



# **Libraries: Traditions and Innovations**

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Papers from the Library History Seminar XIII

Edited by  
Melanie A. Kimball and Katherine M. Wisser

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Jordan S. Sly

## “Improve the Moment”

### Mechanics’ Institutes and the Culture of Improvement in the Nineteenth-Century

In their nascent forms, mechanics’ institutes were commissioned libraries often supported by factory owners and other persons with an interest in the scientific education of mechanics. In his description of the Victorian cityscape, Asa Briggs meaningfully describes mechanics’ institutes as “products of the age of improvement” and that they “stood for the diffusion of knowledge among all classes, particularly among the skilled artisans.”<sup>1</sup> Mechanics were the skilled or semi-skilled tradesmen and artisan workers of the early industrial era.<sup>2</sup> With further development in manufacturing came a shift in the composition of the workforce from the skilled artisan to the general laborer. In the context of the mechanics’ institute movement, this shift had two related and important consequences. Firstly, as the sociologist Julia Wrigley argued, the general development and scientific education of mechanics was no longer the primary focus of the institutes but instead a focus on narrow and work-defined skills.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, this shift refocused institute goals more holistically towards the proselytizing of moral and spiritual —not science-education focused— improvement as defined by the nineteenth-century liberal philosophy of Self-Help.

Within the shared historiographies of the adult education movements and the social history of industrialization, mechanics’ institutes are discussed as being both educational improvement centers and as temperance alternatives to competing venues such as pubs, taverns or saloons, thus centralizing a linkage to both intel-

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1 Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1963): 47.

2 For more on the development of the mechanics’ institute movement see, Ian Inkster’s edited collection, *The Steam Intellect Societies: Essays on Culture, Education and Industry, c. 1820–1914*, ((Derby: University of Nottingham Press, 1985), particularly Toshio Kusamitsu’s “Mechanics’ Institutes and Working Class Culture: Exhibition Movements, 1830–1840,” 33–43, G.W. Roderick and M.D. Stephens’ “Mechanics” Institutes and the State,” 60–72 and “Steam Intellect Created: The Educational Roles of the Mechanics’ Institutes,” 20–32; Inez Cohen’s chapter “The Mechanics’ Institute Library” in *America’s Membership Libraries*, ed. Richard Wendorf (New Castle: Oak Knoll Press, 2007), 263–299; and Stephen Rice’s “Head and Hand: The Mechanics Institute Movement and the Conception of Class Authority,” in *Minding the Machine: Languages of Class in Early Industrial America*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 42–69. For a detailed analysis of the nuances of working-class life and the availability of intellectual spaces see Jonathan Rose’s classic monograph, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

3 Julia Wrigley, “The Division Between Mental and Manual Labor: Artisan Education in Science in Nineteenth-Century Britain.” *The American Journal of Sociology* Vol. 88 (1982): S31–51.

lectual and moral improvement.<sup>4</sup> While the establishment and use of mechanics' institutes was primarily a nineteenth-century and —within the context of this paper— industrial phenomenon, there are useful antecedents in the eighteenth century as it pertains to the philosophies, development, and constitutions of the institutes examined. As the needs of the owners and the values of the middle-class changed, however, the missions of mechanics' institutes adapted to address these demands and it is this philosophical plasticity that this paper addresses. This paper illustrates five examples that support and highlight the progression from an original focus on adult education to that of liberal moralizing improvement: the founding and evolving documentation from the New Haven Mechanics' Institute, analysis of the journalistic discussion of the New Haven Mechanics' Institute found in contemporaneous articles in the *Connecticut Journal*, speeches given at the establishment of two additional mechanics' institutes, and the public program for a series of "penny readings" from a mechanics' institute in Clerkenwell, London. These show the mechanics' institute as both evolving experiments and as useful tools of the improvement culture. These examples do not, however, provide the scope needed to fully understand the total development of the mechanics' institutes, but they do shed some light on the idea of the mechanic institute as a unique and interesting model for studying the social history of the industrial worker, the development of adult education, and the nature of liberal thought in the nineteenth and twentieth-centuries.

As the nature of manufacturing changed from cottage industry and small-scale production to one of increased mechanization, factory owners and industrial scientists like George Birkbeck (1776–1841) recognized that there was a need for an educated workforce. Because of the complexity of the machinery and the science involved in production, workers who knew the physics of the machines and the chemistry behind the engines that moved them were valued. In 1821, Birkbeck instituted a series of free public lectures on the mechanical arts in Glasgow. These lectures were intended to pique the interest of Glasgow workers in the sciences and to increase their understanding of the machines and devices they used in their work and thus serve as a beginning point for the study of mechanics' institutes.<sup>5</sup>

Before Birkbeck, mutual benefit societies allowed artisans and others to gather and further their education in their trade. Originally founded in the late-eighteenth

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<sup>4</sup> For deeper analysis of role of the saloon as a critical working-class societal institution within the American context, see Jon Kingsdale, "The 'Poor Man's Club': Social Functions of the Urban Working-Class Saloon," *American Quarterly* 25 (1973): 472–489. Kingsdale discusses the idea that saloons functioned as a central location for communities, typically served food at a reduced price, and often provided social safety nets such as kitchen space and community-pooled funds for workers and workers' families. These benefits in addition to the obvious escapism of alcohol made such establishments a strong competitor for the time of the working-class man in an era of paternalistic improvement culture.

<sup>5</sup> Julia Wrigley, "The Division Between Mental and Manual Labor: Artisan Education in Science in Nineteenth-Century Britain."

century, the New Haven Young Men's Institute has gone through many changes including an important stint as the New Haven Mechanics' Institute. According to founding documentation from the early formation in 1793, the institute was primarily concerned with "...the establishment of a public library in the city of New Haven."<sup>6</sup> Scholars of the American public library movement will note that this social library worked in the fashion that Haynes McMullen terms a "strict" social library in that the collection was donated or purchased by and exclusively for the use of the subscribers and therefore the use of the term 'public' must be taken with that understanding.<sup>7</sup> These subscribers, then existed under one corporate body known as the "Mechanic Library Society." In this early society example, it is important to reiterate the above point about the nature of the mechanics, that these workers were not laborers but instead natural philosophers, artisans, and hobby scientists. Class was a consistent dividing line in these early libraries as illustrated by the often prohibitive subscription fees.<sup>8</sup>

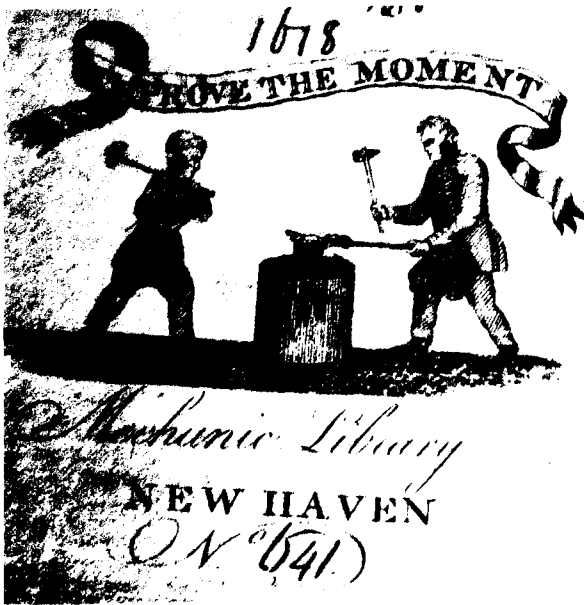
It is not until the early nineteenth-century that the Young Men's Institute underwent important structural changes to its mission as evidenced by internal policy documentation and outward facing branding. One example of this mission illustrated through branding is the design of the institutes' bookplates from the years 1794 – 1815. These bookplates exemplify the focus of the library by highlighting specific values that adhere to the era from which they represent. The institute's founding bookplate, for example (Figure 1), —with the likely apocryphal date of 1794— preserves the original and artisanal focus of the library.<sup>9</sup> This plate shows two craftsmen (blacksmiths) at an anvil with the motto "improve the moment" printed above them. Through the improvement language and the iconography of the tradesmen, the 1794 bookplate serves as the starting point of the institute's mission. As the institute's members changed and the prohibitive nature of the subscription library became more enmeshed in the mission, the bookplate changed to illustrate these values. The c.1804 bookplate, (Figure 2) paints a dramatically different picture than the 1794 plate. In this image the artisans have been replaced with cherubic figures holding aloft a scroll that enumerates the humanist disciplines of "Theology/History/Biography/Voyages & Travels/ and Classical." The figures are flying above a pile of open books, unfurled scrolls, a globe and an open atlas with a compass sitting on top of its pages; a romantic and bucolic scene to be sure and one reminiscent of other examples of neo-classical extravagance and lofty educational goals. To further illustrate this idea that

<sup>6</sup> "The Constitution and Bye-Laws of the Mechanic Library Society of New Haven, with a Catalogue of Books and List of the Proprietors." New Haven: Abel Morse, 1793.

<sup>7</sup> Haynes McMullen, *American Libraries Before 1876*, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000), 63.

<sup>8</sup> Joan Edmundson, "Mechanics' Institutes and Public Libraries," in *Penny Rate: Aspects of British Public Library History, 1850–1950*, ed. W.A. Munford (London: The Library Association, 1951), 132–133.

<sup>9</sup> This date is questionable because it antedates the Birkbeck institutes in Scotland and England. The source of this information is the archival entry for the bookplate which reads, "plate used by first library in New Haven —approx..—1794."



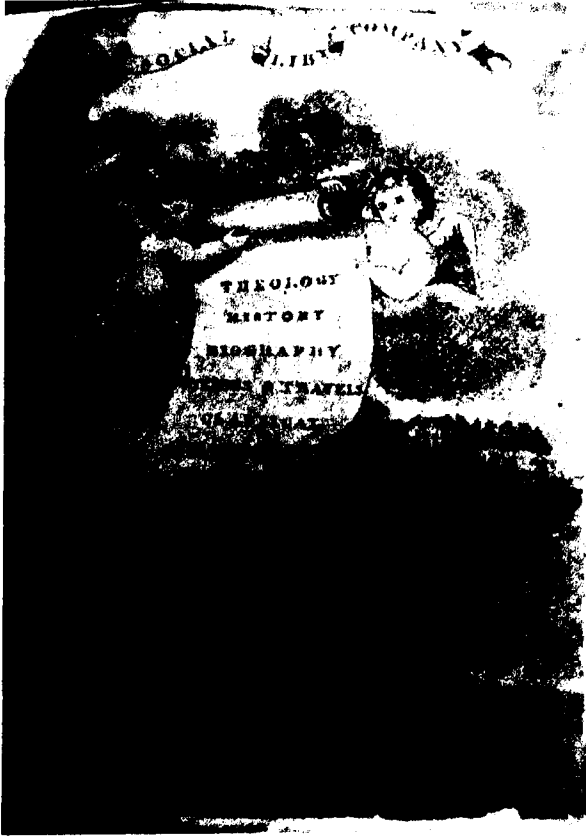
**Figure 1:** New Haven Mechanic Library Original Bookplate C. 1794. Photo credit, Jordan Sly, taken with permission at the New Haven Young Men's Institute, 2011.

mechanics' institutes demonstrate the attitudes surrounding shifts in labor from craftsmen to worker, around 1815 the Mechanic Library readopted a logo and bookplate with the important slogan, "improve the moment." In some respects, this bookplate represents a combination of the 1792 and the 1804 bookplates. In this iteration, it is the cherubic figures that are shown practicing an artisan's trade (Figure 3). Above the improvement motto there is a stack of books with a ring of light around it to illustrate the importance of enlightenment through reading and education. These three bookplates illustrate a clear progression that each represents a stage of the evolution of the institute's mission from a tradition of craftsman and labor focused education with little adornment to Baroque neo-classical loftiness to what is essentially a combination of the three. Through these bookplates, we are thus able to read the shifting representation of labor to about c. 1815 and perhaps the shift from scientific education to moral or enlightened improvement as the primary focus of the institution.

One of the first major changes of the New Haven institute came in 1826 when a group of eight young artisans decided to improve upon the original society and created the Apprentices Library Association. This society, like its predecessor, had the aim of "intellectual improvement of its members."<sup>10</sup> Perhaps due to the changing need in the community, in 1828 the institution's name was once again changed to the Mechanics' Institute, and the philosophy of the institute more explicitly mapped out the goals behind the mechanics' institute movement at large. William Borden, the librarian of

<sup>10</sup> William Borden, *An Historical Sketch of the New Haven Young Men's Institute. Librarian of the Young Men's Institute*, (New Haven: New Haven Young Men's Institute, 1904).





**Figure 2:** Bookplate: Social Library c. 1804 (Young Men's Institute, Mechanic Library). Photo credit, Jordan Sly, taken with permission at the New Haven Young Men's Institute, 2011.

the institute in 1904, wrote a short history of the institute wherein he explained that the principal mission of the library was education for those whom formal schooling had failed or overlooked. Borden's history explains that the goal was to allow the "young working man" to learn what "interested him most" and not "what he ought to know."<sup>11</sup> The library's stated mission was therefore perhaps best represented in the iconography of the early nineteenth-century romantic bookplate from 1804. The institute attempted to teach young workers in the forms of lecture, individual study, and classroom instruction. According to Borden, the classrooms were developed based on the traditional classroom model, and therefore he believed they were not as effective with older workers who felt out of place in the classroom.<sup>12</sup> A Centennial Committee established in 1926 to trace the history of the institute understood the mission in much the same way. It was the findings of the committee that "self-improvement, not

<sup>11</sup> William Borden, *An Historical Sketch of the New Haven Young Men's Institute. Librarian of the Young Men's Institute.*

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*



**Figure 3:** Bookplate from the Mechanic Library, New Haven c.1815 (Young Men's Institute). Photo credit, Jordan Sly, taken with permission at the New Haven Young Men's Institute, 2011.

instruction from an outside source, was the motive power of the institute."<sup>13</sup> While it was the goal of the institute to help young mechanics improve their education, the fraught class tensions of the nineteenth-century imbued the contemporaneous writing about this educational goal both a sense of skepticism and with a distinct call for paternalistic moral improvement in addition to their trade education.

Journalistic and editorial discussions of Mechanics' institutes illustrate the general unease felt by the middle and upper classes about the working-class of the period. While the general sentiment of much of this journalism is approving of the education of young working-class men, there is a palpable unease regarding the form and content of the education. Both proponents and opponents of the institutions cited moralizing and temperance arguments to praise or disparage their purpose. A September 1832 editorial in the *Connecticut Journal* illustrates this sentiment by insisting that there are:

...so many institutions established for the purpose of diffusing the benefits of education among the younger portion of the community, especially mechanics and the laboring classes..." The article continues: "...It is a matter of astonishment, that when so many facilities are afforded to

<sup>13</sup> Centennial Committee. *Young Men's Institute, 1826-1926*, (New Haven, N.P., 1926).

young men for acquiring useful knowledge, they should all be slighted or treated with indifference ... In general, the value and worth of them are not appreciated.<sup>14</sup>

The institute is described as a noble but ignored gift for the working-class to aid in their educational and moral improvement. Additionally, the author makes note that, “to gain knowledge requires active effort; the passive instruction imparted by lectures makes but little impression, compared with that made by patient, preserving study.”<sup>15</sup> The author of the editorial continues, “but so long as the semblance of knowledge can be maintained by attending lectures, and while they serve as a cloak for ignorance, it will be difficult to persuade our young men that it is by study alone that substantial information can be acquired.”<sup>16</sup> Through this diatribe, the author has clearly indicated his belief that despite lectures and classes, the working youth will never have the discipline for true learning without contemplative and assiduous study; a luxury not generally afforded to those working in mills and factories. This article highlights a current of journalism covering mechanics’ institutes at this time. Articles such as this from the *Connecticut Journal* illustrates a pervasive dual message of condescension and support for the moral cause of self-improvement.

This message of improvement can be read in George Barrell Emerson’s address given at the opening of the Boston Mechanics’ Institution in February 1827. Emerson, a prominent educator, delivered a speech which, like the 1832 *Connecticut Journal* editorial, draws upon the imagery of man being lifted out of poverty through education. Emerson discusses the natural ability of humanity to learn about his environment and to “throw upon the business and labors of common life the light of reason and philosophy.”<sup>17</sup> The use of Enlightenment language is reminiscent of the images on the bookplates used in the New Haven Young Men’s Institute and also the original mission as described by Birkbeck. Emerson reinforces his linkage that “Science and art are of a kindred nature...but they have been separated by the ignorance and necessities of men, and have both deeply suffered from the separation.”<sup>18</sup> This suffering is implied in Emerson’s plea that in the centuries before, artisans were skilled craftsmen associated with art and culture. And that in juxtaposition, it is the recent relegating of working people to the factory floor that is a fault for the current social ills, deficient education, and stigma surrounding the working-class.

Throughout his speech, George Emerson evokes the nineteenth-century liberal philosophy of Self-Help as defined by Samuel Smiles, whose titular work can be read as something a manual for nineteenth-century middle-class values. In Smiles’

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<sup>14</sup> “Young Mechanic’s Institute,” *Connecticut Journal*, September 1932.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> George Emerson, “An Address Delivered at the Opening of the Boston Mechanics’ Institution, February 7, 1827,” (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins, 1827), 3.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

1859 introduction to *Self-Help* he describes the origin of his work as evolving out of a lecture given to "two or three young men of the humblest rank resolved to meet in the winter evenings, for the purpose of improving themselves by exchanging knowledge with each other."<sup>19</sup> Smiles' work follows on from other improvement literature of roughly the same period such as Timothy Claxton's *Hints for Mechanics* which, like the above mentioned origins of *Self-Help* revolve around mechanics' institutes and adult education.<sup>20</sup> For Smiles, help from society was seen as "enfeebling in its effects," that is that true moral improvement could come only from the self-dedicated work of the individual.<sup>21</sup> The nineteenth-century's awakening to the moral issues surrounding poverty provide a window into the nature of compassion, improvement, and punishment. James Vernon puts the identification of charity in the context of two separate spheres. In one sphere there is the humanitarian compassion felt for destitute women, children, and colonial populations, but in the other sphere there is little compassion for men in the same situation as they are seen as able to work but are unwilling.<sup>22</sup> Smiles' work and the missions of the mechanics' institutes therefore fall in between the draconian New Poor Law of 1834 which instituted severe forms of moral improvement such as the dreaded work house and the "enfeebling" aspects of outright charity.

Explicitly foremost in Smiles' *Self-Help* is the notion of moral improvement which directly connects the personal with national improvement. Smiles explains that "the greatest slave is not he who is ruled by a despot...but he who is the thrall of his own moral ignorance, selfishness, and vice."<sup>23</sup> Within this context, Emerson correlated the use of the institutes with a reduction in the pursuit of vice. Emerson states that, "temptations assail him [the mechanic] in vein. He is armed by high and pure thoughts. He takes a wider view of his relations with the beings about and above him...he glories in the consciousness and the hope of immortality."<sup>24</sup> This is an unsubtle and direct appeal to the audience that the establishment of the institute will solve the problem of intemperance and vice by giving the workers a more civilized avenue of pursuit.

Importantly, Emerson also makes an appeal to employers who, by this time were becoming somewhat leery of the influence of education on their workers due to the resulting desire for better conditions. He notes that there is no need for concern as a person with better education will be better at their job. He concludes by asking, "let a mechanic understand the nature of the material he employs, enable him to predict the effect which heat and air and moisture will have upon it, show him how to counteract that effect; will he, in consequence of this knowledge, produce a less durable

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19 Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help*, (London: John Murray, 1859), iii.

20 Kenneth Fielden, "Samuel Smiles and *Self-Help*," *Victorian Studies* 12 (1968): 158-161.

21 Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help*, 1.

22 James Vernon, *Hunger: A Modern History*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007): 17-40.

23 Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help*, 18.

24 *Ibid.*

work?”<sup>25</sup> For all of Emerson’s praise of the industrious working population, however, there is a distinct nod to the middle-class sense of unease that resounds throughout much of the speech as he says, “it is not our object to make deep philosophers,”<sup>26</sup> making it clear that the larger mission was the improvement of the state of the working-class, but not to bring them on par with their societal betters.

Similarly, at the opening of the New York Mechanic Institution in New York City this heavy-handed approach to public enlightenment was made far more explicit with the foundational speech by Thomas Mercein. In his speech, there is both an appeal to the mechanics themselves to use the institution for their own benefit as well as an appeal to the city government and the upper-class citizens of the city to illustrate that the institution will pull the lower ranks out the depths of implied depravity. The opening of the address begins with Mercein’s use of the common civic improvement rhetoric used for many of the mechanics’ institutes. The institution was devoted, he says, to the future generations who will seek the “deep fountains of knowledge” found within the walls of the institution. The main purpose of the institution was to help pull “genius from obscurity, expand the human intellect, increase the duration of civil liberty and multiply the blessings of social life.”<sup>27</sup> Mercein’s speech comes to a point, however, where the religious rhetoric displaces the educational benefit:

...at this moment witnessing, this, our labor of love, and raising their highest hallelujahs to that God, who put it into the hearts of their former Brethren to raise a building, devoted to the education and instruction of the helpless and the destitute...<sup>28</sup>

By employing images of the downtrodden, Mercein is making it known —for the benefit of the audience— that the institute will support the community and improve the working-class population with education. It is not, however, the mechanics’ institute movement’s scientific education that Mercein believes will help those on the lower strata of the social sphere. In order to become “useful” in society, Mercein explains, the mechanics and the mechanics’ children must find “information... that will snatch them from the vortex of vice and dissipation, to which ignorance, and the absence of religious education were leading them...that they imbibe those principles and receive that bias, that will make them useful in their day and generation.”<sup>29</sup> The founding speeches at these mechanics’ institutes clearly illustrate both the moral and class panic directed at the working and poor classes as well as a direct example of Self-Help’s influence and use in society.

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<sup>25</sup> George Emerson, “An Address Delivered at the Opening of the Boston Mechanics’ Institution, February 7, 1827.”

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>27</sup> Thomas R. Mercein, “Remarks on Laying the Corner Stone of the Mechanic Institution; June 13, 1821,” (New York: William A. Mercein, 1822), 23.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*.

While the founding of many institutes was based at least partly on the society's focus on Self-Help, the actual education provided within the institutes may not have always supported their ideals fully.<sup>30</sup> American Transcendentalists like Ralph Waldo Emerson lectured, often in mechanics' institutes, about the need to find help from within; as opposed to the nature of charity found with Self-Help. In his address to the New Haven Young Men's Institute, he told the crowd of mechanics, trades people, merchants, and other onlookers about the need to find happiness, faith, and intellectual satisfaction within their own minds, not to rely on others to dictate their needs to them.<sup>31</sup> The speech delivered went against much of the Self-Help literature housed within the collection of the institute. As the library found that increasing numbers of patrons wanted to read fiction and newspapers, the amount of sensationalized rags-to-riches novels in the collection increased. These works, by authors like Horatio Alger, T.S. Arthur and Oliver Optic told moralistic stories that highlighted much of what was preached in Smilesesque Self-Help literature. The overt morals of temperance and servitude in these stories seem, to modern readers, explicit in their goal of reforming the working-class populations. Lectures on Self-Reliance, however, taught the attendees not to adhere to the societal constructs but to break free and develop their own success.

With the increasing obsession with imposed improvement, mechanics' institutes began to lose their focus in both Britain and in America in the mid-nineteenth century. While some institutes insisted on education as a paramount feature of the lectures, other institutes simply wanted bodies in the seats and held lectures on popular topics, often including song and humor to convince people to sit through moralizing lectures. Because mechanics' institutes were competing with pubs and music halls, many institutes held programs that brought some element of the music hall to the institute. Penny readings were one hybrid form aimed at the working-class. These readings were an attempt at getting the men out of the pubs, and into more cultural and wholesome events. There typically was, however, music involved as a way to get people in the door, and to keep them in their seats. One flyer promoting a Penny Reading at the Working Men's Institute, Clerkenwell, London (1866) offers a number of music hall and vaudeville type entertainments with poetry and improvement lectures sandwiched within. The arrangement of the entertainment is interesting in that it places the literature readings amongst songs, and forces the audience to stay through the intermission in order to see the piano playing and the comedic, ventriloquist act.<sup>32</sup> This heavy-handedness illustrates the middle-class efforts to give the

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<sup>30</sup> For more on Self-Help and nineteenth-century liberal philanthropism see James Vernon, *Hunger: A Modern History*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007).

<sup>31</sup> As illustrated in the review of Emerson's lecture at the mechanics' institute in New Haven: "Mr. Emerson's Lecture," *Daily Register*, New Haven, November 22, 1856

<sup>32</sup> Victor Neuburg, *Popular Literature: A History and Guide*, (London: The Woburn Press, 1977), 242-247.

working-class a wholesome evening in the institute, as opposed to the bawdy music halls or pubs.<sup>33</sup> This flyer also illustrates the shift in purpose in the institutes as the century wore on. By 1866, when the Clerkenwell performance was scheduled, there was far more of an emphasis on moral and intellectual betterment and particularly on temperance as opposed to the previous focus on scientific education.

As the program from the Clerkenwell Penny Reading illustrated, Self-Help philosophy was embedded among popular entertainment in order to draw a working-class audience. Similarly, lectures on self-reliance philosophy can be seen in the programs of the Young Men's Institute in New Haven, Connecticut. While these philosophies are different in practice, there is an important similarity in the tactics used by British and American institute proprietors. By 1856 there is a noticeable shift in the focus of the Young Men's institutes' lectures. Printed in the *New Haven Journal and Courier*, an 18 November 1856 program advertised lectures by Ralph Waldo Emerson and others, but only a brief passing mention that "A short course of popular scientific lectures may also be provided during the winter." It is clear in this flippant statement that the educational and scientific goals of the institute's founding were no longer the mission. Instead, the lectures and events focused on the improvement of the mind and soul.<sup>34</sup> This is not to imply that the lectures were without educational value, but the events at this late stage in the development of the institute show an increased emphasis on the improvement values and of the middle-class and no longer specifically supported the unique needs of the skilled early industrial worker.

Mechanics' institutes existed in between two distinct eras of western industrial history. In the early formation of the industrial centers of Britain and the U.S., there was an idea that skill would outlast the machine, and that artisans would remain a necessary member of the skilled workforce. Mechanics' institutes were a key factor in this short period of industrial education, but became less relevant both as a result of the loss of their original focus and the availability of public and regional libraries. As the institutes shifted from education to moral improvement, the lectures changed from those of the "mechanical arts" to those of the related, but differing models of both the liberal Self-Help and the individualistic Self-Reliance. In the early nineteenth-century, there was an emphasis on trying to provide workers with a foundational level of scientific education, but as the century wore on, this sentiment faded and the main commodity in the factory was not the skilled workman, but instead the inexpensive and plentiful labor found in undereducated men, women, and children.

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<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, 242

<sup>34</sup> "Institute Lectures," *Journal and Courier*, New Haven, November 18, 1856.

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