanics' Institute, V.2-4 are those of the Ottawa Mechanics' Institute and Athenaeum.

industry and large local construction projects such as the Parliament Buildings. This in turn brought an influx of labourers with tradesmen and secondary businesses in their wake. By 1861 the city population had nearly doubled that of 1851. As we shall see shortly, this increase was not reflected in the size of the OMIA membership.

The 1855-6 season is particularly well documented, the first in which the new organization offered a programme of public lectures. On June 28, 1855, the Managing Committee agreed that a programme of twelve lectures should be offered running from October 2 to December 15 followed by a second series January 8 to March 28, 1856. A form letter was drawn up to send to potential lecturers offering to pay travel expenses, if necessary, and concluding, "if there are any other charges, be please to intimate".³² The implication is that lecturers were not necessarily going to be members of the local Institute nor even of the community. By late July eighteen prospects had been approached; three written replies had been received and three verbal. Late August Friel and Henry Horne, second vice president and a wholesale manufacturer and retail stationer, were appointed to take charge of the lecture series. Advertisements soon appeared in four local papers: Bytown Gazette, Citizen (the old Packet sold by Friel and his partner in 1849), Monarchist

³²Ibid.

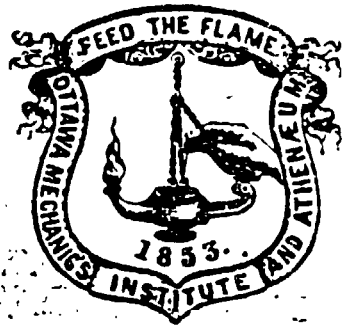
and the Tribune. (The advertisement for the second half of the series is shown in Figure II.3. Note the logo.) Two hundred copies of the letter shown in Figure II.2 were sent to the ladies in the community. Tickets for each lecture were 7½d while family tickets to the series were 2s 6d for members, 5s for non-members.

On October 2, 1855 at the Temperance Hall, Friel launched the series with an inaugural address. Each evening opened and closed with musical entertainment. The audience of the first series regularly enjoyed the contributions of pianist Fecht and violinist Mercer who were occasionally joined by vocalist Signor Gallerati or by Mr. Sutherland on the cornopian and Mr. Duff on the flute.³³ The following is a resumé of the 1855-6 schedule with comments on the speakers and the lecture material itself. The source is the newspaper clippings inserted in the minute books.

Of the eleven lectures which followed the inaugural address on October 2 seven could be classified as moralistic. On October 9 and 16 the Reverend J.A.Morris sermonized on "The necessity and advantage of Physical, Social and Religious Education". Since the Reverend Mr. Morris was paid £5 for travelling expenses he must have been from out of town. The newspaper report gives a detailed resumé of his two lectures, but it does not introduce the

33

Cornopean: British name for a cornet with pistons, derived from the small continental posthorn. OUD.



MECHANICS' INSTITUTE & ATHENÆUM!

SECOND COURSE OF LECTURES

1856!

- | | |
|--|--|
| Jan. 15. J. J. DUNLOP, of
Brockville. | { Readings from the Play of the
"Honeymoon," and the extra-
brated Scene in the Toldrich
of Glasgow between Rob Roy
and Bessie Nicol Jarvie. |
| " 22. DR. S. C. SEWELL, . . . | { Modes of detecting Criminal
Poisonings. |
| " 23. J. J. RONEY, S.I. . . . | On Education. |
| Feb. 5. Rev J. A. DEVLIN, A.M. | { The objects and Limits of Phys-
ical Science. |
| " 12. Rev. WILLIAM AITKEN, | War and Military Glory. |
| " 19. WILLIAM CLEGG, Esq. | Gas. |
| " 26. Rev. A. McD. DAWSON, | |
| March 4. Rev. J. A. MORRIS, . . . | { On the modifying influence of
external agents on the phys-
ical habits of organised beings |
| " 11. C. CAMPBELL, Esq. A.B. | |
| " 18. ALDERMAN FRIEL, . . . | Industrial Exhibitions. |
| " 25. DR. H. HILL, | Optical Delusions. |
| April 1. J. S. LEE, | { Life and Writings of Charles
Lamb. |

In consequence of expenses incurred in Leasing a Com-
modious Hall, and making other Arrangements to insure a
SUPERIOR COURSE OF LECTURES, the Managing Committee
have found themselves obliged to adopt the following Rates
of Admission:—

Admission to each Lecture, 7d.
FAMILY TICKETS FOR THE COURSE,—To Mem-
bers, 2s. 6d. — Non-Members, 5s.
— To be had at the News Room.

CHARTRES B. CUNNINGHAM,
Secretary Managing Committee.

Figure II.3

lecturer. The lecture itself was highly moralistic. He advocated the spread of immediately applicable, practical knowledge. He applied the same arguments that the Mechanics' Institute supporters in Britain had used a quarter of a century earlier; if all working men had a rudimentary knowledge of natural philosophy how many more beneficial discoveries might be made in the course of their daily work. They should know all that might help them in their work and make them more productive. For example, consider the benefits that continue to be derived from steam and electricity. What better way to fill leisure hours than pursuing science? "The noblest objects are the truths of pure science" and they are, of course, the works of God.

On October 23 Dr. Hamnett Hill was scheduled but not able to be there. Judge Armstrong replaced him with a lecture on "Drunkenness and its Legal Consequences", no doubt a timely topic for mid-century Ottawa.

The following two lectures, although not without moral overtones, dealt with two popular Victorian sciences, chemistry and geology. The first was presented by the Reverend William Aitken of Smith's Falls. He stressed the usefulness and rational enjoyment to be gained from the study of chemistry, a theme so dear to the Victorian intellectual. The scientific part of his talk dealt at some length with isomerism. Mr. Andrew Dickson of Kingston drew a large audience for his lecture on "Geology". He focused

on Canadian geology after a general introduction and gave particular emphasis to the geology of the Ottawa Valley. For him, the beauty of geology lay in its ability to illustrate the power of the Almighty.

A definite moralistic tone returned with Dr. Garvey on November 13. One of the Institute's own members, Dr. Garvey drew the largest audience the series had yet seen. He gave a philosophical approach to his topic, "Mental Cultivation". Only the soul of man was immortal and it could be cultivated by education. The young should be encouraged to explore the paths of science in order to experience all that is ennobling to the nature of man.

The following week the Reverend Thomas Wardrope delivered yet another moralistic address on "Woman, her Duties and her Rights". This was very topical and regarded as such an important subject that the reporter promised to reprint the speech in its entirety. It drew a very large audience. Wardrope referred to the Bible's injunctions as the ultimate authority. Women were the helpmates of men; they were equal but each sex had its own strengths and weaknesses. There was little in the lecture to spark controversy in a conservative mid-Victorian town. The moralistic theme continued into the next lecture when the Reverend J. Johnson spoke on "Domestic Affections". Again a large audience was reported. Rev. Johnson told them that public societies and institutions should aspire to increase

the sum of human happiness. 'Home' may refer to country but it is domestic affection which is the most important. The family home should be the "paradise of terrestrial life". Using metaphors of home life the speaker explored deeper philosophical questions.

The three remaining lectures were a mixed bag. On December 4 Mr. Robert Lees gave a talk on "Labour". Mr. Lees, a lawyer who became Crown Attorney for Carleton and an alderman, defined labour in terms of classes concluding with the prophecy that ultimately machinery would replace the unskilled labourer. It might be added that Mr. Lees was a very active member of the Institute at this time, serving as president in 1856.

With Dr. J.A.Grant's talk on "Atmosphere" the following week science made its third appearance. Dr. Grant was also an active member of the Institute, serving as president in 1858. In his lecture he discussed the chemical and physical properties of the atmosphere. Again we have reference to "the grand machinery of nature" and an emphasis on its rationality.

For the final lecture of the series, "Formation of Character" given by the Reverend J. Duncan, a good crowd was recorded. It was another anecdotal, philosophical, moralistic sermon.

The first series was judged to have been highly successful. The large hall was filled for almost every

event, and the ticket sales had defrayed all the expenses. The second series of twelve lectures offered more variety than the first, although both the Reverends Morris and Aiken were back again. The former dealt with "The Modifying Influence of External Agents on the Physical Habits of Organized Beings" while the later spoke on the less daunting subject of "War and Military Glory". The interest in this subject and in that of Reverend A.McD.Dawson on "Russia" may well have been inspired by the Crimean War (1853-6).

Reverend Dawson, the Roman Catholic curate of the new parish of "upper Ottawa city", excited such curiosity that over a hundred people were turned away. His talk included many demographic statistics as well as a discussion of Russian history, religious diversity and foreign policy. Another popular lecture was that given by Dr. Sewell on "Modes of Detecting Criminal Poisonings". This gave great scope for anecdote. He discoursed in some detail on arsenic in both its liquid and solid form. The subject of education was addressed again, this time by Mr.J.J.Roney, the School Inspector for the County of Ottawa. Only two scheduled lectures dealt with natural science: Reverend J.A.Devine was to speak on "Optical Delusions" but had to cancel. Related to the practical side of science was Mr. Friel's lecture on "Industrial Exhibitions". The opening and closing lectures of the series were given over to literary topics. Mr.J.J.Dunlop, Principal of the Brockville Grammar

School, gave readings from popular contemporary plays. Interest in the Crimean War surfaced here too as the audience urged him to give them Tennyson's Charge of the Light Brigade. The final lecture was entitled "The Life and Writing of Charles Lamb", delivered by J.S.Lee. One cannot help but notice the preponderance of reverends in the list, and many of the lectures sound like sermons. Doctors were also a popular choice. By virtue of their professions then, the speakers were well-educated.

During the 1855-6 season two projects were discussed frequently at the trustees' meetings. The first was a plan to establish branch Institutes throughout the surrounding counties with Ottawa providing a central hub. Neither this scheme nor the second, the raising of enough money to provide the Institute with its own building, were to be realized.

In the 1850's the Canada West Mechanics' Institutes were gradually losing their original educational role. Under Ryerson public education was becoming more widespread and the Institutes were accused of providing entertainment, not education. In many cases lectures were not easy to arrange, and the Institute libraries became their most important contribution to the community. Books were chosen by the local board of trustees, usually on the advice of their patrons. Annual reports of their expenditures had to be submitted to the Department of Agriculture under whose

jurisdiction they continued to operate. In 1858 a questionnaire was circulated to determine the state of the libraries, the class of membership (Were they working mechanics?) and whether lectures or classes were being held. The replies led to a cancellation of all grants to Mechanics' Institutes. Mercifully Ottawa was partially spared. A petition had been submitted for a special grant to the Athenaeum, that is, for the library.³⁴ It must have been persuasive for although the treasurer's report for 1858 shows entries for both the Institute (£50) and the Athenaeum (£100), thereafter the Institute grant of £50 disappeared from the records. The annual library grant of £100 continued without interruption for many years.³⁵

1858 was not a good year for Friel to expand his own vision of a building for the Institute to include Model Rooms and classes for the mental and moral improvement of ambitious mechanics. His slogan was "Knowledge makes the

³⁴ The Library Associations and Mechanics' Institutes Act of 1851 allowed the incorporation of these organizations. They might operate as one or the other or, as in the case of Ottawa, as both. Thus when all grants to MI's were suspended in 1858 the OMIA was able to stress its role as the only English language library in Ottawa and obtain continuation of its library grant. See "Library Legislation in Ontario, 1837-1950", Canadian Library Association Bulletin, V.7:5 (1951), pp. 177-180.

³⁵ MI grants were reinstated after Confederation when the system was reorganized. See Chapter III.

man a better mechanic and the mechanic a better man".³⁶

This vision was resurrected in 1866 and a formal prospectus was drawn up for a Modelling and Drawing School. Again financial realities dispelled the dream.

From the beginning of its new lease on life the OMIA had stressed the importance of a library, the only English language library in town. In 1856, for example, nearly £100 was spent on library material, two thirds of its subscription receipts. The annual report listed the acquisitions which included the following periodicals:

- 9 daily local newspapers
- 8 tri-weeklies including two French and one each from Glasgow and Dublin
- 29 weeklies including Scientific American and many Canada West weeklies
- 4 illustrated papers including Punch and the London Illustrated News
- 15 periodicals including the North British Review, Edinburgh Review, Westminster Review, London Quarterly and the New London Quarterly

One is impressed by the preponderance of highly regarded journals from Great Britain. The more ephemeral publications lean to those published in Canada. Materials from the United States made a small contribution and this applied to the volumes of reference and the general monographs as well. By 1856 the library possessed 1004 volumes of which 148 had been added the previous year. Of these only 28 had been donated, leaving 120 purchased at the discretion of the trustees. In 1855 their shopping list

³⁶ BMIA, Annual Report, 1858. NAC MG28 I-1.

included a variety of history books, pedantic books on political economy, science books with catchy titles such as Dialogues on Insects, Three Friends of Man: Elephant, Horse and Dog, Curiosities of Physical Geography and Popular Insects Illustrative of Social Ignorance. Milton was on the list along with relatively new novels: Thackeray's Vanity Fair(1847-8) and The Newcomers(1853-5) and Charlotte Bronte's Jane Eyre(1847). The Institute could report that 3000 volumes had been circulated since March 1, 1853. Annual circulation figures continued to increase: 1400 in 1861 and twice that number by the end of the decade.³⁷

The annual reports are also a valuable source of information about the participation of Ottawa citizens in the Institute. Unfortunately the reports are not consistent in the information they give. Total numbers include life and honorary members, but in some years only the breakdown of numbers according to the fees received was given. For a few years it was possible to subscribe for a fraction of the year. This tended to be more popular with the \$2 members, especially in 1866. Table II.2 gives the information available.

Although the population of Ottawa had increased significantly over the years listed in Table II.2 the total number of Institute members remained remarkably constant.

³⁷ Ibid. Annual Reports, 1853 to 1869, are found in BMIA, NAC MG28 I-1.

TABLE II.1
Profile of the Executive 1847-1849

OFFICE	1847	1848	1849
President	Hon. Thos McKay (1792-1855) Rideau canal contractor, sawmill and gristmill owner, legislative councillor	Thos. McKay	G.W. Baker
First Vice President	G.W. Baker Postmaster, Bytown magistrate	John Scott MPP, Bytown mayor, 1847, 1850 first president of Board of Trade, 1851	Robert Hervey Mayor, 1849 lawyer
Second Vice President	Dr. Hamnett Hill Connections with many original Bytown settlers	L.B. Lewis Mayor, 1848	Hamnett Hill
Corresponding Sec.	Elkanah Billings Lawyer, GSC paleontologist after 1856	W.P. Lett Journalist and writer, secretary of Fire Brigade first city clerk of Ottawa (1855)	W.P. Lett
Recording Sec.	H. Bishoprick Druggist, exciseman	H. Bishoprick	S. C. Keir
Treasurer	Andrew Drummond	Andrew Drummond	Andrew Drummond

The exception in 1862 points to a successful membership drive undertaken to put the Institute on a firmer financial footing. By 1867 they were free of debt. In the years for which there is information the ratio of \$4 to \$2 memberships also remained fairly constant, and the later always exceeded the former. Only in 1869, the last year of the OMIA's independent existence, was there a sudden substantial decrease in membership, especially in the ranks of the \$2 members. Could the drop in half year memberships in this class in 1867 be considered an omen? How much of this decline can be attributed to the opening of the YMCA in 1867?³⁸

Over the years the Institute kept up a vigorous recruiting campaign. In addition to the advertisements placed in the local papers and the soliciting letters sent to the ladies three members were delegated to canvass annually in each of the five city wards. By 1857 the OMIA festival had become an annual event. Planned with attracting the public in mind the programme consisted of short speeches, musical entertainment and refreshments. At one of these festivals Lett read one of his own poems eulogizing Canada. During the final year as the OMIA, the Governor-General was a patron of the event. The character

³⁸ Murray G. Ross, The YMCA in Canada (Toronto, 1951), p. 143. Ross gives the Ottawa membership as 160 in 1868. Probably some of those were potential \$2 OMIA members.

of the organization would seem to have undergone some change in its fifteen years of existence.

In the meantime a new society had been spawned by the Institute. Not content with the mandate for the diffusion of knowledge, a group of thirty-nine gentlemen convened on October 3, 1863, to establish a society for contributing new knowledge. It was to be named the Ottawa Natural History Society. The aim of the society fell into two categories:³⁹

1. To establish a collection of "valuable works, instruments and objects of natural history and curiosities whereby the Natural Sciences may be elucidated and the production of the noble valley of the Ottawa be preserved" and that this collection should be examined by scientists with a view to "linking natural history with the wants, the comforts and happenings of mankind".
2. "The promotion and study of Natural History and general scientific literature by private and public meetings, by reading essays, by lectures and by the publishing of papers".

Members would pay an initiation fee of \$1 plus an annual subscription fee of \$2. Provision was made for associate members, "youths well recommended for general good conduct and gentlemanly deportment", between the ages of fourteen and eighteen inclusively. The previous year the OMIA had also made provision for apprentice junior clerks under sixteen to be admitted for \$1 annually. Thirty two had availed themselves of the offer with an additional six subscribing for half a year. This category of membership

³⁹ OFNC, NAC MG28 I-31, V.1.

was discontinued in the OMIA the following year because most of the \$1 members opted to become regular members with full privileges. It was then felt that the \$2 was low enough.

Of the forty five people invited to sign the constitution of the new society thirty five agreed. Of those at least eight were members of the OMIA: the names George Hay, and the doctors Hamnet Hill, E. Van Cortlandt, J. Garvey and J.A.Grant were among them. A committee was quickly organized to canvass for new members. The recruitment of members for the ONHS was from the beginning more selective than the OMIA however. Congenial prospects were approached individually rather than notified by public announcement. Thus we find both Henry Friel and A.Workman, active in the OMIA and in city politics, declined to join. On the other hand, N.B.Webster, principal of the Centre Town Select School, Thomas Austin, architect, and Braddish Billings, senior bookkeeper at the Ottawa and Prescott Railway, all became very active in the ONHS although their names do not appear among the subscribers to the OMIA. Admission to the ONHS was gained only through a nomination written by a member in good standing, seconded by another member and accepted by three quarters of those attending the regular meeting at which the name was proposed. We may therefore conclude that this society was a more select club than the OMIA. Any elitist character that coloured the Ottawa Literary and Scientific Society after the merger of

the two may be traced back to the junior partner. Because of the selective process in accepting new members the minutes rarely show more than two or three admitted at any meeting.

By the spring of 1864 regular monthly meetings were being held, often at the OMIA premises rented from George Hay. A *Conversazione* was suggested for the July meeting.⁴⁰ This term had already been used in English Mechanics' Institutes to designate an evening devoted to a number of short popular essays designed to promote discussion and it was to become a regular feature of both the ONHS and the OLSS programmes. After some discussion of its propriety, the Society members enjoyed a picnic outing the end of August. As in the OMIA, ladies were invited to enjoy the social aspects of the group's activities.

The ONHS was barely organized when the civil service began to arrive in the fall of 1865. Peripatetic since the union of the Canadas in 1841, the Government had been oscillating between Toronto and Quebec City. Now an estimated 350 Government employees were to be distributed in still unfinished quarters. With their dependents, including servants, Ottawa's population expanded by as many

⁴⁰ *Conversazione*: 3. A Soirée or other assembly of an intellectual character, in connection with literature, art or science. 1792. OUD.

as 1500 newcomers.⁴¹ Their presence was immediately felt in the ONHS. In 1866 both John Langton, auditor-general, and William White, secretary of the Post Office Department, appeared on the list of executives, while W.D.LeSueur, also from the Post Office Department, and E.A.Meredith presented papers. The following year White appeared on the OMIA executive followed a year later by a colleague, D. Matheson. Since there was no sustained sharp increase in OMIA membership in the late 1860's, and since the civil service presence was more noticeable in the ONHS, it appears that civil servants were more attracted to the activities of the ONHS than to those of the OMIA. By and large the civil service brought people with a higher level of education to the new capital: Meredith, Langdon and LeSueur were all university graduates. Aside from the professional men in town, it is unlikely that many members of the OMIA had more than local schooling. By the time the ONHS was formed there was more provision for higher education in Ottawa, and thus we find members such as John Thorburn and N.B.Webster, both principals of local schools. It appears the Ottawa intellectual elite headed for the ONHS.

Could the preference be explained by a difference in the quality and topics of the lecture series? Or were civil

⁴¹ C.C.J.Bond, "The Canadian Government Comes to Ottawa, 1865-1866", Ontario Historical Society, V.LV:1 (1963), p. 23.

servants more attracted to acquiring new knowledge (the ONHS) than to diffusing it (the OMIA)? Compare the following programmes, the first the fall series of the OMIA in 1865⁴², the second some of the subjects discussed by the ONHS in 1866.⁴³

OMIA Fall Series of Lectures, 1865

- Oct.15 Professor N.B.Webster "The Earth-What is it?"
- Nov. 1 Dr. Grant "Geological Structures of Ottawa"
- Nov. 8 Rev.Dawson "An Argument for the Colonies and Something about Canada"
- Nov.15 John Thorburn "The Origin and Classification of Language"
- Nov.22 Rev.Johnson "Human Happiness"
- Nov.29 Rev.J.Elliott "The Ancient Athenians"
- Dec. 6 Rev.J.Elliott "The Literature and Philosophy of the Ancient Athenians"
- Dec.13 George Hay "Popular Superstitions"
- Dec.20 G.H.Perry, C.E. "The Proposed Constitutional Changes and their Effects on the Future of Canada"

Although the reverends are as prominent as they had been a decade earlier, only one lecture sounds like a

⁴² BMIA, NAC MG28 I-1.

⁴³ OFNC, NAC MG28 I-31, V.1.

sermon. Two look suspiciously political and certainly were topical. The others are all typically Victorian themes: geology in the scientific field, interest in the ancient past, language representing reason and rational thought along with the romantic unreason of superstition. None of the reverends is known to have been a member of the ONHS. Perry had declined an invitation to be an original member; the rest were.

Here is a sampling of the ONHS lectures during 1866.

Jan.26	Thomas Austin	"The Ulterior Effects of Clearing the Forests and Draining the Country upon the Climate of Canada"
Mar. 2	N.B.Webster William White	"Permanence of Climate" "The Flora and Fauna of Lower Canada"
Apr.26	Dr. Van Courtlant	"The Herpetology of the Ottawa"
May 25	James Langton	"Best Methods for Measuring Heads for Ethnological Investigation"
Jun.29	W.D.LeSueur	"Science of Language"
Aug.21	E.T.Fletcher	"Fairs of the Middle Ages"
Sep.28	E.A.Meredith	"Common Words and Phrases as Indicative of National Character"

The subjects discussed at the monthly meeting of the ONHS do not vary widely from those of the OMIA lecture series. The roster of lecturers points to the greatest

difference: no clergymen and virtually all civil servants. Admittedly most of the latter moved to town the previous autumn and were still settling in. There is no indication from the 1866 membership numbers of the OMIA that their arrival made any permanent difference."⁴⁴

In the annual OMIA report presented in March, 1869, a possible merger with the ONHS was mentioned. As a result of the reorganization within the newly-formed provincial government after Confederation, the affairs of the Mechanics' Institutes that had survived the 1858 cuts were placed under John Carling, Minister of Agriculture. In his 1868 report Carling reviewed the government's position. Mechanics' Institutes were to be "peoples' colleges"; their mandate to provide technical education and to upgrade knowledge in basic subjects, the three R's. Those Institutes not fulfilling this function would continue to be deprived of grants. The OMIA, which had received grants for

⁴⁴ J.E.Hodgetts, In Pioneer Public Service (Toronto, 1955), p. 55. The number of civil servants at headquarters in Ottawa is given as 354. The numbers in Table II.2 appear to contradict the final comment in the 1866 annual report of the OMIA. It acknowledged the promptness with which a large number of civil servants had associated themselves with the OMIA. With 298 members listed for 1866, an increase of 63 over the previous year, the remark seems justified. Although a sharp decrease in total membership occurred the following year, \$4 memberships increased. If this reflects a substantial participation by civil servants, it is not shown in the list of executive officers.

their library during the lean years, felt threatened.⁴⁵ Since the objectives of the two organizations were so similar and they shared many members in common, as well as meeting place, the OMIA suggested that a union might provide some leverage to keep the grants flowing. In fact the grant to the OMIA had been renewed in 1868, the result of a petition supported by R.Scott, the local MPP. Union was first proposed to the ONHS at a meeting in April, 1869. An investigation committee reported October 29. November 10 the resolution to unite was passed. On Christmas Eve, 1869, the Ottawa Literary and Scientific Society was officially established.

⁴⁵ When the 1868 annual report for the OMIA was drawn up the government grant of \$300 was entered under "available assets". The following year \$600 was entered under government grants, one entry of \$300 for March 31, 1968, and the other for Feb. 23, 1869. Apparently the 1868 grant had not been received in time to be included in the annual report. This gives substance to the OMIA's concern for future grants. See also Jim Blanchard, "Anatomy of Failure: Ontario Mechanics' Institutes, 1935-1895", Canadian Library Journal, V.38 (1981) p. 396.

CHAPTER III

MARRIAGE AND PROGENY

In which the Ottawa Literary and Scientific Society flourishes - an offspring appears - signs of a character change.

When the two societies, the OMIA and the ONHS, merged and began to function officially as the Ottawa Literary and Scientific Society (OLSS) it was the constitution of the

institute that took precedence.¹ Although this eliminated the written nomination for election of new members that characterized the ONHS, they still had to be proposed by two members in good standing. Three quarters of the votes of those attending the regular meeting when the names were put forward were required for acceptance. Like the Institute, the Society allowed for four classes of membership. Ordinary members were the professionals and employers (subscription \$4) and the employed (subscription \$2). Life members had to pay \$50 or had to render valuable services for which life membership was recognition. Only these two classes had a vote. The preferential fee for working men would ensure receipt of the annual provincial grant and reassert the Society's aim to diffuse knowledge to all. The worry about discontinuation of the grant in 1868 had, after all, been one of the reasons for suggesting a merger in the first place.

Although the membership classification and the subscription rate remained the same as that of the old OMIA there were changes in the administrative structure. Rather than a large group of trustees the OLSS made provision for only three councillors in addition to the executive slate which retained its old format: president, first and second vice presidents, secretary, treasurer, librarian and

¹ Constitution and By-Laws of the Ottawa Literary and Scientific Society, Ottawa Room, Ottawa Public Library.

curator. The council then consisted of ten members; three made a quorum. The council, elected by the ordinary and life members, was required to meet once a fortnight. They were empowered to organize the annual lecture series, select books for the library and to set up classes "for the study of any branch of Literature, Science or Art under such regulations as they may from time to time see fit to make, such classes however to be opened to Life and Ordinary Members of the Society only".²

Meetings were to be held bimonthly, the second and fourth Friday of each month, November to April inclusive. This was a compromise between the weekly get-togethers of the OMIA and the monthly meetings of the ONHS. The order of each meeting was set out in detail:

7:30 - call to order

- reading of minutes
- reading of reports of council
- announcement of donations to library and museum
- miscellaneous business
- proposal of new members
- election of new members

8:00 - paper of the evening. This was to start promptly since public admission, including ladies, to the lecture was encouraged. Unfinished business was

² Ibid.

on the "Development of Responsible Government in Canada".¹¹ Between these two lectures lay many others that represented the evolution of his thought over the years. One of his lectures, given Feb. 9, 1900, was published under the title "Notes on the Study of Language" in the Transactions of the OLSS, No.2, 1899-1900.¹²

Over the years LeSueur saw many changes in the OLSS membership. In the first annual report (1870) the total membership was reported to be 121, considerably less than one would expect from the combined membership of the OMIA (about 160) and the ONHS (about 250). Thirty one of these had subscribed since the merger, leaving about ninety of the old guard. This no doubt reflects the extensive overlap in membership between the two organizations and it may also reflect the number of those in arrears, a perennial problem that continued to plague the organization. Members of both parent organizations were automatically entitled to

¹¹ A.B. McKillop, A Critical Spirit: The Thought of William Dawson LeSueur (Toronto, 1977). McKillop organized his study of LeSueur's thought to show how his interests shifted as he matured. The 1870 lecture on Ste-Beuve falls into Part I of A Critical Study, essays from 1875-1882. "Herbert Spencer" and "The Education of the Intellect" are found in Part II (1877-1884); "The Development of Responsible Government in Canada" in Part III (1872-1901). Meredith's Journal (op.cit.) notes, Nov. 10, 1877, that the "OLSS opened with a very able inaugural from the president (LeSueur) containing the most advanced news of Herbert Spencer."

¹² W.D. LeSueur, "Notes on the Study of Language", Translations of the OLSS, 2 (1899-1900), p.93.

Councillors: C.R.Cunningham, secretary, Ottawa water works
William Porter, carpenter, alderman in 1879
John Langton M.A., auditor-general

Of these ten officers, four were government employees, a proportion which was to remain almost constant for over a decade.

At this same meeting James Cunningham and George Kennedy were elected the first honorary members "in consideration for their long and efficient service as Treasurer and Secretary respectively of the late Mechanics' Institute and Athenaeum".⁴ Mathieson had also been active in the OMIA since 1868 and both Meredith and Thorburn were on the last executive of the ONHS, the latter serving also as curator for the OMIA.⁵ With already forty percent of the executive civil servants there is no doubt the new Society would feel the influence of the federal government's move to Ottawa.

From the time of its election of officers until its first annual meeting three months later, the OLSS was able to present three public lectures. The first, on March 11, was

⁴ Otto Klotz, "Historical Sketch", Transactions of the OLSS. I (1897-98), 3.

⁵ John Thorburn had wide educational experience and was appointed to the Board of Civil Service Examiners when it was created in 1882. The following year was his last appearance on the executive of the OLSS until 1895-96 when he briefly reappeared as second vice president. He had been on the first executive of the ONHS so for over twenty years he had shown dedication to the "diffusion of knowledge" far beyond the call of his professional duties as a teacher.

given by W.D.LeSueur on the topic "The Greatest Critic of the Age". A year later an expanded version of this lecture was to appear in the highly regarded Westminster Review.⁶ One cannot help but speculate on how the audience in Ottawa responded to LeSueur's discussion of the French poet and critic Sainte-Beuve. Two weeks later the subject was "Copper Coins of England" given by William Kingsford, a railway and harbour surveyor and compiler of a ten volume History of Canada that appeared between 1887 and 1898. The third lecture before the annual meeting late April was on the "Great Pyramid". The speaker was another civil engineer with the department of public works, J.H.Rowan. The subject matter of all three lectures was some distance from the interests of the original founders of the ONHS and from the content recommended by the founders of the Mechanics'

⁶ W.D.LeSueur, "Ste.-Beuve", Westminster Review, XCV (April, 1871), 208-227. Meredith was content to comment on the paper's great originality. Edmund Meredith, Journals, NAC MG29 E 15 V.7. Kingsford's paper was similarly dismissed without comment, but Rowan's paper on the "Pyramids" (April 8) called forth a page of descriptive comment. Ibid.

Institute movement.⁷

The first president of the OLSS, Edmund Allen Meredith (1817-1897), was Anglo-Irish, the youngest child of a Church of Ireland parson and mathematician.⁸ His father died when he was two, and shortly after his mother remarried and moved to Montreal leaving the eldest and youngest sons in Ireland. The eldest was already in Holy Orders so Edmund was brought up by a bachelor uncle. At nine he was sent off to school and at sixteen entered Trinity College, Dublin. There he excelled in classics, political economy and science. His interest and training in the latter two subjects found an outlet in the OLSS. After leaving university he chose law as his career. Emigrating to Canada in 1842 he tried his luck in Toronto, hoping for a post at Trinity College. Unsuccessful in his attempt he moved in with his older brother William in Montreal. (William eventually became a

⁷ March 9, 1869, Meredith had addressed the OMIA on "Talfourd's Tragedy of 'Ion'", a tragedy evoking the spirit of ancient Greek drama. It was written in 1835 by the English judge and author Sir Thomas Noon Talfourd (1795-1854). Meredith preserved the Citizen review in his Journal. He had introduced his subject with a few "well chosen and appropriate remarks on self education and culture". It is "desirable that all high and noble faculties of our complex nature should be developed, cultivated and elevated". 'Ion', with its "pure, natural style and elevating sentiment," thus recommended itself for study. Moralizing had not yet disappeared from the OMIA lectures. Meredith expressed satisfaction with his delivery to an audience of about 60. Ibid.

⁸ Sandra Gwyn's entertaining Private Capital (Toronto, 1984) has been the principal source of biographical material on Meredith.

Chief Justice in Quebec.) Two years later Meredith was appointed to the unpaid, part-time post of Principal at McGill College. His effectiveness as an administrator and negotiator led to an offer for the full-time civil service position of Assistant Provincial Secretary for Canada West. When the government settled in Ottawa in 1865 the forty eight year old Meredith moved from the relatively elegant cultured life of Quebec to what seemed a rough provincial town. Meredith quickly sought out intellectual companionship away from the increasingly uncongenial environment of government. The ONHS was the obvious choice to search out compatible friends. He was not the only civil servant in that society: John Langton, W.D.LeSueur and Sandford Fleming were among the most notable members. They too had keen inquiring minds and their higher education created a common bond. It was also an introduction to Ottawa's indigenous intellectual elite: the professional men, the successful business men with an interest in science. Given Meredith's administrative skills, the overlap in membership, and the similarity in lecture topics between the OMIA and the ONHS, it is no surprise to see the merger of the two organizations with Meredith reigning as president shortly after his arrival in Ottawa.

In the 1870's Meredith, now deputy minister of the Interior, contributed his skills as organizer serving on the council of the OLSS until, discontented beyond endurance

with his governmental career, he resigned and moved with his family to Toronto in 1879. With his departure the OLSS splintered, the new shoot once more a natural history society, the Ottawa Field Naturalists' Club (OFNC). Was Meredith, like Elkanah Billings thirty years earlier, a pivotal figure in the destiny of Ottawa's intellectual life?

Meredith contributed more than administrative skills. Since the mid 1850's he had shown great interest in the welfare of the inmates of Canadian jails. In addition to his regular government work he became inspector of prisons and later chairman of the Prison Board. In both roles he fell back on his political economy training and produced many pamphlets on prison reform. Other social issues also attracted his attention and we find Meredith lecturing to the OLSS on "Wages, Prices and Fixed Incomes" (Nov. 28, 1872) and in 1877 on prison reform.⁹ The following year he and LeSueur presented the Society with a debate on "The Future of the New Science of Political Economy". Meredith was no lightweight intellectual. He treated his leisure

⁹ From Meredith's Journal (op.cit.) Nov. 28, 1872: "Room crammed full with anxious civil service men". Meredith described Ottawa as "the most expensive and least attractive city of this Dominion." His remarks drew some criticism but were otherwise well received. This lecture was published in The Canadian Monthly, January 1873, p.120. There is a brief comment on his lecture five years later in this Journal: there was a large audience and a long review in the Citizen. A week later (Nov. 30, 1877) appears a note that he read the opening scenes of Julius Caesar at an OLSS Conversazione. No reference to the OLSS in 1878 could be found in the Journal.

hours as valuable time for exercising the mind.¹⁰ His contribution to the success of the OLSS during its first decade was considerable.

The first lecturer to the new society, W.D.LeSueur (1840-1917), outstayed Meredith by over twenty years. He served on the Council for virtually all of them including eleven years as president. Born in Quebec City, LeSueur was educated in Montreal and then moved to the University of Toronto and the Ontario Law School. Like Meredith he excelled in classics, receiving a Silver Medal upon graduation in 1863. His vocation lay entirely with the Post Office Department which he joined in 1866 and where he took charge of the Money Order section in 1888. When he retired in 1902 he was appointed secretary to the Dominion Board of Civil Service Examiners. LeSueur's avocation lay in the world of books and ideas. His published articles reflect his positivist approach to science, both social and natural. His contributions to the OLSS did not stop at council meetings; he was a regular lecturer. His first lecture has been noted. One of his last was in March 1903 when he spoke

¹⁰ For example, in 1873 Meredith helped Sandford Fleming draft the latter's confidential report on his westward expedition to study a possible route for the new railroad. Meredith also worked with Fleming on the establishment of Standard Time. Gwyn, op.cit., p.123.

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membership in the OLSS on payment of dues. In an effort to attract more members the meeting rooms were redecorated; a \$400 debt was the result.

A further explanation may lie with the suspicion that a society bearing such an intellectual title and attracting the well-educated was only for the elite. The working men knew and felt comfortable with a Mechanics' Institute. As mentioned in the last chapter there was a certain degree of elitism associated with the ONHS. Since so many of the first OLSS executive were both prominent citizens and previous subscribers to the ONHS, the new society may well have appeared as a cosy club for the middle class.

The population in Ottawa in 1871 stood at 21,545, an increase of nearly a third over the 1861 census figure.¹³ There were over 1,000 in the commercial sector and 763 listed as professional, an increase of over 600 since the previous census. Many of these must have been civil servants. Both these occupational groups could be expected to supply new blood for the social groups in Ottawa. As we shall see, the civil service did its share for the OLSS.

When the new society began its career there were many connections between the working life and the social. For example, members of the Post office department were prominent in the parent organizations. William White, who

¹³ John H. Taylor, Ottawa: An Illustrated History (Toronto, 1986), Appendix, p.210 ff.

became deputy Postmaster General in 1888, was the first vice president of the OMIA in 1867, president in 1868 as well as secretary of the ONHS. LeSueur was from the same department as was D.Matheson, recording secretary for the OMIA in 1868 and 1869, and treasurer of the new OLSS. As Ottawa expanded so did the number of societies and organizations offering the citizens more choice in disposing of their leisure time. In the last chapter the founding of the Institut canadien français was noted. More recently had come the St.Jean Baptiste Society and other ethnic organizations: St.George, St.Andrew and St.Patrick Societies sprang up along with the St.Patrick's Literary Association.¹⁴ There were more churches offering social events, charities whose directorates included members of the OLSS. Many of these organizations offered newcomers a chance to meet and integrate with the well-established residents. The military also offered opportunities for social networks to mesh. Officers of the volunteer local militia were often members of the OMIA and of the OLSS later. The Civil Service Rifles into which all civil servants were conscripted during the Fenian scare of 1866 brought together

¹⁴ The 1870-71 City Directory lists the St.George and St.Andrew Societies, the St.Jean-Baptiste Society as well as the Ottawa Philharmonic Society with George Kennedy, Secretary and Hamnett Hill, Treasurer. There was also the City of Ottawa Agricultural Society with J.B.Lewis, President, and A.S.Woodburn, Secretary-Treasurer. The St.Patrick's Literary Society turned up in the 1872-3 Directory.

such men as Langton, Meredith and White, all active in the ONHS. After this threat was removed the regiment disbanded into two independent companies which eventually became absorbed into the Governor General's Foot Guard. Several OLSS members were in their ranks during the 1870's. This was also true of the volunteer local field battery during the same period.¹⁵

In the active ranks of the OMIA during the 1850's and 60's there were a number of well-known civic personalities including several mayors, aldermen and councillors and a few from the local judiciary. It is not at all evident that this participation continued after the merger. Of elected officials only one, J.P. Featherson, mayor in 1874 and 1875, appeared on the executive list as first and second vice president in 1885 and 1886 respectively. As deputy clerk of the Crown he also provided another link in the network. The conclusion seems to be that those active in civic politics were no longer among the active members of the OLSS.¹⁶ Although the churches must have contributed to the social mixing of the intellectual and cultural leaders of the community it should be noted that the clergymen were much less in evidence among the members of the OLSS. Only one

¹⁵ Historical Sketch of the County of Carleton with "Introduction" by Courtney C. Bond. (Belleville, 1971). Originally Illustrated Historical Atlas of the County of Carleton (Toronto, 1879), pp. 35-36.

¹⁶ Ibid., p.174 ff.

served on the executive during the 1870-1890 period, the Reverend A.F.Kemp, principal of the Ottawa Ladies' College and OLSS president in 1880 and 1881. The military chaplain, the Reverend Phillipps who had been so active in the ONHS, appeared only in connection with the classes organized by the OLSS, a subject to which we will return.

In 1871 the OLSS made a strenuous effort to solicit donations from wealthy citizens whose sympathy for the aims of the Society might run to a \$50 life membership. The list included the Governor-General, Lord Lisgar, T.C.Keefer, a prominent engineer and son-in-law of Thomas McKay, George Hay whose premises the Society rented as well as some of the lumber barons: the Skeads, Alonzo Wright, Nicholas Sparks and others. In all \$650 was collected, enough to clear the \$400 redecorating debt. There is no record that such a fund-raising campaign was undertaken again although in the early 1890's Alan Gilmour, another lumbering man, made two donations of \$500 each. Others made smaller donations before the society folded.

It was also in 1871 that the OLSS elected its first honorary member, Goldwin Smith, already famous as a

$\frac{d}{dt} \left(\frac{\partial L}{\partial \dot{x}} \right) = \frac{\partial L}{\partial x}$



2

journalist and historian.¹⁷ Unfortunately the records give no account of how or why that particular choice was made. Since Goldwin Smith only settled in Canada in 1871 and had no particular association with Ottawa at that time it would be interesting to know the background of this selection. His attitude toward annexation with the United States had not yet made him a controversial figure. In any event he apparently recognized the honour done him for he addressed the Society on February 13, 1880 on the subject of "Political Satire".

In October, 1874 the Council of the OLSS authorized the formation of evening classes. Reverend Phillips, W.D.LeSueur. A. Smirle (Principal, Central School) and J.Heysop (not listed in the Directory for 1874) were given the responsibility for making arrangements.¹⁸ During the 1870's, the last decade of the Department of Agriculture's supervision of the Ontario Mechanics' Institutes, only sporadic interest was shown in the classes the Institutes were supposed to provide. As mentioned in the previous chapter John Carling, the Provincial Minister of Agriculture

¹⁷ Otto Klotz, "Historical Sketch", p.13. Gwyn's comment indicates Goldwin Smith first visited Ottawa in 1872. (op.cit. p. 36). Elizabeth Wallace notes "That when Goldwin Smith first settled in Toronto he was already known as a student of Canadian politics and as critic of the British North American Act." Elizabeth Wallace, Goldwin Smith: Victorian Liberal (Toronto, 1951), p.228.

¹⁸ Otto Klotz, op.cit., p. 13.

who had seen the grants to Institutes revived in 1868, had set forth an ambitious programme for these "people's colleges". He proposed not only that classes in scientific and technological subjects be given, but that the three Rs should be offered as well. Initially it was the three Rs that attracted the most students throughout the province and continued to do so until the mid-1870's. Apparently the most popular subjects were arithmetic, geometry, penmanship, bookkeeping and grammar.¹⁹ Unfortunately there is little record of the response to the OLSS's efforts.²⁰ For one year (1874) at least they must have had some success, for the current mayor presented a prize of a gold medal to F.R.Latchford.²¹

¹⁹ Jim Blanchard, "Anatomy of Failure", Canadian Library Journal, 38 (1981), pp. 395-6.

²⁰ OLSS MG53 Vol. 2. Several files devoted to Classes proved to contain only grammar exercises, undated.

²¹ Otto Klotz, op.cit., p. 13. Further search in the OLSS files revealed the report of the examiners for 1876-77. No Gold Medal was awarded because no student obtained the required 66 2/3% in two or more of their subjects. Classes were offered in natural philosophy, arithmetic and mechanical drawing. The examiners thought the questions fair but elementary. Their conclusion was that the results were neither satisfactory nor encouraging. There is a similar but undated report for the young ladies' classes in English grammar and composition, arithmetic, writing and drawing. Comments refer to the small enrolment but praise the students' regular attendance. The examiners' recommendations were more time, more teachers and more students.

In 1880 the Institutes were put under the administration of the provincial Department of Education. By then the Ontario public school system was well in place so there was less need for the Institutes to provide classes in the three Rs. Throughout the province there was a growing force of opinion that the Institutes should concentrate on being libraries, as most of their subscribers preferred, and that they should be open to all.²² This certainly appeared to be the case in Ottawa where there was no indication that only mechanics were welcome. The first report of Dr.S.P.May, the Department of Education official in charge of the Mechanics' Institutes, reviewed the current situation and concluded that most of the Institutes were in fact only circulating libraries. Judging from the amount of space devoted to library matters in the surviving OLSS records compared to that concerning classes there is little doubt that Ottawa was one of the majority.²³

Dr. May was the proverbial new broom. He felt the emphasis of the Institutes should be on classes in science and technology. Oddly enough he succeeded in having passed legislation that allowed all municipalities to establish

²² Jim Blanchard, *op.cit.*, p. 397. One of the most vigorous expressions of this opinion was delivered by Otto Klotz, president of the Berlin Mechanics' Institute and father of one of the most active members in the OLSS during its last decades.

²³ OLSS, OMA MG53, Vol. 1. See also note 18 above.

free public libraries with a mill rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ mill on the dollar to be levied in local taxes. In addition, Institutes would be allowed to transfer their assets to the local municipality. The offer sounds like the death knell for the Mechanics' Institutes, but in fact the idea did not capture much public support.²⁴ There is no evidence that this legislation caused much discussion in Ottawa.

May wasted no time putting on the pressure. Acting on an urgent request from the Ontario Minister of Education, the following classes were offered in 1880:

1. Botany - Rev. Dr. Kemp and James Fletcher.

Every Monday, 7:30-8:30

2. Zoology, entomology, etc. - Mr, Harrington

and Rev. Dr. Kemp. Every Monday, 7:30-8:30

3. Chemistry - H. Waters. Every Thursday, 8:30-9:30

4. Natural Philosophy-Applied Mechanics -

Dr. Wicksteed. Alternate Thursdays, 7:30-8:30

5. Elocution - J.H.Bell, M.A.

Alternate Thursdays, 7:30-8:30

The classes were open to ladies and gentlemen and a small fee charged to cover class expenses. For this the

²⁴ John A.Wiseman, "Phoenix in Flight: Ontario Mechanics' Institutes, 1880-1920", Canadian Library Journal 38 (1981), p. 401 ff.

Society would receive its annual grant of \$300 plus \$100 for the expense of providing the classes. No mention is made of teachers' reimbursement, perhaps the \$100? In any event, Dr. May made it quite clear: no classes, no grant. In the 1884 annual report to the Royal Society there is brief mention of classes offered along with the season's programme of lectures.

In contrast to the paucity of information with respect to classes, there are regular reports on the library from the late 1870's to the end of the Society's life. Acquisitions are noted, the cost of subscriptions and binding recorded. When the merger took place the librarian reported 971 volumes available for circulation. When Otto Klotz, President of the OLSS, wrote his Historical Sketch in 1898 the number was 3,861, an average acquisition of nearly a hundred volumes a year. What kind of books were they? A partial answer is to be found in a comment by the librarian in his 1886 annual report. After noting that the library was heavily used we read "members continue to express a desire to have section C, comprising works of fiction, kept fuller and more completely up to date".²⁵ In 1881, with a total of 1425 books (49 new that year) only 90 were fiction. The selection of periodicals was excellent, but there is no mention of any French language material. (See Appendix II.)

²⁵ OLSS, OMA MG53, Vol. 1.

An interesting comment in the 1881 report gives a glimpse of who was using the reading room. The librarian suggested that since there was a large number of "military men" who were members and who made frequent use of the reading room, the Society should subscribe to the Broad Arrow. Requests for more fiction were finally acknowledged: in 1884-5 of the 1923 books available, 201 were fiction (337 were history and biography) while in 1888-9 of the 2370 books there were 398 fiction, nearly double the number only four years earlier. There were now 360 history and biography books, not much change over the earlier figure. Of the 1605 books circulated, 1125 were fiction. This same report also notes that 137 volumes were added that year, selected by "our president".

After nearly a decade of marriage, a small group of active naturalists within the OLSS decided to form their own organization. Their reasons and objectives were the same that had led to the formation of the ONHS in 1863. They wanted to add to the accumulation of new knowledge in natural science and to share more specialized lectures on the natural life in the Ottawa area.²⁶ The programme for 1879-80, found in Appendix II, indicates the reason for their discontent. No doubt James Fletcher, an avid amateur scientist and later the first Dominion entomologist, was a

²⁶ OFNC, NAC MG28 I-31, Vol. 3.

catalyst.²⁷ On March 25, 1879, a meeting of about forty gentlemen met to form the Ottawa Field Naturalists' Club (OFNC). After some discussion it was agreed that initially they would operate under the auspices of the OLSS. In exchange for the use of the OLSS rooms they would undertake the nourishment of the neglected museum. Of the thirty gentlemen who signed up for membership over half are immediately recognizable as active in the OLSS. Take the first OFNC executive for example:²⁸

President:	Lt-Col. William White
First Vice:	James Fletcher
Second Vice:	Professor W.R.Riddell
Secretary-Treasurer:	R.B.Whyte
Committee:	W.P.Anderson, W.H.Harrington, J.Martin, W.R.Billings, Dr. H.Beaumont Small Jr.

Of these only Professor Riddell and W.R.Billings do not appear in any OLSS material. It should also be noted that these two along with R.B.Whyte and Dr. Small are the only ones who are not civil servants.

It was agreed that monthly meetings in the summer would

²⁷ W.A.Waiser, The Field Naturalist (Toronto, 1989). p. 118.

²⁸ OFNC, NAC MG28 I-31, Vol. 3.

take the form of excursions while in the winter lectures and soirées would be held in the evening. Ladies and gentlemen could become members by paying the annual \$4 subscription fee and by meeting the approval of those members present when their names were proposed. In May three ladies were accepted. As with the ONHS fifteen years earlier, the new club had at least one member devoted to keeping a record of its activities. The yearly programmes for the 1880's have been preserved, along with circulars sent out to advertise the summer excursions and the newspaper reports of all the events. Because each year at least one meeting, a *Conversazione*, was held with the OLSS it has been possible to flesh out that Society's activities during the 1880's. A comparison of some of the OFNC lectures in the 1881-2 season with those of the OLSS in the previous season illustrates the different interest of the two groups. The following is a sample of the OFNC lectures:

Geology - A.R.C.Selwyn, Director, Canadian Geological Survey
 Microscopy and Botony - Rev.Kemp
 Entomology - W.H.Harrington, Post Office Department
 Conchology - F.R.Latchford, winner of the OLSS gold medal, 1874

The programme for the OLSS in 1880-1 was:²⁹

Nov. 12 Inaugural address, "The Scientific Method"

President, Reverend Kemp

- Nov. 26 Address by the Hon.Wm. McDougall, M.P., C.B.
- Dec. 10 "The 'In Memoriam' of Tennyson"
 Professor C.E.Moyse, B.A., McGill University
- Dec. 17 Conversazione
- Jan. 7 Conversazione with the OFNC
- Jan. 14 "The Cathedrals of England", illustrated by
 sciopicon views
 A.E.Hutcheson, Montreal Architect
- Jan. 28 "The Education of the Intellect"
 W.D.LeSueur
- Feb. 4 "The Glacial Epoch"
 Professor N.F.Dupuis, M.A., Queen's University
- Feb. 18 "Gas and How to Burn it Economically"
 A.P.Wright, Esq.
- Mar. 4 "The Attractions of Natural Science"
 James Fletcher
- Mar. 25 "Ancient Music" with instrumental and vocal
 illustrations
 Professor J.W.F.Harrison

The OLSS meetings were by no means regular. But notice now the frequency of out-of-town speakers compared to those for the OFNC, all of whom were local club members.³⁰ Dates for

³⁰ Peripatetic Selwyn may not have been a member. In 1881 the GSC moved to Ottawa so he could be considered local.

OLSS lectures may have been chosen to suit the speaker. While Queen's and McGill universities were now being tapped for speakers, the reverends were conspicuous by their absence. The OFNC subjects reveal the more specialized interests of its members, much more so than the lectures delivered in the last years of the ONHS. The Club was still, for the most part, calling on their own amateur members to address their meetings. The OLSS had apparently become more sophisticated and cosmopolitan, shedding any pretense of concern for the working man in its lecture series. Its programme suited the intellectual elite in town: the civil servants, the teaching fraternity and the prosperous business man. The OFNC embraced those members of the OLSS who were devoted to the Victorian passion for collecting and classifying. During the 1880's the OLSS remained the umbrella organization, offering shelter to its offspring and a platform on which they could share their studies with the parent group.

The OFNC had its own ambitions too. From the beginning its members proposed publishing their presented papers as Transactions of the Club, but there is no evidence that this suggestion bore immediate fruit. Indeed it was a struggle to stay alive. The first annual meeting in March, 1880, saw only ten members present, too few to elect officers. Another meeting was called for later in the month but only a dozen responded. Again, as in the OLSS, we find a dedicated

few whose names recur over and over during the 1880's: James Fletcher, R.B.Whyte, Dr. H.B.Small II, W.H.Harrington, H.M.Ami, names that recur on the OLSS executive in the same decade. (See table III.1)

In Appendix II is reproduced a copy of the OLSS brochure for the 1879-80 season. *Conversazione* occupied three evenings, one of them held in conjunction with the OFNC. Comments made with respect to the 1880-81 programme could just as easily be made here. Topics were wide ranging, speakers well endowed with degrees. At least two became controversial figures: Dr. R.M.Bucke in mental health, Goldwin Smith in journalism. The romantic interest is there in Wagner, Whitman and "A Humanist of the Sixteenth Century" while the rational is caught in the presidential address on "Scientific Ethics" and in many of the other lectures. The 1880-81 programme, already given, showed a similar balance between romance and realism.

It is not to be thought that the evenings were devoid of lighter entertainment. Along with receipts from book sellers are those from confectioners and those for piano cartage. For the reading room there are receipts to show that members not only enjoyed the latest periodicals and newspapers but could also relax over a checker board or play cards. The more modern meaning of *Athenaeum*, a literary or scientific club (1864), had become appropriate.

What do we know of the members who patronized the OLSS

in the 1870's and 80's? Table III.1 gives a profile outlined by the executives in office at five year intervals during this period.

Unfortunately Otto Klotz in his Historical Sketch did not include the council members, and the City Directories ceased publishing a complete list of the executive in the late 1880's. In the decade from 1870 to 1880 about 40% of the executive were associated with the federal government. In the following decade that proportion was rising, a trend we shall follow in the next chapter.

There is a more complete picture available in the only membership list to be found in the OISS files of this period. In an elegant hand a member (treasurer?) compiled in alphabetical order the 1876 membership list as of August 1. One hundred and twenty four names are given, but there are forty nine additional names pencilled in by a different hand. In pencil also is written CS (Civil Servant) beside thirty of the names, all but one beside the inked names. Since LeSueur is in the pencilled list with no CS beside his name there is reason to doubt the validity of any conclusions drawn from these figures. Taking only the data in ink would lead to an estimate that 25% of the membership was civil servants, somewhat less than the ratio suggested by the executive lists. In addition, the writer with the elegant hand has recorded those who were paid-up members in April, 1876. There is no indication whether \$4 or \$2 was

Table III.1

Profile of OLSS Executive, 1870-1890

Office	1870-71	1875-76
President	E.A.Meredith*, Deputy Minister of the Interior	John Thorburn, Principal Ottawa Senior Grammar School
First Vice	Sir Sandford Fleming*, Chief Surveyor, CPR	E.A.Merdith*
Second Vice	A.S.Woodburn, book and job printer	W.D.LeSueur*, Post Office
Secretary	George Kennedy, lawyer	H.P.Hill, barrister
Treasurer	James Oglivy	J.G.Whyte, mill owner in Galetta
Librarian	David Matheson*, Post Office	George Cochran
Curator	Lt-Col.T.Wily*, Director, Militia Stores	Thos.Hector*, Clerk, Finance Department
Councillors	James Cunningham, bookkeeper, Gilmour Lumber	George Wicksteed*, law clerk House of Commons
	William Porter, carpenter	Thos. Hector*
	John Langton*, Auditor-General	F.H.Chrysler, Real Estate

*Government Employee

Table III.1 cont'd

1880-81	1885-86	1890-91
Rev.A.F.Kemp,Principal, Ottawa Ladies' College	W.P.Anderson*, Marine and Fisheries Dept.	Dr.H.B.Small Physician and Surgeon
Patrick Robertson, Manager, Bank of Ottawa	J.P.Featherston*, deputy clerk of Crown	W.D.LeSueur*
F.H.Chrysler	D.Matheson*	J.D.Burlands, Secretary
F.K.Bennetts*, Clerk, Privy Council	G.M.Greene, Barrister	F.K.Bennetts*
R.B.Whyte, small wares, paper hangings, etc.	J.R.Armstrong*, clerk First Division Court	W.J.Barrett*, clerk Post Office
J.D.Maclean*, Dept. of the Interior	F.K.Bennetts*	J.Ballantye, Coal and Wool Merchant
James Fletcher*, first Dominion entomologist	A.McGill*, ass't analyst Internal Revenue	W.F.Boardman*, clerk Dept. of Agriculture
N.S.Tarr, picture frame manufacturer, fancy goods, etc.	W.D.LeSueur*	
William Kerr, plumber, gas and steamfitters	William Scott, teacher or with T. MacKay and Co.	
E. Ackroyd, hoop skirt manufacturer	P.T.Lafleur, teacher, OCI	

paid.³¹ Only 45 were marked paid. If this was so, no wonder the Society was in continuous financial difficulty carrying over half its members in arrears. The librarian annually lamented the lack of funds for binding periodicals and purchasing more books. The dream of their own building was as impractical as ever.

The 1876 membership list also names the current life members. Although the lumber community tended to be one apart, not all the lumber barons were indifferent to the aims of the OLSS. The following appear on the 1876 list:

Hon. J.Skead, lumber merchant and saw mill owner

Dr. J.A.Grant, later Sir James Grant

Sandford Fleming

G.W.Wicksteed, law clerk, House of Commons

Mr. Edward McGillivry, wholesale grocer

Mr. Benjamin Batson

Mr. J.M.Currier, M.P., industrialist

Mr. Alonzo Wright, lumberman

Mr. H.V.Noel, manager of the Quebec Bank

Mr. P.Thompson, lumberman

Mr. J.G.Whyte, wool merchant

³¹ There are a couple of letters from the mid-70's written by James Ballantyne (coal and wood merchant) to the treasurer of the OLSS complaining about the ambiguity of levying the \$4 and \$2 fees. From the 1879-80 brochure it appears only the \$2 fee was then levied.

Mr. Thos. Reynolds, managing director,
St. Lawrence and Ottawa Railway
Mr. George Hay, hardware merchant

Information concerning the number of members aside from the 1876 list is incomplete. The amounts collected in OLSS dues in 1881-2 and 1882-3, if the amounts represent \$2 subscriptions, give a membership of 182 and 198 respectively. In a letter dated April 18, 1883, the current treasurer, J.R. Armstrong, a clerk in the First Division Court, noted to the president that there had been a recent increase in the membership following their move "to more commodious quarters" on Sparks Street. The annual report of the OFNC for 1884 gives their membership as 128, the following year 168. The numbers are about the same for both organizations, and no doubt many members belonged to both. It is obvious that although the population of Ottawa nearly doubled between 1871 and 1891 the membership in the intellectual societies showed no sign of doing the same.³²

Several reasons suggest themselves. The lecture topics were not of immediate interest to the man (or woman) of limited schooling and with little intellectual stimulation in their daily work. The real attraction was the library

³² John H. Taylor, Ottawa (Toronto, 1986), p. 210. Taylor gives the population of Ottawa in 1871 as 21,545 and in 1891 as 37,269.

and, as we have seen, there was never enough fiction to satisfy the members let alone entice those with little inclination to read. Cheap editions of popular novels were easy to come by, and for the price of membership you could buy enough to satisfy a limited appetite. They could be traded with friends and read without a time limit. In addition every decade brought new ways in which to spend leisure time. The listings of societies and clubs in the annual Ottawa Directory gives evidence of the proliferation of new groups.³³

Probably one of the most important of these organizations as far as the OLSS was concerned was the founding and growth of the Ottawa YMCA. This offered direct competition for the leisure hours of the young working man to whom the society hoped to diffuse knowledge. As early as 1869 there was a brief report of an OMIA meeting in the Citizen which noted it was gratifying to see such a good crowd considering that there was also a lecture at the Ottawa YMCA, then only two years old.³⁴ When the Ottawa branch of the YMCA was organized on Dec. 19, 1867, George Hay, the landlord and active supporter of the OLSS, was appointed chairman. The meeting was addressed by several reverends who had perhaps found a more congenial atmosphere

³³ See note 14. The annual City Directories list the clubs and societies active in the city.

³⁴ Citizen, March 10, 1869.

for their lectures than at the OLSS.³⁵

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the YMCA established itself in Canada as an antidote to boredom rather than as an alternative to dissipation. That the Ottawa YMCA was successful implies a broad programme of activities. Initially these programmes tended towards the intellectual: library, reading room, lectures and classes, the last named often taking the form of Bible classes with discussion. These programmes were just those that the OLSS was providing albeit on a broader scope. In the case of the YMCA they were generally free and certainly had no taint of elitism. For working class newcomers to Ottawa, the YMCA must have looked more attractive than the OLSS with its entrenched first citizens and civil servants. At the first convention of Ontario YMCAs in 1868, the Ottawa branch reported 160 members, nearly half that of Toronto whose population was over two and a half times that of Ottawa.

In the 1870's the Workers' Training classes were introduced. These started out as the Bible classes mentioned above but they gradually assumed a more truly educational function. By the 1880's counselling services with individual interviews were established. A separate

³⁵ Information about the Ottawa YMCA was taken from an unpublished and unsigned report The History of the Ottawa YMCA, 1867-1942, borrowed from the YMCA files through the kind offices of the current YMCA-YWCA President. In addition The YMCA in Canada by Murray G. Ross (Toronto, 1951) was consulted.

committee was formed to deal with boys' work. Picnics and nature hikes formed part of the programme and when a gym became available with the opening of a new building in 1888 athletics also became an important part of YMCA activities.³⁶ This was in keeping with the 'muscular Christian image' cultivated by YMCA advocates in England in the last quarter of the century.

In 1881, at the request of the federal government, the Ottawa YMCA undertook military work, providing the camp at which the conscripts for obligatory annual weeks of training were stationed. The camp had "a well-equipped reading tent with writing facilities, free stationary, harmless games and gym equipment".³⁷ For the young Protestant male, the YMCA provided respectable leisure activities from childhood on. Here was a place where young men of similar educational and cultural interests could meet informally. Although the religious fervour of the time set the tone the YMCAs, including the Ottawa Association, grew because they were able to formulate programmes that satisfied the social needs of their local community and were willing to withdraw when another agency appeared to fill the role. That the Ottawa YMCA felt the need to offer classes in French, drawing,

³⁶ From The History of the Ottawa YMCA: "The Rambling Club offered physical exercise and amusements, healthful, morally pure and manly."

³⁷ Murray G. Ross, The YMCA in Canada (Toronto, 1951), p. 113.

bookkeeping, penmanship, music and elocution in the 1870's indicates the OLSS had by no means captured the market. In 1889 the enrolment in YMCA classes was about 200 studying a wide variety of subjects; arithmetic, penmanship, bookkeeping, shorthand, mechanical drawing, free-hand drawing, English, French, showcard writing, electricity, telegraphy and vocal music.³⁸ The library retained its narrow religious bias so it was no threat to the OLSS. The YMCA also had frequent lectures on practical subjects. In 1887 the membership stood at 294, considerably more than either the OLSS or the OFNC. By 1897 it had risen to 649.³⁹

Admittedly the YMCA would not attract the same people as the OLSS or the OFNC, but it did make inroads into the population who might have enrolled in the classes and it may well have absorbed some of the leisure hours of those citizens who were concerned with civic responsibilities. The wide variety of activities offered by the YMCA points to areas in the community's social and cultural life that were seen as wanting. At a higher social level some steps were taken to fill this need: the Royal Canadian Academy had its first exhibition in 1880, the Royal Society of Canada was founded in Ottawa in 1882.⁴⁰ Specialized athletic clubs

³⁸ The History of the Ottawa YMCA.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Both organizations were initiated at the prompting of the Governor-General, Marquis of Lorne.

became more numerous. The Curling Club had been founded in 1851 and with the arrival of the federal government there soon followed the Ottawa Skating and Curling Club (1865) and the Ottawa Rowing Club (1867). To these was added the Ottawa Canoe Club in 1883, and more were to follow. Specialized interest groups in ever greater variety attracted all levels of Ottawa society. The OLSS would face greater challenges than ever in its struggle for survival as the Victorian era came to a close.

CHAPTER IV

ALERE FLAMMAM AND EXTINCTION

In which a newcomer to Ottawa fans many flames but the OLSS
is extinguished.

Ottawa in the 1890's was beginning to lose some of the rough, unkempt appearance that had greeted the civil servants when they arrived in 1865. Although Lower Town remained relatively unchanged, Upper Town had one paved thoroughfare (Sparks St.) with a tram railway and

streetlights. The two largest employers were now the lumber industry and government. The number of civil servants had more than doubled by the end of the century as had the population of Ottawa during the same period. Although a few lumber barons had become life members of the OLSS by virtue of a generous contribution, none had played an active role. Certainly the labourers, seasonal and itinerant, had never been interested. The same cannot be said of the civil servants.

The government brought in its wake peripheral industries such as printing establishments and clothiers.¹ Of more importance to the OLSS was the government's need for men of scientific training. The move of the Geological Survey from Montreal to Ottawa in 1881 was just the beginning. In 1886 the Experimental Farm was established, bringing together men with a wide variety of scientific backgrounds: botanists, entomologists, zoologists, and horticulturalists, to list a few. No longer was the Geological Survey the only group involved with mapping the west. As the railway moved westward and the prospect of luring settlers became of more concern, the Department of

¹ Historical Sketch of the County of Carleton with introduction by Courtney C.J. Bond. (Belleville, 1971). Originally Illustrated Historical Atlas of the County of Carleton, (Toronto, 1879). p. 173. Figures given are taken from the 1871 census, but there is no reason to believe the relative importance of the industries mentioned did not persist.

the Interior was instructed to send out surveyors. These scientists and engineers had no forum in Ottawa for discussion, no place to enjoy the social discourse for which their training provided a common bond. As we examine the executive of the OLSS from 1890 onward the predominance of civil servants, particularly those with higher education, becomes apparent. Table IV.1, a continuation of Table III.1, illustrates the point. In Chapter III, attention was drawn to the increasing proportion of civil servants in the OLSS executive; from 40% in 1870-71 to over 50% in 1890-91. For the latter date the sample was small, but Table IV.1, showing an increase to 80%, confirms that the role of civil servants in the OLSS was increasingly dominant.

Table IV.1 tends to conceal what a year by year examination of the executive list suggests: the lack of new blood playing an active role in the Society. Certainly in the early years, even in the most vigorous days of the OMIA, the same names recur over a period of several years, Friel for example and later Meredith and LeSueur. But a comparison of Tables III.1 and IV.1 shows that the former has an almost complete change of names over a five year period while the same cannot be said for the latter. Not only do LeSueur, Bennetts, Ballantyne, Boardman and Klotz recur, but an examination of the lists for the last decade shows presidents re-elected for a second and third term.

Table IV.1
Profile of the OLSS Executives and Occupations,
1890-1 to 1906-7

Office	1890-91	1895-6
President	Dr. H.B.Small, physician and surgeon	Dr.R.W.Ells*, geologist, Canadian Geological Survey
First Vice	W.D.LeSueur*	Otto Klotz*, astronomer, Dept. of the Interior
Second Vice	J.H.Burland?, Secretary	Dr.J.Thorburn, Principal, Ottawa Collegiate Inst.
Secretary	F.K.Bennetts*	W.F.Boardman*, clerk, Dept. of Agriculture
Treasurer	W.J.Barrett*, clerk, Post Office	W.J.Barrett*
Librarian	J.Ballantyne, coal and wood merchant	W.D.LeSueur*
Curator	W.F.Boardman*, clerk, Dept. of Agriculture	-----#
Councillors		Dr.H.B.Small J.Ballantyne A.McGill*, ass't analyst. Dept. of Internal Revenue

* Government employee

? Burland's employer is not stated in the Directory

Boardman may have taken on double duty since he had been curator since 1890-91 and resumed this position in 1896-97.

Table IV.1, Con't

1990-01	1906-1907 [#]
E.E.Prince*, Commissioner of Fisheries	Otto Klotz*
Lt-Col. J.P.McPherson*	T.B.Flint*, Clerk of the House of Commons
Otto Klotz*	A.H.Witcher*
H.J.Bronskill, advertising manager, the <u>Journal</u>	J.C.Martin*, clerk, Post Office Dept.
A.H.Whitcher*, Topographic Survey, Dept. of Interior	H.J.Bronskill
Charles Morse*, Deputy Registrar, Exchequer Court	W.H.Harrington*, Savings Branch, Post Office Dept.
H.H.Bligh*, Librarian, Supreme Court Library	Charles H.Scott, Bookkeeper, Egan and Gorman, Insurance Agents
F.G.Jemmett, accountant, Bank of Commerce	Thomas Macfarlane*, mining engineer and analyst, Customs Dept.
J.Ballantyne	Charles Morse*
W.D.LeSueur*	H.H.Bligh*

[#] 1906-07 was taken instead of 1905-06 because the names of all the executive officers were available, and because it was the last year of the OLSS's existence. The executive here shows more of a shuffle than a change when compared to the names available for the previous season.

This had happened frequently in earlier times too, (after all LeSueur could finally tally thirteen years of presidency before the Society folded), but there was a healthier sprinkling of new names among the old. It would appear that while the membership figures seemed to be holding their own during the last chapter of the Society's history, the number of members prepared to keep it running was rapidly declining.²

If a decline in the vitality of the Society can be read into the data on the executive members, the same cannot be said for the numbers of members reported in the annual report. These are not specified as paid-up members, but when the figures are combined with the annual treasurer's report there was undoubtedly an upward trend to the end of the century followed by a gentle decline in the twentieth century. From the annual reports to the Royal Society of Canada, membership in 1891-92 is given as 220, up to 260 in 1894-95, peaking at over 300 in 1900-01. This last report mentioned that while 31 new members were elected, 35 resigned. In addition there were seven life members, a

² The MPLS executive had also shown a lack of new blood. See Chapter I p. 9.

number that remained fairly constant over the years.³ In the final year membership stood at about 250, but a comment in the treasurer's report dampens any reason for optimism. He explained that because the Ottawa Public Library was now open he was afraid "to press for arrears."⁴ There was never, as far as the surviving records show, any set policy of how long a member could be in arrears and still make use of the Society's privileges.⁵

There was one new member who joined the Society in the mid-90's whose influence was to have a profound influence on the character of the OLSS. Otto Klotz was born on March 31, 1852 in the village of Preston, Canada West.⁶ His father, also Otto, was a notary public, author of a German grammar and keenly interested in the cause for free public school education. He was also a strong supporter of the local

³ For the years 1890-91 to 1906-07 there are annual reports of the president, treasurer's reports, librarian's reports, annual reports to the Royal Society of Canada and reports to Dr. May, the provincial Minister of Education. None of these form an uninterrupted sequence. Figures given are identified by the report in which they are found. All are contained in Box 1, MG53, OMA.

⁴ Treasurer's report, 1905-06. Ibid.

⁵ There is one exception: the 1899-90 annual report notes that 50 members have been removed from the membership list for non-payment of dues, leaving a total of 289.

⁶ Biographical details are taken from R. Meldrum Stewart: "Dr. Otto Klotz", Journal of the Royal Astronomical Society of Canada, Vol. XVIII, No. 1-2, 1924. p. 1-8.

Mechanics' Institute. Otto Junior was educated locally until he won a scholarship to the Berlin High School. He won a similar scholarship the following year to the Galt Grammar School whose principal, Dr. Tassie, was a well-known educator of the time. In August 1866, Klotz began his diary and was even more faithful than Meredith: he missed only one day's entry in more than 57 years. (This missed day came naturally - he crossed the international dateline.) In his diary Klotz chronicled the daily events of a gentleman whose interests were broad, whose mind was critically trained and whose curiosity was insatiable.

When he entered the University of Toronto in 1869 he had won scholarships in both medicine and arts. He elected the latter course but found his chosen specialties, mathematics, astronomy and physical science, so poorly taught he moved on to his second year at the University of Michigan. He graduated in 1872 and the following year married the daughter of the German Consul at Ann Arbor. Marie was to share with her husband an enthusiasm for civic causes. In spite of attractive opportunities offered him in the United States, Klotz decided to return to Canada and successfully passed the Dominion Topographical Surveyor examinations in 1877. Two years later he became an employee of the Canadian government and was assigned to a variety of surveying programmes across Canada. He became the first to be named federal astronomer when, under the Department of

the Interior, he was dispatched west to establish, through astronomical observations, the British Columbian claim to twenty miles of land on each side of the railway as it passed through the mountains. The demand for astronomical positions (latitude and longitude) grew to include international boundaries: Alaska provided a well-known example.

In February, 1894 Otto Klotz gave his first address to the OLSS. Fittingly, the title was "Alaska". The following year he was elected first vice president and, with his wife Marie, was caught up in the local efforts to provide Ottawa with a free public library.⁷ Marie Klotz, through her association with the local Council of Women, played a prominent role in the presentation of a petition to City Council requesting a plebiscite be taken on the issue.⁸ The

⁷ Klotz's entry in his diary for April 26, 1895, after mentioning his election as 1st Vice President, reads "Personally I was a stranger to most of those present or rather they to me, for they knew me through my two lectures delivered before the Society in 1893, 1894." He expressed reluctance to speak out about the Society donating its library to the city as an incentive to establishing a free public library. He decided to address the question of a union with other local societies with similar aims. Klotz attributes the apathy towards a public library to members' lack of knowledge about what other communities were doing in library work. "The Dominion capital is put to shame by the Preston MI library." NAC MG30 B 13 V.2.

⁸ Anita Rush: "The Establishment of the Ottawa Public Library". Ottawa Room, Ottawa Public Library, 1981. Honours undergraduate paper, Carleton University, Department of History.

Journal of April 13, 1895 was given over to the ladies, allowing them to present their arguments to a wide public. In her article "A Public Library", Marie Klotz suggested the OLSS should donate its library to give the new one a start. This substantiated her husband's derogatory reference to the OLSS as a quasi-library.⁹ Klotz, in the 1895 report to the Royal Society of Canada, referred to the pressure being exerted on behalf of a public library. He felt it would actually benefit the OLSS because the Society could then get out of the library business and devote all its resources to its real purpose "to stimulate mental activity, original thought and independent research".¹⁰ The Society library, he claimed, should be primarily for reference and only a tool for the main work of the Society. The vitality of the Society should manifest itself in meetings, discussions, papers and a publication, and provide a venue for informal talks. Members should learn from each other and enjoy the social interaction. This is quite a different role for a Mechanics' Institute to play, and different also from the Manchester Literary and Scientific Society in so far as they had undertaken to subsidize an outstanding scientist as well as publishing their own papers in their Memoirs.

It is clear the Klotz' vision for the OLSS was far

⁹ Report to the Royal Society of Canada, May 1895. OMA MG53.

¹⁰ Ibid.

removed from those who founded it in 1869 let alone from those hard-working citizens who had struggled to establish the OMIA forty years earlier. Klotz was not only a man with vision but also one with vigour and no small amount of administrative ability. In addition to his tireless efforts on behalf of the Ottawa Public Library and the OLSS, his professional career was demanding. In 1898, when he was president of the OLSS, he was sent by the Canadian Government on a confidential mission to London, Paris and St. Petersburg. At the turn of the century he was involved with the completion of the All Red Cable route linking Canada with Australia. When he was in Ottawa he was working with the chief astronomer, Dr. W. F. King, to persuade the government that Canada needed a national observatory. This goal was realized in the spring of 1905 when the Dominion Observatory began its observations under Dr. King. Shortly after Klotz was named Assistant Chief Astronomer.

The following year, in 1906, the Ottawa Public Library was officially opened by Andrew Carnegie himself,¹¹ the American steel magnate whose generosity in funding libraries in North America and abroad had made the Ottawa library possible. In fact it had been Otto Klotz who had personally written to Carnegie in 1901 on behalf of the city. His letter was immediately followed by one from the mayor.

¹¹ Carnegie made Ottawa the exception to his rule never to personally attend one of his library openings.

Since Carnegie made a point of replying to requests from city councillors only, Klotz never received a reply. The city, however, was offered the generous sum of \$100,000 on condition the city would promise to subscribe \$7,500 annually for books and upkeep, a sum considerably less than the usual 10% the Carnegie Foundation required. A few city counsellors still balked, but the necessary majority was found. Klotz was appointed to the Library Board and played an important part in book selection.¹² The city of Ottawa owed a great deal to Marie and Otto Klotz for their dedication to this cause. The dedication sprung from their deep, characteristically Victorian conviction that the library would provide a popular alternative to more dangerous ways of spending leisure hours, in the taverns for example.

Klotz' professional career led him into the fields of seismology, terrestrial magnetism and gravity. He made an international name for himself in seismology and received honorary degrees from the University of Toronto, the University of Michigan and the University of Pittsburg in recognition for his scientific contributions. It was all the more galling then, when Dr. King died in 1916, that Klotz was not immediately appointed chief astronomer. It was not an easy time to be bearing a German name. After the

¹² Klotz saw no need to incur extra expense by making the OPL bilingual.

appointment was finally made late in 1917 Klotz devoted the rest of his professional career to establishing Canada's astronomical credentials in the international forum. When he died in December, 1923, he had served on the committees of many learned societies, had published 99 papers and had written numerous official reports. And if it had not been for Otto Klotz, the 1895 rumour that the Ottawa Mechanics' Institute was facing imminent collapse might well have been true.¹³ One would hope that his only recorded failure, the dream for the OLSS, was a small disappointment in such a distinguished and productive career.

Before Otto Klotz' arrival in Ottawa there was already the suggestion of shadows on the future of the OLSS. In the report to the Royal Society for 1891 we read "Night classes at the Public Schools, on the one side, and the University (Queen's) Extension Classes on the other, left no room for the organization this year of any such under the auspices of the Society".¹⁴ The implication here is that the evening classes had been conducted annually up to 1890. Since the

¹³ Anita Rush: "The Establishment of the OPL", p. 2. Rush quotes from a Carnegie Foundation microfiche that the Ottawa Mechanics' Institute library was in storage at the YMCA in the mid-90's. This gives credence to the rumour that the OMI was about to fold. To what organization does OMI refer at this time? In function and administration the OLSS is the obvious answer, but it was far from extinction.

¹⁴ Annual report to the Royal Society of Canada, 1891. OMA MG53.

provincial government grant of \$400 continued to be a yearly entry in the treasurer's report, including 1906-07, Dr. May must have initially recommended its continuance on the basis of the Society's library service to the community.¹⁵ The OFNC Scrapbook provides a newspaper clipping in which Dr. May is quoted as saying at this time that Ottawa needed a public library.¹⁶ Since there were now over 400 in Ontario why was there not one in Ottawa? It is apparent then, that after 1890 the OLSS no longer played a formal role in the diffusion of knowledge in the community. The YMCA had also begun to shift from academic-type classes to physical education in the 1890's, setting up calisthenics classes for example.¹⁷

In the same (1891) report to the Royal Society of Canada we also read, "The number and strength of Church Associations of literary character is quite noticeable, and this might be said to trench somewhat upon the growth of this Society".¹⁸ This remark acknowledged only the thin edge of the wedge. Further implications of this remark will

¹⁵ Dr. May, still responsible for extra-curricular services in the Ontario Department of Education, visited Ottawa regularly and inspected the OLSS library.

¹⁶ NAC MG28 I-31, Vol. 3.

¹⁷ The History of the Ottawa YMCA, 1867-1942 (see note 25, Chapter III).

¹⁸ Report to the Royal Society of Canada, 1891. OMA MG53.

be considered in the final chapter.

With no responsibility for classes, the OLSS now had two services to offer the public: their annual course of lectures and their library. The annual subscription fee of \$2 had remained unchanged although this was raised to \$3 in 1904. Tickets to the lecture series only were quite reasonable too: fifty cents in the early 1890's and then no charge at all by the end of the decade. Nevertheless annual reports almost inevitably refer to low attendance at the lectures. The most optimistic reference mentioned that at least it was better than the last season.

Table IV.2 lists the lectures given during a number of seasons. The lecturers are a mixture of local and out-of-town people, usually one from each of the universities in Toronto, Kingston and Montreal. The occasional clergyman appeared, but rarely more than one in a season. The majority of the local speakers were civil servants and thus probably amateurs in the art of public speaking. Not only that, but few of them addressed the subject of their expertise. Thus we find a note (December 1, 1891) from Mr. Thomas Cross of the Department of Railways and Canals in which we read "Put me down for Heinrich Heine... I don't think our people know quite too much about the Germans yet. And please put me about last in the list for it is a hard

subject".¹⁹ (He got February 5 or 8, 1892.) As with most generalizations, there were exceptions: LeSueur ("From Myth to Science") had considerable lecture experience, Klotz ("Alaska") had recent first-hand knowledge of that region, and Fletcher ("Mask of Life in Nature") was the first Dominion Entomologist.²⁰ Although the 1891-92 season had a bias towards literary topics, subsequent series consistently covered a broader range.

The 1896-97 lectures were held under the joint auspices of the OLSS and the OFNC. They were given in the Assembly Hall of the Normal School and there was no admission fee. A committee of five members from each of the organizations drew up the programme: W.D.LeSueur was chairman, H.M.Ami the secretary. (Both were active in the two organizations.) From Table IV.2 it can be seen that it was an impressive programme with respect to its speakers and to the subjects discussed. Unfortunately this is one season where reports

¹⁹ OMA MG53. Correspondence.

²⁰ James Fletcher was an amateur naturalist who was employed in the Library of Parliament until his appointment as first Dominion Entomologist. See W.A.Waiser, The Field Naturalist. (Toronto, 1989).

Table IV.2
OLSS Course of Lectures
1893-94

Nov. 16	President's Address: "From Myth to Science" W.D.LeSueur
Dec. 7	"Valley of the Ottawa in the 17th Century" Benjamin Sulte*
14	"A View of Matthew Arnold" Prof.S.W.Dyde (Queen's)
Jan. 4	"Coleridge" Prof.Wm. Clark (Trinity College, Toronto)
11	"Eyes and Spectacles" A.McGill (Dept. of Internal Revenue)
18	"Mask of Life in Nature" J.Fletcher (Dominion Entomologist)
Feb. 1	"Lightening and Electrical Discharges" Prof.Callander (McGill)
15	"Alaska" Otto Klotz (Dept. of Interior)
Mar. 1	"Buddhism" Dr. S.E.Dawson*

Sulte was a local historian and the model for the Champlain monument sculpted by Hamilton McCarthy and unveiled May 27, 1905.

* Deputy Minister, Queen's Printer and Comptroller, Stationery and Printing Bureau.

Table IV.2 Con't

1896-97

- Nov. 19 Conversazione: short addresses by
 Dr.J.A.McCabe - Principal, Normal School
 Mr. F.F. Shutt - President, OFNC
 Mr. Otto Klotz - President, OLSS
 Mr. A.H. MacDougall - President,
 Ottawa Teachers' Ass'n
 Hon.G.W.Ross - Ontario Minister of Education
- 27 "Electrical Discharges in High Vacuum"
 Prof. John Cox (McGill)
- Dec. 17 "Goethe"
 Prof. Leigh R. Gregor (McGill)
- Jan. 7 "Under the Midnight Sun - A Trip to Iceland"
 Prof. J. Mavor (University of Toronto)
- 21 "Recent Explorations in Canada"
 Dr. G. Dawson with remarks by Dr. Bell, J. B. Tyrell
 and R. P. Low (Geological Survey)
- Feb. 4[#] "The Meaning and Value of Culture"
 W. D. LeSueur (Post Office)
- 18 "The American Lobster"
 A. Macphail and A. Arthman (Bishop's College)
- Mar. 4 "Weather"
 Otto Klotz (Dept. of Interior)
- 11 "Fruit and Fruit Districts in Canada"
 J. Craig (Horticulturalist, Experimental Farm)

LeSueur was unable to speak due to illness. Duncan Campbell Scott spoke on "Lyrics of Elizabethans". According to Klotz (Diaries, Vol.2) it was dull. Attendance was fair.

Table IV.2 Con't

1900-01

- Nov. 20 *Conversazione: President's Address* (E.E.Prince)
Vocal and Instrumental music, display of
Works of Art and Objects of Interest
- 30 *"Land and Letters of the Pastons"* (illustrated)
E.E.Prince (Fisheries Commission)
- Dec. 14 *"Windsor Castle and its Memories"*
O.J.Jolliffe (Teacher, OCI)
- Jan. 11 *"South African Sidelights"*
Capt. C.F.Winter
- 18 *"The State of Labour with respect to Canadian
Legislation"*
H.A.Harper (Dept. of Labour)
- 25 *"The Feudal System in Canada"*
Benjamin Sulte
- Feb. 8 *"Canadian Novels and Novelists"*
L.Burpee[#]
- 22 *"Modern Types of Danger Warning"*
Lt.Col.W.P.Anderson⁺
- Mar. 8 *"The Origin of Legal Obligation"*
C.Morse (Exchequer Court)
- 22 *"Some Thoughts on Social Progress"*
W.L.McKenzie King (Dept, of Labour)
"Metrology"
Otto Klotz (Dept. of Interior)
"Heredity in its Scientific and Practical Aspects"
E.E.Prince

[#] Lawrence Burpee was at this time private secretary to the Minister of Justice. He became the first librarian of the OPL.

⁺ W.P.Anderson, civil engineer, was with the Marine and Fisheries Department

Table IV.2 Con't

1906-07

Nov.	23	Presidential Address Otto Klotz
	30	"South Trail of British Columbia" Benjamin Sulte
Dec.	14	"Mexico", illustrated Dr.R.A.Daly
Jan.	11	"Arctic Watershed and its Resources" E.Stewart (Superintendent of Forestry)
	25	"Machiavelli" J.Ewart, K.C.
	31	"The Archives of Canada" Dr.A.Doughty, Dominion Archivist
Feb.	8	"Romance of the Fur Trade" L.Burpee
	15	"The True Story of the Encyclopedia Britannica" E.E.Prince
Mar.	1	"Earthquakes" Otto Klotz

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	25	"Machiavelli" J.Ewart, K.C.
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Feb.	8	"Romance of the Fur Trade" L.Burpee
	15	"The True Story of the Encyclopedia Britannica" E.E.Prince
Mar.	1	"Earthquakes" Otto Klotz

on the events of the year are not available.²¹ The experiment of holding joint meetings was not repeated and one would like to know why, particularly since there were still many members common to both groups. In fact, this season was the last for which there is any record of formal association between the two organizations.

The next season opened with a great drawing card, the famed Norwegian Arctic explorer Dr. Fridtjof Nansen whose topic, of course, was "The North Pole".²² In anticipation of a crowd the Russell Theatre was rented and the organizers were not disappointed. The second evening of the series was a "Literary and Musical Evening" at which the poet Archibald Lampman gave a reading. The following year it was

²¹ Even Klotz throws no light on this matter. The entry for April 24, 1896 records his election as President with the remark "It will be hard work to keep it alive." Throughout the 1896-97 season his comments, if any, mention attendance and occasionally the subject matter. On March 11, 1897 for instance he represented the OLSS at a civic meeting to discuss the Queen's Jubilee celebrations. Meeting with LeSueur later that evening they discussed what form a permanent memorial should take. "We would like to make Ottawa the intellectual centre of Canada." Referring to the annual meeting April 30, 1897 he made no mention of joint meetings with the OFNC either past or future. Re-elected President he is pushing the need for a society building. This proposal drew forth an animated discussion. "I was elected with the result of the meeting." NAC Otto Klotz Diaries MG30 B13, Vol. 2.

²² Fridtjof Nansen (1861-1930) captured world attention in the 1890's with his polar explorations. These were published in The Norwegian North Polar Expedition 1893-1896, six volumes, edited by Fridtjof Nansen (Christiana, Norway, 1900-1906).

W.W.Campbell who gave "poetical readings".²³ Perhaps the most striking feature of the programmes as the century came to a close was the number of lectures on subjects pertaining directly to Canada. This was no accident. The first volume of the OLSS Transactions appeared in 1897-98. Revised versions of the lectures were the content, and the selection was made with an eye to an international audience. On the Canadian topics it will be noticed that many of the speakers were with the scientific appendages of the federal government: the Canadian Geological Survey, the Experimental Farm, the surveying branch of the Department of the Interior. By the turn of the century the occasional member of parliament was the guest speaker: Joseph Pope, Undersecretary of State, spoke a couple of times, once on Champlain and later on Samuel Pepys, and the MPs G.R.Maxwell ("The Teachings of Sartor Resartus"), Benjamin Russell ("The Poetry of Matthew Arnold"), and the Hon.Charles Fitzpatrick ("Lord Russell of Killowen"). Even the more scientific of

²³ Archibald Lampman (1861-1899) graduated from Trinity College in Toronto. He became a clerk in the Post Office Department in Ottawa in 1883 and remained there until his death in 1899. His poems appeared frequently in Canadian, American and British periodicals. W.W.Campbell (1858-1918) was, like Lampman, the son of an Anglican clergyman. He was ordained in 1886, a graduate of Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. He resigned the ministry in 1891 and became a civil servant working in several different departments. His poetry confronts the changing values of his day as science undermined traditional religious belief. He was a devoted imperialist.

the civil servants were prepared to present a lecture on a subject unrelated to their professional work: E.E.Prince of the Fisheries Commission was partial to subjects which included musical illustrations and even Thomas Macfarlane, the mining engineer, spoke on "Scandinavia Revisited" for which there were musical illustrations. Comparing the titles of the OLSS with those of the OMIA of the 1850's and '60's there are few hints of Victorian moralizing and there is more emphasis on specialized topics. Indeed, some of them sound positively entertaining.

Before leaving the subject of lectures, there are several which were delivered between 1900 and 1903 that deserve to be noticed, particularly the speakers: Leon Gérin, H.A.Harper, W.L.Mackenzie King.²⁴ They were all associated with the elusive Social Science Club mentioned in the OLSS annual report of 1899-1900. The Club had been meeting in the OLSS rooms and asked if they could be officially affiliated with the Society. An agreement was

²⁴ Leon Gérin (1863-1951) was born in Quebec city and died in Montreal. He was a lawyer, farmer, federal civil servant and sociologist. He is regarded as the founder of empirical social sciences in French Canada.

W.L.Mackenzie King (1874-1950) graduated from the University of Toronto in 1895. After further study in economics at Chicago and Harvard he became Canada's first deputy minister of Labour in 1900. In 1909 he became Laurier's minister of Labour.

H.A.Harper (1872-1901) was King's closest friend and roommate. He was assistant deputy minister of Labour at the time of his accidental drowning in 1901.

reached which manifested itself as a group of lectures. The first, "The Hurons of Lorette", was given by Gérin on Jan. 26, 1900. This was followed a month later by a symposium conducted by members of the Social Science Club on "The Limitations of Municipal Industries". Further information about this club was found among the clippings in the OFNC Scrapbook.²⁵ It is a report of a Social Science Club meeting. The President was Mr. Cassius Campbell, Principal of the Osgoode St. School, and the evening's programme was a debate between Campbell and Gérin on "the true method of economic enquiry -principle versus facts". Others engaged in the debate included LeSueur, McGill and Jemmett, all of the OLSS, Macoun of the OFNS and several others who may have also belonged to these organizations. Of the ten members mentioned by name five can be identified as civil servants. At the conclusion of the debate a committee was appointed to arrange the amalgamation mentioned above. Nothing further is heard of the Social Science Club, but on Jan. 18, 1901, H.A. Harper spoke to the OLSS on "The State of Labour with respect to Canadian Legislation". The same season W.L. Mackenzie King presented a short paper on "Some Thoughts on Social Progress". Mr. King was back again early in 1903 with "Social Settlements" (illustrated). That is the last intimation in lecturers or topics that the Social Science

²⁵ PAC MG28 I-31, Vol. 3 with the 1899 clippings. The print looks like that of the Citizen.

Club ever existed.

Lecture topics after the turn of the century continued to cater to a wide variety of tastes, but there is less emphasis on general, broad-sweeping themes whether in history, literature or science. The social sciences illustrate one aspect of contemporary concern. Such lectures as "South African Sidelights" (1901) and "Glimpses of South Africa" (1904) remind us of another, the Boer War (1899-1902). Literary essays still favoured romantic poets such as Matthew Arnold, Browning, Tennyson and Coleridge. The scientific subjects were more specific than thirty years earlier and, as mentioned above, many were related more specifically to Canada. The last course of lectures in 1906-07 (see Table IV.2) illustrates the changing character both in subject matter and lecturers.

No matter how varied and interesting the lecture programme was, it did not attract new members in numbers more than enough to replace the resignations, or to reward the speaker with a large audience. The lecture series did, however, lead to the means by which the Society was able to retain its \$400 annual grant from the provincial government when all such grants to libraries were discontinued after the passage of the 1895 Libraries Act.²⁶ There was however

²⁶ With the passage of the Public Libraries Act, 1895, Mechanics' Institutes were to be known now as public libraries. There were still two types of libraries however: those supported largely by the municipality and those who depended on the provincial government for

a project dear to the heart of Otto Klotz: the publication of selected and revised papers given as lectures to the Society. The first volume of the Transactions appeared with the date 1897-98. In announcing its appearance in the annual report to the Royal Society of Canada Klotz explained that the OLSS had a duty to publish. There was much of scientific interest being done in Ottawa and yet was not receiving due credit because it was not widely known. In Klotz' own words:

These lectures, while of a popular nature, in many cases embodied original work, and for the presentation of such work this publication is intended, the Society considering that in this matter it has a duty to perform - to add its mite to the world's fund of knowledge, upon which we all so freely draw.²⁷

Because publication had not been in mind in the past, Klotz apologized for the "somewhat meagre" first issue but assured his readers that future issues would be more satisfactory. With no evidence to the contrary we may assume that Klotz was editor-in-chief. Thus he was acquiring yet another responsibility of no mean proportions. Ultimately four volumes appeared: in addition to Number 1 in

most of their money. The OLSS belonged to the latter group of course. This legislation may have caused the confusion noted in fn 13 above. For more detail see John A. Wiseman, "Phoenix in Flight: Ontario Mechanics' Institutes", 1880-1920, CLJ No. 38 (1981). p. 402.

²⁷ Otto Klotz: "Introduction". Transactions of the OLSS, No. 1, 1897-98. p. 1.

1897-98 Number 2 appeared the following year, Number 3 in 1901-02 and the final Number 4 in 1906-07. The delay in the appearance of the last volume was partly financial but probably also because Klotz was away a good deal of the time. The shifting emphasis to more Canadian content in the lectures, and the more specialized papers mentioned above may be seen now as a deliberate policy to make them suitable for publication. It should be observed, however, that the shift was noticeable before Klotz had become a leading figure in the organization. His presence and drive accelerated the process.

The Transactions met with modest success, over 200 copies of Number 1 being distributed. Most of these were sent as exchanges to other scientific organizations around the world, a few were sold in Ottawa. Both the Canadian and United States governments ordered extra copies of Number 2. This exchange of knowledge was, for Klotz, the true business of the Society.

This being said, did the papers in the Transactions "add its mite to the world's fund of knowledge"? The Contents of the four issues are listed in Table IV.3. An examination of these published papers reveals little that today would be considered research science. In Number 1 William Ogilvie's paper "The Yukon and its Gold Resources" is an example of the more specialized and scientific contributions. It includes a table giving the

meteorological record of the region surrounding the southerly branches of the Yukon river, identifies geographical positions by latitude and longitude and describes the geology. The main thrust of the paper, however, is similar to that of other contributors writing about western Canada: the value of the natural resources and the uses to which they may be put. This no doubt accounts in part for the popularity of the early issues. All the essays retain the language of the popular lecture and a few are accompanied by illustrations which were also "viewed" at the lectures. J.M. Macoun's two papers, "The Fur Seal of the North Pacific" (Number 1, p.63) and "The Southern Trail in British Columbia" (Number 4, p.17) both stress the historical background of his topic as well as the practical aspect of commercial exploitation. Elihu Stewart in "The Mackenzie River Basin" (Number 4, p. 31) also picks up the historical theme which expands into a travelogue concluding rhetorically with "Will it be worth anything?". He answers affirmatively. Already the region has shown its wealth in furs but there are other resources: timber for pulp, fish and minerals. Klotz' own papers are also in a popular style, presenting the current state of knowledge of his topic and suggesting where future research in this field lay. His final contribution "Earthquakes" (Number 4, p. 130) was prompted by popular interest in the San Francisco earthquake of 1906.

In contrast to the articles stressing the potential value of Canada's western resources J.S.Ewart's essay "Machiavelli: A Study in Ethics" (Number 4, p. 44) opens with the question "Will you be kind enough to fix in your minds the date A.D.1500?". Although his study is set out formally in the manner of a lawyer's brief, it concludes on a moralistic note reminiscent of OMIA lectures a half century earlier. "The world is more criminal because it is more christian (sic). It will be more christian still." (p. 80) The implied corollary is not comforting.

Although the lecture series could not be regarded as a persuasive appeal to OLSS membership, the same cannot be said for their library. The annual report of the librarian is often the most detailed record of the year. Circulation figures are given, acquisitions are listed and there is occasionally a breakdown of the circulation figure into categories: fiction, biography and so on. Whatever monies could be spared after rent (\$300 annually during this period) and the reading room expenses (subscriptions took

Table IV.3

Contents of the Transactions of the OLSSNumber 1, 1897-98

Introduction: Otto Klotz, President

"Historical Sketch of the OLSS" - Otto Klotz

"Name of Ottawa" - Benjamin Sulte

"The Violinist, a Poem" - Archibald Lampman

"Place Names of Canada" - George Johnson
(Dominion Statistician)

"The Fur Seal of the North Pacific" - J.M.Macoun

"The Yukon and its Gold Resources" - Wm.Olgivie
(Dominion Land Surveyor)

"Utilization of Moss Lands" - Thomas Macfarlane

Number 2, 1899-1900

Introduction: E.E.Prince, President

"Canada's Northern Fringe" - George Johnson

"The Hurons of Loretto" - Leon Gérin

"Notes on the Study of Language" - W.D.LeSueur

"Earthquakes and Seismographs" - R.F.Stupart (Meteorologist)

"Well Waters: A Study" - Anthony McGill

"Local Deflection of the Plumb Line" - Otto Klotz

"Fish Culture in Canada" - E.E.Prince

Number 3, 1901-1902

Introduction: Charles Morse, President

"Canadian Novels and Novelists" - Lawrence Burpee

"Modern Types of Danger Warning on the Sea Coast"
- W.P.Anderson

"The Impeccancy of the King" - Charles Morse

"Metrology" - Otto Klotz

Number 4, 1906-1907

Introduction: Otto Klotz' Presidential Address, Nov.23, 1906

"The Causes that Led to the War of 1812" - Benjamin Sulte

"The Southern Trail in British Columbia" - J.M.Macoun

"The McKenzie River Basin" - Elihu Stewart

"Machiavelli: A Study in Ethics" - J.S.Ewart

"The Romance of the Fur Trade" - Lawrence J.Burpee

"The True Story of the Encyclopedia Britannica" - E.E.Prince

"Earthquakes" - Otto Klotz

over \$150 annually) was devoted to books for the library.²⁸ Substantial donations from prominent industrialists such as Alan Gilmour, Thomas Ahearn and John Manuel were infrequent and unreliable.²⁹

In the annual report to the Royal Society of Canada in the spring of 1892 the point was made that the OLSS provided the only public library in town and that it took on this function which, in most other towns, was supplied by a free public library supported by a small municipal tax levy. With a membership of 220 in a city that had now grown to over 37,000 such a lack of a municipal library would suggest

²⁸ Income from the provincial government grant was \$400 annually and membership fees varied annually from just under \$400 (1891-92) to over \$600 (1900-01). In addition the Society's rooms were rented to other groups and until the mid-90's there was a small additional income from the sale of lecture tickets. In all, the annual income rarely exceeded \$1000. When the running expenses, such as coal, light, publicity and any expenses incurred by the lectures were added to the major expenses of rent and custodian, there was not a great deal left for the library. Publication and distribution of the Transactions added another burden in the last decade of the Society's life.

²⁹ Alan Gilmour, lumberman, gave \$500 in 1893-94 and again in 1894-95 when he was referred to as the "late" Alan Gilmour. Thomas Ahearn, an industrialist in electricity and power, gave \$100 in 1900-01. John Manuel gave \$200 in 1901-02. John Manuel's name appeared on a list of proposed members of the ONHS in 1863. He also appeared as a Lieutenant in the Regimental Division of the Ottawa Militia in 1879. A clerk in Gilmour's Lumber Company during the 1860's, Manuel rose to become Gilmour's secretary. Perhaps his donation the year after Gilmour's last gift was prompted by the memory of his late employer's interest in the OLSS.

that there had not been a comparable growth in intellectual activity. This conclusion is supported by the resounding defeat of the first plebiscite for a public library in 1895. It was hoped that the supporters of a free public library would show more interest in the OLSS library after this setback, but that proved wishful thinking. Nonetheless, membership did rise to over 300 in 1898, and the library circulation figures were impressive: the figure for 1897-98 was given as 8,605 compared with 3,511 in 1893-94. The librarian's report for the latter year noted that the circulation was almost double that of any previous year. Table IV.4 below, gathering together the available data, tells its own story.³⁰

Table IV.4

Summary of Librarian's Reports, 1893-1907

Year	Number of Volumes	Circulation	Comments
1893-94	2600	3511	
1894-95	3116	5582	80% of circulation fiction
1897-98		8605	
1900-01	4413	6250	
1901-02	320 new volumes	down	2802 volumes of fiction and 1926 of general literature circulated.
1905-06	5164		Reading room in constant use.
1906-07	145 new volumes	3306	

³⁰ Compiled from a variety of annual reports: annual, librarian's, Royal Society of Canada. OMA MG53.

With Klotz' arrival in the mid-1890's his attitude towards the role of the Society in Ottawa began to influence its character. It did not, however, abandon its duty to provide the city with improved reading material. In November, 1901, President Charles Morse, deputy registrar in the Exchequer Court, said in his opening address, "Well-selected books by men of education and judgement does (sic) more to establish intellectuality in a community than the existence of a university."³¹ He continued by underlining the importance of non-fiction. Fiction would not be forbidden. Only the "weak, morbid and withal mischievous volumes" of fiction were to be banned from the shelves.³² The records leave no specific statement of who was to be responsible for book selection although Morse implied that the council provided the "men of education and judgement" to whom he referred. It is not clear how much independent authority the librarian had.

The previous year Morse himself had been librarian. His breakdown of the general circulation figures was representative of that available for other years in this period.

³¹ Charles Morse: "Introduction", Transactions of the OLSS, No. 3, 1901-02. p. 1.

³² Ibid.

Number of Volumes:	4413
Total Circulation:	6250
Fiction:	2391
General Literature:	2674
History and Biography:	342
Travel and Adventure:	291
Science:	126

The following year fiction was up to 2802 but general literature was down to 1926, a decline that was found in the other categories too. If general literature included older fiction as well as poetry and belle lettres, the librarian's report a few years earlier that fiction accounted for 80% of the annual circulation appears to be a reasonably consistent figure. A further interesting comment in the 1900-01 report to the Royal Society of Canada was that Canadian novels were popular as well as British and American. Specifically Gilbert Parker's "brilliant romances" and Miss A.C. Lauts' Lords of the North were as popular as Paul L. Ford's Janine Meredith and Miss Mary Johnson's To Have and To Hold.³³ This comment is particularly interesting when we recall that

³³ Report to the Royal Society of Canada, May, 1901. OMA MG53. Sir Gilbert Parker (1862-1932) is the only one of these authors whose reputation carried him into the Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature or English Literature. Born in Camden Township East, Canada West, Parker was a Graduate of Trinity College, University of Toronto. After four years of journalism in Australia (1885-89) he settled in England where he became a successful author of popular fiction. His novels in Canadian settings present a romantic picture of the Northwest and picturesque Quebec.

on February 8, 1901 Lawrence Burpee addressed the Society on "Canadian Novels and Novelists", a paper which was published in Number 3 of the Transactions. The Society's claim to influence the intellectual life of Ottawa was not all wishful thinking.

With the circulation figures before him, how could Klotz sustain his optimistic view of a bright future for the OLSS once it was shorn of its library? Surely, as a new century increasingly devoted to science and technology was ushered in, warning must have been sounded by the small interest in books relating to science. Klotz certainly had no great admiration for the intellectual capabilities of the man in the street. In the annual report to the Royal Society of Canada in 1898 he had written "...the large mass of the public cares less for the acquisition of knowledge than for recreation, amusement and entertainment."³⁴ This same report also announced the publication of the first issue of Transactions. Klotz must have sincerely believed there were enough like-minded supporters of his vision to have been able to sustain that vision to the end. In his presidential address to the OLSS, November 23, 1906, he expressed the same sentiments, "...the great mass of the

³⁴ Report to the Royal Society of Canada, May 1898. OMA MG53. See also J.H.Hodgson, The Heavens Above and The Earth Beneath. (Ottawa, 1989). p. 69.

people is not hungering for intellectual development."³⁵ He claimed however, that Ottawa had more literary and scientific people in proportion to its population than any other city in Canada. There was still a need to provide a place "to foster a true literary and scientific spirit."³⁶ He appealed for some worthy citizen to provide the means (\$50,000) for suitable accommodation in which there could be "the cooperation, the commingling of thoughts, the combination of efforts that are the watchword for advancement."³⁷ What Klotz wanted was "more than a course of lectures, more than new books. We want the smouldering intellectual fires to be fanned into flames."³⁸ What had begun sixty years earlier, in theory at least, as an intellectual resource for the working man was now to become a select club for intellectuals. Neither goal was realized.

Not all members of the OLSS were as sanguine as Klotz that the new library would pave the way to higher things for the OLSS. The Transactions were the first step upward and it was followed by a second, symbolic step. In 1901 the Society reintroduced the logo used in the 1850's by the OMIA (see Fig II.3) Now the motto "Feed the Flame" was rendered

³⁵ President's address, 1906. "Introduction", Transactions of the OLSS, No. 4, 1906-07. p. 1.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

in Latin: *Alere Flammam*.³⁹ By that year it had become apparent that Ottawa would soon have a free public library. It was opened in 1906 and the sharp drop in the OLSS library's circulation figures for that year can hardly have been a coincidence. The concern felt by the Society's executive was expressed in a number of ways. The treasurer did not press for arrears in dues, although the rising cost of new books and subscriptions had forced the Society to raise dues to \$3 annually in 1904. If new books were the key to maintaining membership there was no alternative. The lectures had been offered free to the public for some years but this move had not proved particularly successful in attracting new members. In 1904 only three-quarters of the members had paid, but the lectures were considered to be well attended, if not profitable. Indeed, the following year arrangements were made to hold five of the lectures in the Normal School auditorium, presumably because the Society anticipated an audience that would exceed the capacity of their rooms.

In the 1903 annual report to the Royal Society of Canada concern was expressed clearly by the current president, H.H.Bligh, librarian of the Supreme Court

³⁹ *Alere Flammam* may be translated as fanning the flame (of intellectuality), the Latin rendering of the 1856 motto in Fig. II.3.

library.⁴⁰ He admitted the OLSS library was the main attraction for the majority of members. He optimistically felt that personal associations would hold the Society together. The following year LeSueur, as president, sent out a pleading letter to all members for support and reviewed the great contribution the Society had made to the city over the years. If the Society should fail, the capital would be left without an intellectual centre.⁴¹ By 1905 discussions were under way on how the OLSS and the Ottawa Public Library would accommodate each other. The Ottawa Public Library proposed that in exchange for the OLSS library, the Society could make use of the Library for meetings and lectures, essentially amalgamation. LeSueur, for one, was against it. Even though a lecture hall, a newspaper room, reading room and a meeting room were offered, they would not be for the exclusive use of the Society. Because they felt so strongly the need for a physical home to sustain their sense of association, they preferred to keep their own quarters. (In fact, the last series of lectures was held at the Ottawa Public Library.) By accepting the Library's offer they would lose not only

⁴⁰ Report to the Royal Society of Canada, May 1903. OMA MG53.

⁴¹ Annual report, 1904. OMA MG53. LeSueur's comments certainly reflect the Anglophone bias now in the Society. Recall Klotz' opinion that it was unnecessary for the OPL to be bilingual.

their independence, but also their provincial government grant and they would be left with no financial means to continue publication of the Transactions.⁴²

The attendance at the annual meeting on April 18, 1905 was an even more direct sign of things to come. In addition to the Council only a dozen members had turned up to discuss the issue of a merger. The Council justifiably felt that there must be a show of greater commitment from the members; more than just the Council had to bear the burden. Accordingly LeSueur sent out a general letter to the membership calling for a special meeting on May 12 at which time a vote would be taken on the Library's proposal. Something more tangible than community sentiment was required. The day following the meeting a report appeared in a newspaper that indicates some improvement in attendance: nineteen are mentioned by name and the list concludes with "and others."⁴³ The proposal which had come

⁴² On April 20, 1905, Burpee, the OPL librarian, sent a memorandum to the OLSS in which the Library Board refused to pay for the OLSS library books if they accepted the merger proposal. Correspondence, OMA MG53.

⁴³ Unidentified clipping in miscellaneous file. OMA MG53. Those listed are as follows: (The Council, apparently the same for 1904-05 and 1905-06, lacks the names of first and second vice presidents, curator and councillors.)

President: W.D.LeSueur*
 Secretary: W.H.Harrington*
 Treasurer: A.H.Whitcher*
 Librarian: Otto Klotz*

(Note these are all civil servants)

from the Library Board was read by LeSueur and after some discussion it was put to the vote. It was turned down.

The 1905-06 season appeared to support their confidence. Attendance at the meetings was greater than the previous year, John Manuel had again donated \$200 for the library and although there was not enough money to publish the fourth volume of Transactions, \$40 had been set aside for the purpose. The following season opened with the stirring presidential address from which we have already quoted. At the conclusion of the season the presidential report was hopeful: membership numbers were holding, the annual provincial grant was still available, 145 volumes had been added to the library, Number 4 of the Transactions was at the printers. No comment was made about the sharp drop

M.J.Gorman: Barrister and Solicitor
 E.E.Prince
 H.J.Bronskill: Managing editor of the Journal
 J.R.Armstrong: clerk, 1st Division Court, County Court House
 R.B. Whyte: Wholesale stationer
 Dr. R.W.Greene
 A.G.Kingston: Chief accountant, Dept. of Public Works
 J. Ballantyne
 W.F.Butcher (not identified in the Directory)
 Lt.-Col. Macpherson
 Dr. C.Morse
 H.H.Bligh
 W.J.Topley: Photographer
 Rev. R.J.Hutcheon
 Sir James Grant: active in the original ONHS
 T.B.Flint

and others

* Civil Servant

in book circulation, but then Klotz had never regarded the library as an important part of the Society's function. The treasurer's report, on the other hand, presents a different picture.⁴⁴ Income from membership fees, at \$3 a member, was \$498 which represented 166 paid memberships. This was, in fact, a small decline. Because the Library was now open, he had not pressed for arrears. There had been no donations from sympathetic patrons such as John Manuel and they had no income from the rental of their rooms. Less had been spent on periodicals and book-binding than usual, and the library could not afford further cutbacks. In fact, the current bank balance of \$333.52 was not a sign of health, but a very small nest egg with which to face the future. In the opinion of the treasurer, H.J.Bronskill, managing editor of the Journal, the future of the OLSS still depended on the attractiveness of its library. The Society stood in need of a good overhaul and a massive campaign to recruit new members. One suspects Mr. Bronskill did not share Klotz' vision of the OLSS.

The records are mute concerning the 1907-08 season. An executive was duly elected at the annual meeting in April, 1907. The Hon. Thomas B. Flint, Clerk of the House of Commons, was to be president supported by a Council of familiar names. LeSueur was no longer there and ironically

⁴⁴ Treasurer's report, 1906-07. OMA MG53.

Klotz was to be librarian. With that annual meeting the records cease: no motion, no discussion, no reference to dissolution.⁴⁵ A postscript can be found in a letter dated 1918 in which he refers briefly to the OLSS: "...we voluntarily extinguished ourselves."⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Klotz offers no help here either. The Diary entry for April 26, 1907, following the annual meeting reads "I fear I shall have to abandon the Society. I have few if any assured supporters..." for his scheme to create a home for Ottawa's intellectuals. In 1908 the Diary refers to King's lecture on "The History of Astronomy" on Feb. 12, but there is no mention of W.W.Campbell's lecture two weeks later. Klotz was in Washington, D.C. during April of that year, the month of the OLSS annual meeting. NAC MG30, B13, Vol. 3.

⁴⁶ Constitution and By-Laws of the OLSS. Ottawa Room, OPL. This letter is attached to the inside of the back cover.

CHAPTER V

POSTMORTEM

In which the failure of the OLSS is examined in the context of local society and in a broader perspective.

The voluntary extinction of the OLSS did not affect the OFNC. During the 1890's it had been gaining strength and, as we shall examine more fully below, this strength may have come from the very fact of its specialized programme. The need for a programme of active participation in the contribution to knowledge, as opposed to the diffusion of knowledge, had sparked the Club's rebirth in the first place. The amateur could make a very real contribution to the inventory of Canada's natural resources, a challenge that could not be met by the more passive character of the OLSS, notwithstanding Otto Klotz' enthusiastic sponsorship of the Transactions.

The OFNC continued to have a large membership in common with the OLSS until the turn of the century. This implies, of course, a high proportion of civil servants. Again using the executive to give a profile of the Club's active membership some observations may be derived from Table V.1. The most obvious observation is that if all civil servants and teachers were removed from the lists, the ladies would be in the majority except in 1890-91. Even then their numbers would equal the males. Women were eligible for membership when the OFNC was formed in 1879, and were eligible for the same responsibilities, up to a point, that accompanied it. Ladies applied and were accepted from that year on.¹ In 1884 first prize for the botany collection, a copy of Gray's Manual of the Botany of the Northern United States (1848), was awarded to Miss I.L.Grant. The first appearance of ladies for positions on the council was in 1890-91. It will be noticed that the council was augmented then to six, allowing the accommodation of three elected ladies on a permanent basis. The only recorded evidence that any of them were considered for a higher role during this period (1890-1907) was in 1892. Miss M.A.Mills was elected second vice president only to resign at a general meeting a few months later. The participation of single ladies appears to be considerably greater than that of the

¹ OFNC, NAC MG28 I-31, V.1. The first ladies elected were Misses K.L and F.M. Wright, Miss E.Bucke.

Table V.1

Profile of the OFNC Executive,
1890-1907

	1890-91	1895-96
President:	Dr.R.W.Ells ^{**} , Geologist, GSC	Frank F.Shutt [*] , chemist, Experimental Farm
First Vice:	R.B.Whyte [*] , wholesale stationers	A.G.Kinston [*] , chief accountant, Dept. of Public Works
Second Vice:	J.Ballantyne [*] , wood and coal merchant	H.M.Ami ^{**} , assistant paleantologist GSC
Secretary:	T.J.MacLoughlin [*] , Dept. of Public Works	A.Stalkett [*] , Marine Dept.
Treasurer:	J.Fletcher ^{**} , Dominion Entomologist	J.Fletcher ^{**}
Librarian:	W.A.D.Lees, Lees & Hall, Barristers and Solicitors	S.B.Sinclair, Vice Principal, Normal School
Councillors:	H.M.Ami ^{**} W.H.Harrington ^{**} A.G.Kingston ^{**} Miss Boulton Miss Mills Miss Farmon	E.E.Prince ^{**} Mr.Dowling, public school teacher Mr. Ferrier three ladies

* Civil Servant
* OLSS

Table V.1, Con't

1900-01	1906-07
Dr. Robert Bell*, Director, GSC	W.J.Wilson*, surveyor, GSC
W.T.Macoun*, horticulturalist, Experimental Farm	A.E.Attwood, teacher
D.A.Campbell, teacher, Normal School	F.F.Shutt*
W.F.Wilson*	T.E.Clarke, principal, Cartier St. School
James Fletcher**	A.Gibson*, ass't entomologist, Experimental Farm
J.H.Putman, teacher	J.N.Baldwin, grocer
W.H.Harrington*	W.T.Macoun*
F.F.Shutt*	J.M.Macoun*
Mrs. A.E.Attwood	Miss A.L.Matthews
Miss M.I.Whyte	Miss Mc.K.Scott
Miss Mc.K.Scott	Miss R.B.McQuestin

wives of members. Some, no doubt, were daughters of members. The fact that the OFNC had active support from women in the community may have been a small contributing factor to the survival of the Club. There was little reason for the women to get behind the OLSS and even less as Otto Klotz began to mould it to fulfil his vision. Recall too that in the early years (see Chapter II) the women had made a significant contribution to freeing the young OMIA from debt.

There is no question that the OFNC was dominated by civil servants and that the majority of them were associated with the peripheral scientific appendages of the federal government: the Experimental Farm and the GSC. On the other hand, many of the OLSS were employed in other government departments, especially the Post Office. Klotz might have had an easier time of it had he tried to mould the character of the OFNC into his ideal rather than the OLSS. This reflection leads to the final observation: the marked decrease in the number of OFNC executive who were also known to be involved with the OLSS as the life of the OLSS drew to a close.

In the previous chapter attention was drawn to the joint OLSS-OFNC series of lectures in 1896-97, the last recorded instance of cooperation between the two societies. The separation of the two organizations marked the completion of a withdrawal begun at the beginning of the

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decade. The annual OFNC meeting for the 1890-91 season was the last held in the OLSS quarters. During the year council meetings had been held in members' homes and many of the regular meetings were held at the Normal School. The relationship with the Normal School continued to develop, and this no doubt accounts for so much active participation by teachers. The evidence does not indicate whether the move to the Normal School was made because the number of teachers involved in the Club gave them access to that facility, including the storage of their small library,² or whether more teachers became involved because the OFNC was based there. The annual meeting of the 1895-96 season reported a membership of 233, but even with half these in arrears the Club, like the OLSS, probably needed larger quarters than those of the OLSS on Sparks Street.³

The OFNC survived its inaugural growing pains of the 1880's to become a mature, established organization between 1890 and 1907. From the beginning the Club had tried to establish a monthly newsletter. Initially it was unsuccessful. All the preparation had been left in the hands of the editor, and there was no Otto Klotz prepared to shoulder the responsibility. W.H.Harrington was

² 350 bound volumes which were removed to the OPL reference room in 1906.

³ The OLSS membership was now reaching its peak of over 300.

particularly interested in seeing the project succeed and by the mid-90's the Ottawa Naturalist had become the Club's official organ. The problems of editorship were still unresolved: none of those nominated for editor-in-chief would stand for election.⁴ Under him a sub-editor would be in charge of each section: botany, geology, and so on. Unlike the OLSS Transactions intended for an international audience, the Ottawa Naturalist was a monthly newsletter keeping members up to date on recent discoveries and forthcoming activities. Local advertisements and membership fees defrayed the expenses. Like the OLSS, the OFNC bank balance was never a nest egg: \$13.88 in 1896, \$61.62 ten years later.⁵

By the turn of the century the Club was thriving. In addition to a public lecture series the Club was providing lectures for Normal School students. In 1901, the year of Queen Victoria's death, James Fletcher gave them two lectures on ornithology and Henri Ami gave one on soils and their origins. On their summer excursions they could expect 60 to 70 participants. Normal School students, teachers and friends were all invited. The OFNC was reaching out into the community with its activities, providing interesting and entertaining social occasions as well as educational ones.

⁴ Those nominated were W.H.Harrington*, W.R.Billings, A.G.Kingston*, R.W.Ells, H.Ami*.

⁵ OFNC Annual Reports, PAC MG28, I-31, Vol. 1.

Appendix III reproduces the OFNC brochure for the 1900-01 season. Note that the meetings were to be held at the YMCA with the exception of the first *Conversazione*. Note also how the format of the lecture series differs from that of the OLSS. Conversation, exhibits and short papers on specialized topics was the norm for the OFNC rather than one paper on a topic of broad popular interest followed by questions. The structure of the OFNC is also illustrated in this brochure. The number of people actively involved far exceeds that of the OLSS. The OFNC had a broader base of community support.

And so the OFNC survived. There is no mention of the OLSS demise in the Club records. Aside from presenting their library to the Ottawa Public Library and holding an occasional meeting there, the Club carried on its close association with the Normal School. Over the years the name changed to the Macoun Field Naturalists' Club, honouring one of their most notable members and father of the Victoria Memorial Museum of Science (which opened in 1912). Still operating today, affiliated with the Ontario Field Naturalists, the OFNC has provided the only surviving heir to the original OMIA.

While the OFNC could be regarded as an alternative to, or a complement to, the OLSS, it did not present the direct competition to the OLSS membership that the opening of the OPL did. It has been demonstrated in the last chapter that

most of the OLSS members subscribed because of the reading rooms and the circulating library. Despite Klotz' optimism, the results of the OPL opening were predictable. The OPL was free, and since its mandate was to satisfy its patrons whose taxes were providing the money for book acquisitions, there was no real competition. The city of Ottawa had promised to spend \$7,500 a year when they received the Carnegie grant. Even after salaries and maintenance were deducted, there was far more to spend on books and reading room material than the OLSS could ever hope to match.

It has been pointed out in earlier chapters that, while the population of Ottawa grew, the membership of the OLSS did not keep pace. The growing number and variety of societies and clubs offered serious competition. As early as 1869 a newspaper report of an OMIA meeting noted the good attendance in spite of a meeting at the YMCA the same evening.⁶ The following decade saw the creation of many church organizations that offered lecture and discussion groups similar to the OLSS. By 1890 evening classes were offered in the schools and for the more ambitious there were the Queen's University Extension courses. On every front, the social, the educational and the entertainment, the ground was being eroded beneath the OLSS. By 1905 the city directory had 29 entries under "Miscellaneous Societies"

⁶ Citizen, March 10, 1869.

ranging from the Aberdeen Association for the Distribution of Good Literature to Settlers in Canada to the YMCA. There were 31 entries under "Clubs". Most of these were sports clubs or rod and gun clubs, but it did include the OFNC. There were far more organizations listed for the English-speaking population than for the French. Since 1903 there had been the Canadian Club for those interested in noon hour lectures on current affairs.⁷ The opening meeting attracted two hundred people. The first secretary was H.P.Hill, a name that recalls the long gone days of the OMIA. Four years later the first movie was shown in Ottawa and the age of commercial entertainment was truly launched.

The competition from the YMCA has been dealt with in Chapter III. By the turn of the century the Ottawa branch was offering social, educational and athletic activities for males ten to forty years old. Its clientele now included young businessmen and professionals as well as those in lower economic classes. The YMCA was moving away from its earlier evangelical roots as were the respectable churches in the larger cities. Many of the young men who made use of the YMCA's facilities were those whom the OLSS should have

⁷ Harry J.Walker: The Ottawa Story (Ottawa, 1963). p. 53. The Canadian Club was founded to encourage patriotism through a study of Canadian institutions, history, politics and economics. The club sponsored luncheons with guest speakers. W.L.Mackenzie King was an early president of the Ottawa Canadian Club. See Introductory Note in file for MG28 I-71.

been attracting into their ranks to provide new blood outside the civil service fraternity. In 1905 the YMCA embarked on a short-term fund raising drive to raise money for a new building. In ten days they had \$200,000.⁸ The building was conveniently located across the street from the OPL. Since the OFNC held the occasional meeting at the YMCA during the 1890's it seems reasonable to assume some members belonged to both organizations.

Another type of society was gaining ground in Ottawa during the last decades of the nineteenth century, the Masonic Orders. The American historian Thomas Bender claims, "The lodges, then, were social and intellectual bodies, offering both companionship and learning," especially instruction in science.⁹ Thus the spread of Masonic Lodges in the USA had a great deal to do with furthering the cause of free public education early in the nineteenth century. They offered competition to the Mechanics' Institutes when they entered the educational field in the 1820's. Half a century later the brotherhoods could offer Ottawa businessmen, their employees and craftsmen not only the social benefits of companionship but also the security of a mutual aid society. There is no way

⁸ Murray G. Ross: The YMCA in Canada. (Toronto, 1951). p. 308.

⁹ Thomas Bender: New York Intellect (New York, 1987). p. 58.

of knowing how many found satisfaction in their lodge who might otherwise have spent their leisure in the OLSS reading rooms. Certainly the city directory confirms the growth in the number of Lodges during this period.¹⁰

The cause of the OLSS's demise cannot be laid entirely on the stagnation in membership and executive, nor on the competition from the OPL and the new organizations struggling for their share of people's increasing leisure time. The OLSS was an organization whose time was past. Without the arrival of the civil service it would probably have succumbed to the successive Library Acts during the 1880's and 90's as did many of the Mechanics' Institutes,

¹⁰

The number of Masonic Lodges in 1890 City Directory was 8 and in 1907 was 12. The number of Oddfellow and Foresters chapters also showed large increases. In addition to these organizations there were the Local Assemblies of the Knights of Labour. They were similar to the Masonic order in ritual and hierarchical structure of officers, but there were no restrictions to membership which included women. Local Assemblies flourished in the 1880's. In 1890 Ottawa had nine. Although they were a type of labour organization apparently some tradesmen and a few professional and businessmen were members. In 1886 an Ottawa member described his assembly as "a benevolent, educational and protective organization." There were still eight Ottawa branches in 1893, but only one at the turn of the century. See John Taylor: Ottawa (Toronto, 1986). p. 86 and Eugene Forsey: Trade Unions in Canada (Toronto, 1982). pp 144-5.

including those in Toronto and Kingston.¹¹ The OLSS was an outdated organization when it formed in 1869. In England and in the United States the age of verbal discourse was gradually moving into the age of the penny periodical. In Canada the change came a little later. In Ontario the educational function of the Mechanics' Institutes was overtaken by the public school system, the libraries of the Institutes by the free municipal libraries. The seriousness with which men of Edmund Meredith's stamp took their leisure, rare in any society, became rarer still. The few men of similar serious intellectual bent, W.D.LeSueur, Otto Klotz and other regular supporters of the OLSS, managed by their dedication to propel the Society into the twentieth century. The interest and vitality of the community had gone into other forms of recreation.

In the wake of the OLSS's extinction efforts to establish another organization of a broadly based intellectual character met with little success. A literary debating club met at the OPL late in 1914. It was succeeded a few months later by the Ottawa Literary and Philosophical Society which also met at the OPL. The OLPS was disbanded in March, 1916, for reasons explained by Dr. Herbert Sanders

¹¹ The Toronto Mechanics' Institute was absorbed into the Toronto Public Library system in 1883. The Kingston Institute held out until 1895 when the Libraries Act of that year abolished the title of Mechanics' Institute. It became the Kingston Association Library. See J.M.S.Careless: Toronto (Toronto, 1984). p. 139.

in a letter to the Citizen.¹² According to Dr. Sanders the executive had been taken over by a minority of "atheistic socialists". These troublesome elements were excluded from membership when the Arts and Letters Club was founded a week later.¹³ The Arts and Letters Scrapbook provides the Literary Debating Society's slate of officers. None of the names are familiar as members of the deceased OLSS. The Arts and Letters Club did survive until 1937 when it too was overtaken by declining membership and general apathy.

The decade gap between the demise of the OLSS and the founding of the Arts and Letters Club rules out any continuity such as existed between the OFNC and the OLSS. Nonetheless there are a few points of similarity. Membership fees were low, only \$1. Unlike the OLSS, both sexes were admitted to the Arts and Letters Club with equal privileges. No fee was charged for admission to the public

¹² Citizen, March 22, 1916. This, along with what remains of evidence for the Literary Debating Society and the Ottawa Literary and Philosophical Society are found in the Arts and Letters Scrapbook, OMA MG54-5-1.

¹³ Dr. Sanders, judging from the newspaper clippings preserved in the Arts and Letters Scrapbook, was overstating the case. On Feb. 29, 1916 a lecture by W.W.Campbell on "Our Duty in the Present Crisis" provoked a small disturbance initiated by a member of the audience with strong socialist opinions. The local papers made much of the incident. Internal dissension erupted the following month over the date of the annual meeting. The old executive resigned under the fire of criticism and there were no nominations for a new one.

lectures which were offered for "public enlightenment".¹⁴

In the beginning the programmes resembled those of the OLSS: music, debates and lectures on social, literary and artistic subjects. Over the years the programmes became less ambitious, finally settling into a Tuesday evening lecture series on mainly literary topics.

Broadly speaking, the OLSS fragmented. One branch pursued a specialized interest in the scientific field, the other, taking longer to recover, concentrated on the literary and artistic field, the humanities. This bifurcation is an example of a general trend towards specialization which developed both abroad and in North America towards the end of the nineteenth century. Another example is found in the disciplinary division in universities at this time. This trend came in the wake of what was considered a scientific approach to many disciplines, to history for example. Hand in hand with specialization came professionalization. Within the Canadian government itself the move to professionalization was reflected by the introduction of civil service examinations in 1882. One of the first of the examiners was John Thorburn, Principal of the Ottawa Grammar School when he was active in the original ONHS, and who was still active

¹⁴ Ibid.

on the OLSS executive in the mid-1890's.¹⁵ (LeSueur was also a member of the civil service examining board after his retirement from the Post Office Department.) Each division director on the Experimental Farm had his own specialized title, James Fletcher, Dominion Entomologist, for example. In other departments the directors also had their specific designation: Dr.W.F.King, Dominion Astronomer, George Kennedy, Dominion Statistician. In the face of such widespread compartmentalization within the intellectual world, it was inevitable that societies should spring up to bring together those with similar specialized interests, both amateurs and professionals. Here the Royal Astronomical Society of Canada might be used as an example. Founded in Toronto in 1868, the Ottawa centre was established in 1906.¹⁶ By 1907 the national organization was publishing its own Journal in which amateurs made significant observational contributions along with the professionals. With the age of specialization there was no

¹⁵ R.M.Dawson: The Civil Service of Canada (London, 1929). p. 56.

¹⁶ The Toronto Astronomical Club was casually organized in 1868. In 1890 it became incorporated as The Astronomical and Astrophysical Society of Toronto. The present name, the Royal Astronomical Society of Canada, was adopted in 1903 and the Society began to consider a future as a national society. The Ottawa Centre, established in 1906, was the first fruit of the national organization. See Helen S.Hogg: "The Origins of the Royal Astronomical Society of Canada." RASC Observer's Handbook 1984. p. 2.

role for a broadly based intellectual organization such as the OLSS to play. Otto Klotz' dream would sound more practical today when interdisciplinary studies are again fashionable than it did in 1900. In addition to the more specialized groups with an intellectual orientation, the civil servants formed their own association in 1907. This provided social activities in isolation from the non-governmental community.

What can be said about the influence that the Victorian Ottawa intellectual organizations exerted on the community? This is an impossible quality to measure, but a few observations might rescue them from any suspicion that their role was ineffectual and negligible. Twelve of the first sixteen mayors of Ottawa were active members in the organizations considered in this essay, the majority with the Mechanics' Institute. This speaks for the respect in which these societies were held by the community. The newspapers, judging from the scrapbooks and other available records, were generous in their coverage of meetings and social events. For some people the lecture series must have opened new worlds and, one would hope, led them to the only circulating library in town. The classes, forced upon the OMIA and then the OLSS to qualify for their government grants, had some successes. Daniel O'Donoghue, the first labour member of a Canadian legislature and a leader in the printers' union claimed he owed much of his education to the

OMIA classes.¹⁷ F.R.Latchford, the first gold medallist in the OLSS classes, became the Honourable F.R.Latchford, K.C. and remained active in the OFNC. There is no way of knowing how many others were able to lead richer and more productive lives because they participated in the intellectual and social activities of these groups. Attention has already been drawn (Chapter IV) to the increased popularity of books by Canadian novelists the year Burpee gave his lecture "Canadian Novels and Novelists". Through their publications in the 1890's and later both the OFNC and the OLSS brought to public attention the potential of Canada's natural resources, the OLSS Transactions reaching an international audience. Ottawa, unlike Kingston and Toronto, had no Protestant university which could serve as a focus for intellectual activity after the Mechanics' Institutes became obsolete.¹⁸ This, together with the active participation of well-educated civil servants, gave the OLSS an extension to its life it might not otherwise have had.

To follow the lecture topics and their presentation from the mid-1850's into the twentieth century is to catch a glimpse of the intellectual concerns of the community, and to see a reflection of shifting values abroad and in North

¹⁷ Jim Blanchard: Anatomy of Failure, CLJ Vol. 38 (1981). p. 398.

¹⁸ Both Toronto and Kingston had Field Naturalists Clubs that are still active today.

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and renaissance life.²⁰ There is surprisingly little background or commentary on current events: one lecture on Russia during the Crimean War, a couple on South Africa during the Boer War and in 1892 two consecutive lectures dealing with Egypt.²¹ A few travelogues dot the OLSS programme, most dealing with Canada, a few with England and her historic monuments, and one each with Mexico, Scandinavia and Paris, places easily accessible to a Canadian tourist. Of the United States there is nothing. The same may be said of the rest of the world except as the current news made it topical. Greater stress was laid on science, and after 1890 emphasis was given to its importance in the development of Canadian natural resources.

Ottawa was late in creating an intellectually oriented organization for its English-speaking community. The multiple cultural divisions that originally compartmentalized French and English, Catholic and Protestant, lumbermen and others was not congenial to the formation of such an organization when the population was

²⁰ Note the absence of interest in the visual arts, either European or North American. For a commentary on Canadian attitudes towards native art see Joan M. Vastokas, "Introduction": Journal of Canadian Studies 21:4 (1986-97), p. 5. As Ms Vastokas notes in her opening sentence, the History of Art as a discipline in Canada is so new that it does not warrant an entry in the 1985 The Canadian Encyclopedia.

²¹ This may have been belated interest in the Nile Expeditionary Force sent to relieve Khartoum 1884-85. Canadians were part of this expedition.

small and the number of well-educated insignificant. Both the French and English communities eventually overcame these difficulties in the mid-1850's and provided intellectual centres of activity in which any individual could find mental stimulation if he so desired. The ultimate failure of the OLSS cannot be attributed to any one cause, nor does it suggest a lack of intellectual vitality greater than that of other communities of the time. The OLSS was an anachronism when it was founded in 1869. The wonder is that it survived into the twentieth century.

MECHANICS' INSTITUTE

174

A meeting was held on Wednesday evening in the West Ward Market Hall, for the purpose of taking measures to re-organise this highly important Institution.

Judge Armstrong was chosen Chairman of the Meeting and E. Billings appointed to act as Secretary.

The Chairman commenced business by reading and explaining the provisions of the Statute in Act 14 & 15 Vict. chap. 76. To provide for the incorporation and better management of Mechanics' Institutions and Library Associations.

It was then moved by Alex. Scott, Esqr. seconded by D. M. Grant, Esqr. —

That it is expedient to re-organise the Py-town Mechanics' Institute forthwith. Carried.

Moved by Dr. E. Well, and seconded by D. M. Grant, Esqr. —

That a Provisional Committee of seven, be formed with power to add to their number, to draft a Prospectus of the proposed Institution and to get it published forthwith, that after the publication of such Prospectus in the three Newspapers of the Town, the Committee do call upon the inhabitants to procure subscriptions, and that when a sufficient sum shall have been raised, the Committee do call a meeting of the persons who shall have subscribed, at which meeting the proper steps shall be taken to have the Society incorporated. Carried.

Moved by George Hay Esqr seconded by Mr. J. G. Bell —

That Judge Armstrong, Dr. Van Cortlandt, Dr. Sewell, Alex. Scott, Esqr., Billings, D. M. Grant, and James Cunningham, Esqr., do form a Provisional Committee, with power to add to their number. Carried.

The Committee then called the name of Dr. Hill, at the suggestion of James Mathews, Esqr., Councilor.

It was then moved by Mr. Cunningham and seconded by Mr. J. G. Bell —

That Judge Armstrong to leave the Chair, and Dr. V. Cortlandt to take his place. Carried.

The thanks of the meeting were then voted to Judge Armstrong for his able conduct in the Chair. Carried.

Dr. Van Cortlandt then rendered the thanks of the meeting to Judge, who replied at some length, with some very appropriate remarks on the objects, advantages and requirements of Mechanics' Institutions.

It was then moved and carried, that the meeting be adjourned till called together by the Provisional Committee.

E. BILLINGS
Secretary

MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE

The Committee met at Armstrong's Hotel, on Saturday the 15th at 7 P. M. present Judge Armstrong, Dr. Sewell, Dr. Van Cortlandt and E. Billings, D. M. Grant, Jas. Cunningham, and A. Scott Esquires.

After due deliberation, the Committee agreed up in the following respects:

TO THE INHABITANTS OF BYTOWN

We, the undersigned, members of the Provisional Committee appointed to take the steps preliminary to the re-organisation of the Bytown Mechanics' Institution, beg leave respectfully to call the attention of the Inhabitants of the Town, to the following serious considerations. It is a matter within the knowledge of all, and it is deeply to be regretted, that, although Bytown contains a population of 8000 souls and is one of the most wealthy and flourishing Commercial Towns of the Province, with respect to its facilities for diffusing useful information, it is far behind most other places of equal note in the Country.

While all other large towns of Canada, and even many of the small villages in this westernmost, can boast each of its Debating Club, Circulating Library, or Mechanics' Institute, no association of an intellectual character, not even a Reading Room exists in a place that will in all probability, within a very short period, be elevated to the dignity of a City. This deficiency, while it deprives the adult members of the Community of all those pure mental enjoyments that flow from the cultivation of the mind, either by reading

or listening to discourses upon literature, science, or art, is when viewed with reference to its influence upon the youth of the town, particularly of consequences of a much more painful and destructive nature. The young and thoughtless, instead of being furnished by their parents, guardians, employers and others, interested in their temporal welfare, with every opportunity of storing their minds with useful information, have no other means of spending their leisure hours than in frivolous and unconstructive amusements, or in pursuits of a character that generally end in the contracting of bad habits that can never be entirely eradicated. The valuable time, in the beginning of life when the intellect is as yet unclouded and best adapted to receive and retain impressions, must be thus worse than thrown away, and many a father whose hope it is, that his son may grow up a well informed, and a respectable member of society, will perhaps live to see him an illiterate poor, flighty and dissipated character, a burden to himself, and a disgrace to his friends. As there is no public library from which well selected books up in the different branches of science can be procured, and as no provision whatever has been made for the delivery of instructive lectures, it is difficult to perceive how a young man can obtain knowledge in this town, either by reading it for himself, or by having it imparted to him by others. Having no other resource for the employment of the spare hours of our long winter evenings, he must continue to patronize those haunts of frivolity and vice where the sensual appetites are alone ministered to and where the gods of all that is pure and good in the nature of man is perverted. If the youth of Bytown should thus grow up in ignorance, vice and dissipation, the result, in the intellectual acquirements to those of the other towns of the Province, their excuse must be, that their superiors, whose duty it is to supply them, have failed in the means of moral cultivation. Have they not failed to have them to the land's end, in the halls of the Hall, All, G. Campbell Room, and places of a still more character? Between the time of leaving the Common School and that period of life, when the full age of discretion is arrived at, there are from five to ten years during which the character of the future man is formed, and during which the greatest portion of the knowledge that is to give him through life must be acquired. If a store of general information is not laid up in this period, the individual must live through existence without it. While the cares of business and the struggle for subsistence, compress the time for education in past, and he who has not obtained it before, will most likely never possess it. The wealthy can afford to send their sons to some higher Institution of learning, but the great expense of this system of filling in the blank between fifteen and twenty five, beyond the reach of the great mass of the people. Some other means must therefore be provided that will be readily within the limits to which the funds of even an ordinary citizen can be extended, and it is evident that whatever may be the nature of the Institution that is to follow the Common School, and stand as a substitute for the Academy, College or University, where there cannot be had access to, it must be permanently established—its object must be the diffusion of sound knowledge and it must be cheap. It should not be looked upon as a place of amusement only, but as an Institution of learning of just utility and worthy of being kept in continual operation. The substance of all the useful knowledge taught at Colleges, can be procured at home by reading, and attending public lectures. The want of such an educational establishment is here referred to, had been long felt in Bytown before the plan of disseminating information by means of the well-known Mechanics' Institutions was devised—and since they have been put in operation, they have been found to answer the purpose for which they were intended remarkably well, and to exceed the anticipations of their founders. Although originally formed by Mechanics, they are now extensively patronized by all classes, the most wealthy as well as the poorest. Indeed, many of the best educated men

appear to take as much interest in their progress as in that of the more fashionable seats of learning. In proof of the estimation in which they are held by the upper classes in Britain, the following notice taken from the *Electric Magazine* of the present month may be cited:—

"A lecturer manly has persuaded the ranks of the nobility. The Earl of Carlisle is announced to be one on Greg, at Sheffield. The Duke of Newcastle is to lecture in the Mechanics' at Workington—Sir Alexander Paterson, at Southampton, and Lord John Russell at Manchester."

The approbation which they thus receive at the hands of the greatest statesmen and philanthropists of the age, is a reliable proof of their excellence. Such an Institution it is proposed to establish on a permanent foundation in Bytown. The objects are well expressed in the Second Article of the Constitution of the Institute formerly in existence in the town. It is as follows:—

"The object contemplated in the formation of this Institution, is the association of the youth of Bytown, and others, for their mutual improvement in the Arts and Sciences, and the promoting by every means in their power, of a knowledge of natural and experimental philosophy and general literature. For the purpose of carrying this into effect, it is proposed to establish a library of reference and circulation, a Reading Room and Museum. Lectures on the preceding subjects shall also be procured whenever practicable."

That such an Institution is deserving of the support of all men who desire the cultivation of a love of knowledge, and its extension among all classes, need we argue? The present object of the Committee is to establish upon such a foundation as will ensure its permanent standing. As long as it receives the support it deserves, there can be no danger of a failure—and in order to induce people to continue that support, it must be made interesting and attractive. The first and indispensable requisite, is an extensive library of books, selected in such manner, that it will be at all times an object of some importance to gain access to it. All the books are old, uninteresting and not worth reading of course no person will think it worth while to subscribe, and consequently, the library will not support the Institution. Every effort should therefore be exerted to make it as rich as possible, and as instructive as possible. The chief cause of the failure of libraries such as this, is that sufficient attention is not given to the library. If the standing and rapidly increasing support—the constant and growing fondness of interest and attraction in which other means are suspended, or impracticable. To purchase a good library at once, will require money, and to furnish this, the inhabitants of the town should subscribe as liberally as possible, consistent with the means of each. All should contribute something. But as it is the men of wealth and influence who are the most interested in the moral and intellectual progress of Society, so it is they who should first open their purse strings, the more readily in favor of a donation that is an honor to the donor, and a boon of great price to the recipient. If the merchants, the professional men, and master mechanics, but discharge the obligations they owe to Society, the sum required to purchase a good library, such a library as will always be supported and continue to increase, can be raised without difficulty. When this part of the work is accomplished, no further donations will be required. The Society will be incorporated, and the right of property in the books remain vested in the subscribers. The annual expenses will be small, and can be defrayed by a small yearly subscription, and there can be no danger of the Institution failing, provided it is first supplied with a library worth subscribing to.

It is further proposed, to establish a Reading Room to be well supplied with the leading newspapers and literary and scientific periodicals to be open to members during such hours as may be hereafter decided upon. The expenses of such a Room will not be great, certainly, not beyond the means of the great number of merchants in the town who are so much interested in all that tends to enlighten. This will form an additional inducement to support the Institution, although it is not so absolutely essential as a good library. It is a

great object to all mechanics to have free access to such works as Appleton's *Mechanics Magazine*, the *Scientific American*, *Silliman's Journal of Science*, and others, containing all the recent improvements which are being made every day. They will therefore be as deeply interested in the Reading Room, if not more so than any other class. This subject will receive further and serious consideration when the Society shall have been fully organized.

The Institution will require a room in which to deposit the maps, diagrams, drawings, models of machinery and inventions—objects of natural history, geological specimens and philosophical apparatus required by the lecturers to illustrate and render the more easy of comprehension the subjects explained in the lectures. These, with such natural curiosities, as will, no doubt, be contributed by those friendly to the Society or that can be procured at a trifling expense, will constitute the Museum a never failing source of interest and instruction.

When these requisites shall have been obtained each member, for a small annual subscription, will have the use of a large library, access to the Reading Room—admission to the Museum and the privileges of attending all the lectures with his wife and family, free of any other charge. These advantages are great in proportion to the cost, as it is not intended that any but members in regular standing shall be admitted to the lectures free, the sums collected for the admission of non-subscribers, will contribute largely to defray the annual expenses. Without entering into any further particulars, the Committee will here conclude with a rough estimate of the amount required to purchase a library and defray the first year's expenses.

500 Volumes of New Books	£150
Rent of Chambers for Reading Room and Museum	25
Papers and Periodicals	15
Furniture, attendance, Fuel, Light, and other expenses	50
	£240

If the Reading Room and Museum are dispensed with then all that will be necessary to commence with, will be £150. But the Committee earnestly recommend that the whole sum of £240 should be subscribed at once, and as much more as possible, so that the Institution may enter upon its career of usefulness with all its requisites complete, and with every advantage in its favour. There are about 200 volumes of books—the government grant of £50—Mr. Derbyshire's bequest of £50, with interest, amounting to £10, available at present. We think however that it is the most prudent course to proceed for the present as if these were not within reach of the Institution, especially as there will be some difficulty in getting the public grant of £50 unless the government are satisfied that the inhabitants really intend to do something for themselves.

The Committee in compliance with the instructions given them do submit the foregoing appeal to the inhabitants of the rising town and earnestly recommend to them the consideration of so important a subject, and will in a few days call upon those favorable to the project for their subscriptions toward the establishment of so valuable and desirable an Institution after which a general meeting of the subscribers will be called to adopt a Constitution and make By-laws for its management.

(Signed)

CHR. ARMSTRONG,
S. C. SEWELL,
E. BILLINGS,
D. M. GRANT,
JAS. CUNNINGHAM,
EDW. VAN CORTLANDT,
ALEX. SCOTT

It was then resolved, that each of the papers be requested to give the above one insertion gratis, and strike off 150 hand-bills of the same, to be paid for. The Committee then adjourned until Saturday, the 21st inst., to meet at the same place and same hour.

E. BILLINGS,
Secretary.

HYTOWN MECHANICS INSTITUTE AND ATHENAEUM.

On Saturday evening the 20th ult. the members of this Institution met at the West Ward Market Hall for the purpose of electing their Officers and Signing the Declaration required by the Act for incorporating societies of this kind.

Judge Armstrong having been called to the chair, opened the meeting with some very excellent remarks upon the nature and advantages, and methods of conducting Mechanics Institutions. His address was listened to with earnest attention and elicited a good deal of applause of which it was well worthy. The Secretary then read the proceedings of the Provisional Committee, and the Declaration after which the following gentlemen were chosen trustees:

Dr. Sewell, Dr. Van Cortlandt, Dr. Beauchamp, Dr. Hill, G. Armstrong, R. W. Scott, H. J. Fuel, Jas. Cunningham, Geo. Sutton, J. B. Tugwell, J. M. Bissell, A. Workman, E. Billings, J. Dalton, D. M. Grant, Alex. Scott, A. Foster, R. Kueschaw, R. S. Caswell and G. Heron, Esq.

The collectors made their returns amounting to £130. 7s. 6d. which amount was inserted in the Declaration. After signing the declaration it was moved by James Yeacock, seconded by H. Metcalfe, that Dr. Hammett should be President of the Hytown Mechanics Institute and Athenaeum for the present year.

Carried. Moved by Dr. E. Van Cortlandt that Alex. Scott Esq. be 1st Vice-President of the Hytown Mechanics Institute and Athenaeum for the present year. Carried.

Moved by Mr. D. M. Grant, seconded by Mr. J. M. Bissell, that Gilbert Heron Esq. be 2nd Vice-President of the same for the present year. Carried.

Moved by Dr. Hill, seconded by R. S. Caswell Esq. that E. Billings be corresponding Secretary for the present year. Carried.

Moved by Dr. Sewell, seconded by Mr. Ford that H. J. Fuel be recording Secretary for the present year. Carried.

Moved by R. Gordon Esq. seconded by G. Heron Esq. that Dr. Edward Van Cortlandt be Honorary Librarian of the Hytown Mechanics Institute and Athenaeum for the present year. Carried.

Moved by A. Foster Esq. seconded by H. H. H. Esq. that Jas. Cunningham be Treasurer for the present year. Carried.

It was then moved that Judge Armstrong leave the chair and that the President do take it. A vote of thanks was then given to the Judge, and the meeting adjourned. The meeting was a very agreeable one, several excellent speeches being made. The Institution is now regularly incorporated the declaration having been filed on the 31st. The Constitution is simply that the affairs of the Society are to be managed by twenty trustees who are to be chosen annually from among the members. There are to be at least one year from among the trustees a President, 2 Vice-Presidents, 2 Secretaries and a Honorary Librarian and Treasurer.

The trustees have authority to pass By-Laws for regulating the conditions upon which members are to be admitted and officers elected or appointed. They are empowered to manage all the affairs of the Institution.

They will meet on Wednesday evening the 2nd instant.

E. BILLINGS,
Secy. Secretary

Hytown, 1st Feby. 1853.

*Proposed to the Trustees
Derbyshire
90
so. President of the Hytown
Mechanics Institute and Athenaeum
Hytown Feb 8 1853*

MANUSCRIPT ROOM
RECEIVED

FEB 9 1917

FORMS ARCHIVES

Appendix I

THE
Literary & Scientific Society
OF OTTAWA.

(INCORPORATED BY ACT OF THE ONTARIO LEGISLATURE.)

1879-1880.

OFFICERS FOR THE CURRENT YEAR:

PRESIDENT—

W. D. LeSUEUR, Esq.

1st VICE-PRESIDENT—

2nd VICE-PRESIDENT

PATRICK ROBERTSON, Esq.,

F. H. CHRYSLER, Esq.

SECRETARY—

W. P. ANDERSON, Esq.

TREASURER—

E. D. ARNAUD, Esq.

LIBRARIAN

JOSEPH MARTIN, Esq.

CURATOR—

JAMES FLETCHER, Esq.

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL—

W. R. WRIGHT, Esq.,

WM. KERR, Esq.,

W. H. HARRINGTON, Esq.

ROOMS—160¹/₂ SPARKS STREET.

READING ROOM (for List of Newspapers and Periodicals see other side) open daily, Sundays and Bank Holidays excepted, from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.

LIBRARY AND MUSEUM open daily from 8.30 to 10 a.m., from 4 to 6 p.m., and from 7 to 10 p.m.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION, \$2.00, PAYABLE IN ADVANCE.

WINTER COURSE OF LECTURES, &c.

The Programme for the Current Season is
as follows:

1879.

Nov. 14—Inaugural Address. Subject:

"Scientific Ethics." THE PRESIDENT

" 28—"A Humourist of the XVth

Century." MARTIN J. GRIFFIN, Esq.

Dec. 5—Conversazione.

" 12—"Walt Whitman." R. M. BUCKE, Esq., M.D.

" 19—"Genesis of the Metalliferous

Ore Veins." R. B. HARE, Esq., Ph. D.

1880.

Jan. 9—Conversazione MEMBERS OF THE O.F.N.C.

" 23—"Cosmic Matter." T. STERRY HUNT, Esq. L.L.D., F.R.S.

30—"Some causes of the deterioration

of the Public Health." R. W. POWELL, Esq., M. D.

Feb. 13—"Political Satire." GOLDWIN SMITH, Esq., M.A.

" 27—Conversazione.—Subject:

"The value of Classical

Study." MESSRS JOSEPH MARTIN, J. G. WHYTE

R. J. WICKSTEED, L.L.D., B.C.L.,

JAMES FLETCHER and W.D. LESCEUR

Mar. 12—"Wagner and the Romantic

School of Music." J. W. F. HARRISON, Esq.

" 26—Lecture (not yet arranged).

APRIL 23RD.—ANNUAL MEETING.

Tickets for the Course, admitting a Gentleman
and Lady,

TO MEMBERS. - - - 50 CENTS.

TO NON-MEMBERS. - - - \$1.00.

Admission to the Society may be obtained by any person capable of affording satisfactory references. Printed forms of application may be had from any Member of the Council or from the Custodian at the Rooms of the Society. Any person who, before making application for admission to the Society, would wish to visit the Rooms, is cordially invited to do so.

The LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY exists for the purpose of affording the advantage of a public Reading Room, in connection with a Library and Museum, and of arranging courses of Lectures of an instructive and yet popular kind. Below is a List of the Newspapers and Periodicals subscribed for by, or presented to, the Society, and to be seen in the Reading Room:

DAILIES.

Ottawa Citizen, Ottawa Free Press, Toronto Globe, Toronto Mail, Montreal Gazette, Montreal Witness, Montreal Star, Quebec Morning Chronicle.

SEMI-WEEKLY.

The New York Semi-Weekly Tribune.

WEEKLIES.

CANADIAN:—*Canadian Illustrated News*, *Montreal Witness*, *Toronto Monetary Times*, *Grip*, *Sarnia Canadian*.

BRITISH:—*London Times*, *Saturday Review*, *Spectator*, *Athenaeum*, *Punch*, *London Illustrated News*, *Graphic*, *Public Opinion*, *Edinburgh Scotsman*.

AMERICAN:—*Harper's Weekly*, *Scientific American*, *New York World*, *Chicago Tribune*, *New York Sunday Sun*, *Chicago North Western Lumberman*.

MONTHLIES.

CANADIAN:—*The Canadian Monthly*, *Mechanic's Magazine*.

BRITISH:—*Contemporary Review*, *Fortnightly Review*, *Nineteenth Century*, *Blackwood's Magazine*.

AMERICAN:—*Harper's Monthly*, *Atlantic Monthly*, *Popular Science Monthly* and *Supplement*, *Agriculturist*.

QUARTERLIES.

London Quarterly, *Edinburgh Review*, *Westminster Review*.

THE LIBRARY.

The Library contains over 1,100 Volumes in Literature, Art and Science.

THE MUSEUM.

The Museum contains valuable collections of typical specimens in the principal branches of Natural Science, particularly in Botany, Geology, Entomology and Conchology.

Pin this up for Reference

THE OTTAWA FIELD-NATURALISTS CLUB
 UNDER THE DISTINGUISHED PATRONAGE OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
 THE EARL OF MINTO, GOVERNOR GENERAL OF CANADA.

PROGRAMME FOR WINTER SOCIETIES, 1920-1921

1920.
 Dec. 11.—**OPENING CONVERSAZIONE**—Exhibition of specimens.
 President's Inaugural Address, Dr. H. M. Ami, F.R.S.C., etc.
 Presentation by the subscribing members of the Club of a portrait
 in oils of the late E. Billings to the Government of Canada for
 the Geological Survey Museum.
On Various Phases of the Forests in Canada, with lantern illustrations,
 by Dr. Robert Bell, F.R.S., etc.
 1921
 Jan. 8.—Meeting for conversation, exhibition of specimens, and reading of
 papers.
*The Rocky Mountains with special Reference to the Crown of the
 Pass*, by Prof. John Macoun, M.A., F.R.S.C.
Observations on the Crown of the Pass, by Mr. James McEwen, B.Sc.
 Report of the Botanical Branch.
 Jan. 22.—Meeting for conversation, exhibition of specimens, and reading of
 papers.
Explorations in Baffin Land, with lantern illustrations, by Dr.
 Robert Bell, F.R.S.
*On the Arthropod and Botanical Garden at the Central Experiment Station
 Farm, Ottawa*, by Mr. W. T. Macoun.
*Some Iron Ore Deposits of the Cambrian and Cambro-Silurian of
 Ontario*, by Mr. E. D. Ingall, Assoc. R. S. M.
 Report of the Geological Branch.
 Feb. 12.—Meeting for conversation, exhibition of specimens, and papers.
Ancient Channels of the Ottawa River, by Dr. R. W. Eds., F.R.S.C.
Some Points in Reference to the Algonquin Park, by Mr. A. M.
 Campbell.
 Notes (1) *On the Autumn-flowering of various Native Plants in two*,
 by Mr. C. Guillet. (2) *On Mosquitoes*, by Dr. J. Fletcher.
 Report of the Ornithological Branch.
 Feb. 26.—Meeting for conversation, exhibition of specimens, and reading of
 papers.
On the Relation between the Nelson and Churchill Rivers, by Mr. D.
 B. Dowling, B.Sc.
Prehistoric Camping Grounds along the Ottawa River, by Mr. T. W.
 E. Sower.
On Recent Discoveries in the Utica Formation at Ottawa, by Dr. H.
 M. Ami, F.R.S.C.
 Mar. 6.—Meeting for conversation, exhibition of specimens, and papers.
Eat in the Animal Body, its Function and Origin, by Mr. A. T.
 Charron, B.A.
Trees and Shrubs for the Adornment of Streets, Parks and Homes,
 with lantern illustrations, by Dr. W. Saunders, F.R.S.C., etc.
 Report of the Entomological Branch.
 Mar. 12.—Meeting for conversation, exhibition of specimens, and papers.
*The Sources and Distribution of the Gold-bearing Alluvions of the
 Province of Quebec*, by Mr. Robert Chalmers.
Coronidium, with Special Reference to its Occurrence in Ontario, by
 Dr. A. E. Barlow.
 Mar. 19.—**Annual Meeting** of the O.F.N.C. for the reception and adoption
 of the Reports of Council, the election of officers, and other
 business.
 N.B.—At each meeting various objects of natural history will be exhibited
 and the papers will be discussed.

TIME AND PLACES OF MEETINGS.

The Opening Conversazione, by kind permission of Principal McCabe, will be held in the Assembly Hall of the Normal School. The Young Men's Christian Association has again generously placed its commodious Lecture Hall on O'Connor street at the disposal of the Club for the remaining meetings, all of which will be held on TUESDAY evenings, and will begin at 8 o'clock punctually.

Appendix III

*The following Committee Leaders,
and Editors were appointed by the
Council.*

Standing Committees of Council:

Publishing: A. Gibson, J. M. Macoun, H. M. Ami, F. T. Shutt, J. W. Baldwin, Miss M. McKay Scott.
Excursions: H. M. Ami, A. Hackett, A. Gibson, A. G. Kingston, T. E. Clarke, Miss R. B. McQuesten, Miss A. L. Matthews.
Slides: F. T. Shutt, W. T. Macoun, A. E. Attwood, Miss R. B. McQuesten, Miss A. L. Matthews.

Leaders:

Geology: H. M. Ami, W. J. Watson, D. B. Dowling, J. Keele, W. H. Collins.
Botany: John Macoun, D. A. Campbell, A. E. Attwood, S. B. Sinclair, T. E. Clarke.
Entomology: J. Fletcher, W. H. Harrington, C. H. Young, A. Gibson, J. W. Baldwin.
Conchology: F. R. Litchford, J. F. Whiteaves, J. Fletcher, S. E. O'Brien.
Ornithology: G. Eitrig, W. T. Macoun, A. G. Kingston, A. H. Gallup.
Zoology: E. E. Prince, A. Hackett, W. S. Odell, E. E. Lemieux.
Archaeology: T. W. E. Sowter, J. Ballantyne.
Meteorology: Otto Klotz, Jno. Macoun, A. E. Attwood, D. A. Campbell.

THE OTTAWA NATURALIST.

Editor:

JAMES M. MACOUN. (Geological Survey of Canada.)

Associate Editors:

DR. R. W. ELLS, Geological Survey of Canada.—Department of *Geology*.
DR. J. F. WHITEAVES, Geological Survey of Canada.—Dept. of *Paleontology*.
DR. A. E. BARLOW, Geological Survey of Canada.—Dept. of *Petrography*.
DR. JAS. FLETCHER, Central Experimental Farm.—*Botany and Nature Study*.
HON. F. R. LITCHFORD.—Department of *Conchology*.
MR. W. H. HARRINGTON, Post Office Department.—Dept. of *Entomology*.
MR. A. G. KINGSTON, Public Works Department.—Dept. of *Ornithology*.
PROF. E. E. PRINCE, Commissioner of Fisheries for Canada.—Dept. of *Zoology*.
DR. OTTO KLOTZ.—Dept. of *Meteorology*.

*Meeting adjourned—
J. E. Clarke,
Sec.*

*H. P. Gibson
President*

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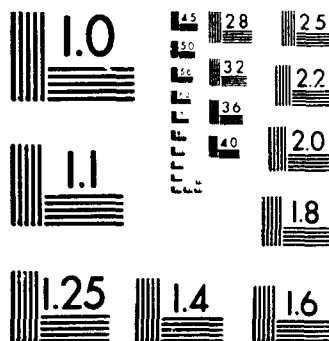
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