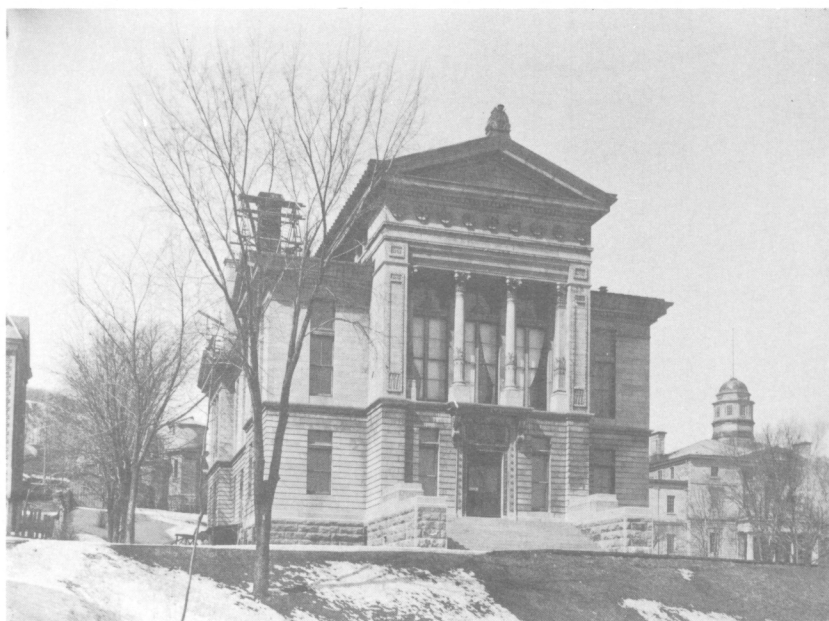
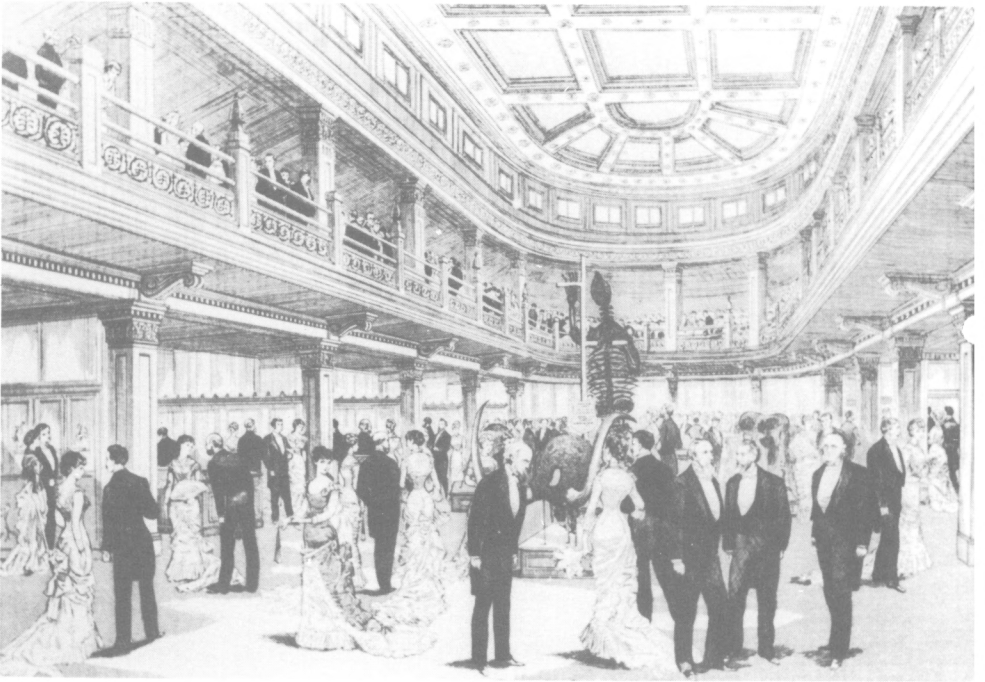


Stones and Bones and Skeletons



Exterior of the Peter Redpath Museum.  
(Courtesy of the Notman Photographic Archives)



Reception for the American Association for the Advancement of Science in the new Redpath Museum

(from the Canadian Illustrated News, 2 September 1882).



Main Gallery of the Peter Redpath Museum, 1889.

(Courtesy of the Notman Photographic Archives)





## **“Stones and bones and skeletons”**

### **The origins and early development of the Peter Redpath Museum (1882-1912)**

The word museum has certain somewhat inert connotations for our contemporaries, one may guess, that it did not have before we all became a global village. The Editor remembers as a child habitually referring to the great university museum in Edinburgh, which is mentioned glancingly in the following pages, as "the Dead Zoo." Yet it was a great pleasure for a family to go there on wet Saturdays, such as now seem to tether families to the television box. As Sheets-Pyenson recounts here, the rise of museums in the 19th century was intimately tied to a phase of enthusiastic growth of interest in natural history, when to collect and house objects of curiosity from all over the world, so that they might be contemplated together, was an activity indispensable to the pursuit of science. That that is no longer so for many aspects of science, given the extraordinary instruments of record and communication now in use, does not mean that museums no longer have the function they were designed for; the Redpath is still alive and well as a teaching institution. But as the following account shows, its early habits of individualism had their anxious moments with the winds of change, as science ramified into systems.

The Peter Redpath Museum of McGill University will celebrate its one-hundredth birthday next August. While such an occasion is in itself cause for reflection on an institution's past,

other reasons make a short history of the museum's early days particularly important now. As the only museum in Montreal devoted to biology, geology, and palaeontology, the Peter Redpath Museum holds a unique position in the city today. No one would have guessed, when McGill's natural history museum flourished alongside those of the Montreal Natural History Society and the Geological Survey of Canada during the nineteenth century, that the junior member of the trio would capture this honour.

A sketch of the early history of the Redpath Museum also holds a moral for institutions struggling to survive economic adversity. It suggests that no matter how ambitious and energetic an institution's creators, their vision cannot be sustained over the years without a firm financial basis. In the case of the Peter Redpath Museum, development depended upon strong personalities rather than sound economics. Once the museum lost its early directors and patrons, collections grew erratically, research declined, and public support waned. All too quickly the Redpath Museum had ceased to be a scientific showcase for McGill, and had become instead a poignant reminder of a glorious past.

### **The Survey goes to Ottawa**

When John William Dawson arrived at McGill as its third Principal in 1855, the university museum consisted of one fossil. Such a deficiency was serious to the palaeontologist Dawson, who had been educated in Edinburgh. There a measure of Professor Robert Jameson's natural history empire had been the collections he amassed over fifty years, which served the university but also had acted as a mecca to any scientifically inclined inhabitant for miles around. Moreover, during the nineteenth century the adequacy of a museum assumed a critical significance within the discipline of natural history. Museums were the institutional expression of that science's domination by collectors, classifiers, and compilers. To Dawson, then, McGill required a respectable natural history museum in order to achieve any standing as a university and as a centre for the advancement of natural science.

By the early 1860's, when the first college buildings were completed, a room was set aside to house a natural history museum. Slowly the collection grew as a result of money acquired through occasional gifts, the fees collected from Dawson's lectures to medical students, and the museum fund established by the banker and brewer William Molson. Important donations of specimens came from other Montreal residents such as Philip P. Carpenter, who gave a shell collection, and Andrew Fernando Holmes, who provided a herbarium. Dawson himself gathered fossils and rocks during his summer holidays. Some of these objects were deposited in the museum, while duplicate

specimens furnished materials for exchange with other institutions (1).

In 1862 Dawson boasted that McGill's museum held 10,000 natural history specimens, arranged to illustrate successive lecture topics in that subject. Besides its function as a teaching aid, the collections might be used by local naturalists to facilitate their research. Yet Dawson was careful to explain that McGill did not intend to amass a "large general collection" to rival those belonging to other institutions based in Montreal: the Geological Survey of Canada and the Natural History Society. In fact, Dawson promised that future additions to McGill's collections would be made in areas not represented in these two museums (2).

Fifteen years brought dramatic change to Dawson's view of the purpose of the natural history museum at McGill and its relationship to others in Canada. Foremost in precipitating this change was the Dominion government's decision to transfer the Geological Survey and its museum to Ottawa, the backward national capital. Dawson's fury over this development fueled opposition that smouldered in Montreal from the first announcement of the plan in 1877 until the actual move during April and May 1881.

First Dawson tried to use influential friends, including Senator Thomas Ryan and Thomas White, M.P., in order to persuade the government to reverse its decision. A Montreal deputation petitioned the Prime Minister and the Governor-General, while the Board of Trade, City Council, and Corn Exchange all remonstrated against "the evil." When the lobbying failed - predictably, to those who saw the increasingly powerful hand of Ontario in the whole affair - Dawson tried to salvage what he could. He proposed that a branch museum of the Survey be maintained in Montreal which might preserve the original exhibits arranged by the first director, William Logan, and the palaeontologist Elkanah Billings. Only the more recent collections made during A.R.C. Selwyn's directorship, as well as all duplicate specimens, should go to Ottawa. Failing this plan, Dawson hoped that the duplicates would be entrusted to McGill. He even argued that the most precious objects should be left in safety in Montreal. Otherwise these materials might be damaged, ruined, or lost during the move or when housed in the old hotel purchased for the Survey in Ottawa (3).

Considerable bad feeling resulted from what was seen in Montreal as the federal government's "want of faith." The promise made by defense minister L-F-R. Masson for the creation of a Montreal geological museum remained unfulfilled, as well as a vaguer pledge to leave duplicate materials behind. Like the government, members of the Survey expressed little enthusiasm

Susan Sheets-Pyenson

for Dawson's schemes, telling him that he might expect to receive only a small number of specimens at some future date, following the move to Ottawa. Apparently the men lacked the time and money required to inventory and identify their duplicates, causing Dawson to fume that "more than enough are rotting in boxes in the Survey Museum...to remain useless in cellars for years as it has done here."(4)

### **Preparations for the Peter Redpath Museum**

The remarkable indifference that Dawson encountered among some of his former friends and associates, coupled with the actual "act of gross vandalism" removing the Survey museum, seems to have altered his notion of the scope and function of McGill's collections. No longer was he content to build a modest museum, but he aimed to establish "a better collection illustrative of Canadian Geology" than that of the Survey in less than a year. What gave conviction to Dawson's determination was an offer from the Montreal industrialist Peter Redpath to provide McGill with a museum building which would be "the best of its kind in Canada." As it would console him for the loss of the Survey collections, Redpath sought to commemorate Dawson's twenty-five-year tenure as Principal of McGill and, not unintentionally, to dissuade him from accepting a post at Princeton University. The museum that Redpath donated to McGill - costing about \$140,000 - initiated a new era in the level of private bequests to the university (5).

As work on the museum's edifice progressed, Dawson laboured zealously to build up the collections. His own cabinet of nearly 10,000 Canadian rocks and fossils (valued at \$5,000) formed the nucleus. The heirs of William Logan, as part of a complicated manoeuvre related to the transfer of the Survey, donated \$4,000 to form a collection in his memory. With these funds Logan's former assistant, James Richardson, was employed to collect duplicates of Canadian specimens held by the Survey museum exclusively (6).

Another important resource for Dawson's museum-building was his son, who worked for the Geological Survey. In the summer of 1882, George Mercer Dawson toured Europe, sent home timely information about continental museums, and cultivated useful contacts abroad. Particularly impressed by the provincial museums of France, George urged his father to add "a small typical local collection" to the Montreal museum, "with map to accompany it so that anyone could go to the precise spot at which points of importance exist." At Bonn, he visited the geological "merchant" August Krantz, whose immense collection furnished specimens much more cheaply than those from London.

Yet George found that he could procure rocks and minerals in the French countryside for as little as twenty-five centimes apiece (7).

In addition to purchasing materials for the museum, Dawson acquired other natural history objects by exchange with institutions and individuals across Canada, the United States, and Europe. Cordial relations were soon restored with the Geological Survey of Canada. Three months after the move to Ottawa, Dawson received shipments from them; within the next year, the Redpath Museum reciprocated by sending material to Ottawa. Dawson established exchange ententes with keepers at major museums abroad, such as Henry Woodward, head of the British Museum's department of geology. But it was especially to "surveys and private collectors in the United States" that Dawson looked (8).

Earlier Dawson had warned Thomas White that the result of the Dominion government's transfer of the Survey museum was "to annex us practically to the United States." Perhaps Dawson meant that he himself would look south for support. He eagerly swapped fossils with that country's foremost amateurs, including R.D. Lacoë; with state museum directors, like James Hall in New York; and with the most distinguished local societies, such as the Boston Society of Natural History through the efforts of its officers, Alpheus Hyatt and Samuel Scudder. He also arranged exchanges with curators in the largest museums in the land, namely, Richard Rathbun at the National Museum in Washington D.C., and R.P. Whitfield at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. Assistant Secretary Spencer Baird enticed Dawson to aid the Smithsonian Institution's expedition to Ungava Bay by promising him their first series of duplicates - better than the specimens going to Ottawa - for the Redpath Museum (9).

### **Opening day, 1882**

Peter Redpath chided Dawson that his insatiable appetite for "stones and bones and skeletons of all kinds" might overwhelm the new building. As the August 1882 opening date approached, preparations reached a feverish pitch. Dawson and his son-in-law Bernard James Harrington, then professor of chemistry and mineralogy, sacrificed their summer holidays in order to label and arrange specimens in their cases. To speed the work of assistant curator Thomas Curry, the piano-factory employee Paul Kuetzing was hired to mount and renovate vertebrate animals. Edwin Howell, Henry Ward's partner in the taxidermy firm located in Rochester, New York, travelled to Montreal to set up a copy of the British Museum megatherium and some other large objects.

A number of McGill students and graduates volunteered to help transfer the college collections into the new museum building (10).

Dawson called the sight that greeted the 2000 guests who revelled at the formal reception "the greatest gift ever made by a Canadian to the cause of natural science, and...the noblest building dedicated to that end in the Dominion." The Grecian-style exterior, built of limestone quarried near Montreal, represented conventional architectural practice. (By this time the new natural history museums in London and Paris had turned away from classical traditions, and had incorporated biological symbolism into their Gothic or Romanesque facades.) Nor were the dimensions of the building remarkable by world standards, when the American Museum of Natural History covered thirteen acres. Still, Redpath Museum exhibited pleasing external proportions and a well-designed interior plan, with space adequate to display a series of natural history specimens for teaching purposes (11).

Entering the Peter Redpath Museum, the visitor saw at the back of the ground floor a handsome lecture theatre with seats for 200 students. Rooms closer to the front of the building would soon accommodate a herbarium, reference library, classroom, boardroom, and office. At the right side of the entrance, a staircase fitted out with archaeological objects and large slabs of fossil footprints on the landing led to the main floor or "Great Museum Hall." Ward's imposing cast of the megatherium distinguished this floor, which displayed palaeontological, mineralogical, and geological specimens. Fossils along the centre and at either side were arranged according to their progression in geological time; subordinate to this organization came their botanical or zoological classification. The visitor, then, could view the general order of geological succession or trace any group of animals or plants through several geological formations. The second floor of the museum - the gallery of the great hall - contained zoological material. Invertebrates were stored in table cases, while vertebrates were displayed in upright cases. The basement contained a laboratory where specimens could be prepared and stored (12).

### **Growth in the early years: 1882-1897**

A small but distinguished committee chaired by Dawson managed the affairs of the Peter Redpath Museum. In addition to McGill's natural history professors (only B.J. Harrington at first, but later including botany professor David Penhallow and the zoologist E.W. MacBride), three other members of the corporation sat on the committee. The Board of Governors elected Peter Redpath to the group in January 1882. Given Redpath's

anticipated long absence in England, the committee added J.H.R. Molson to their number. Unlike Redpath, Molson took the responsibility seriously, attending the bimonthly meetings regularly and reporting back to the other members on various matters. For the next five years the composition of the group remained fixed, once Professor John Clark Murray of moral philosophy had replaced the deceased Dean of the Medical Faculty, George W. Campbell, in August. By the late 1880's, however, resignations and deaths had altered the committee, which had begun to meet at quarterly intervals (13).

The Redpath Museum Committee worked with remarkably scanty financial resources. From the university came a small portion of medical students' fees (several hundred dollars per year) in exchange for their use of laboratory facilities in the building. On occasion the Board of Governors advanced funds to allow the museum to balance its accounts, but these amounts had to be repaid (each operation of the university had at this time to be financially self-supporting). Because McGill had agreed to preserve the museum, according to the terms of Peter Redpath's donation, the corporation paid for repairs and improvements. Yet the museum was held responsible for general maintenance. A somewhat arbitrary and bizarre division of responsibility ensued: McGill paid for snow removal from the roof; the museum, from the grounds. The university took charge of painting the roof, while the museum oversaw the varnishing of woodwork around the windows. Revenue also came to the museum from the 25 cent admission charge, levied upon all visitors except university staff, McGill graduates, school teachers, and clergymen. Money accrued, in addition, from interest on the various museum funds and from fees paid by the Ladies' Educational Association (about \$100 per year) for lectures delivered in the museum theatre (14).

Perhaps because of their first-hand knowledge of the Museum's dire financial situation - which seldom moved outside the red - members of the museum committee gave generously of their money as well as their time. In addition to Redpath's annual grant of \$1,000 for maintenance of the museum building (continued by his widow who increased the sum to \$1,500 in 1894), Louisa Molson contributed \$2,000 to establish a fund for paying the salary of Thomas Curry, the assistant curator. Louisa's husband J.H.R. Molson donated at least \$500 and sometimes as much as \$1,000 a year for the purchase of otherwise unobtainable collections.

Molson's generosity enabled Dawson to buy rocks and fossils from naturalists and dealers overseas, including Anton Dohrn at the Zoological Station in Naples, the elderly Edward Charlesworth of London, Charles Moore in Liverpool, and August Krantz at Bonn. By the late 1880's the museum collections were valued at

nearly \$60,000 (15). Generally, however, Dawson relied upon donations from friends in Montreal, elsewhere in Canada, and abroad, which were duly acknowledged in the annual reports of the museum and at quarterly intervals in the **Montreal Gazette**. Some of these acquisitions, such as Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Coote Grant's collection of Silurian fossils, provided invaluable additions to the museum's inventory. Yet items like stuffed song sparrows and Baltimore Orioles - accepted in order not to discourage or offend potential patrons - strained the already limited museum resources in providing for their display and preservation.

The salaries and fees of those who cared for these materials and maintained their surroundings accounted for a major source of expenditure. In addition to Curry, who mounted, labelled, arranged, catalogued, and occasionally collected specimens, Edward Ardley became a permanent employee of the museum. As caretaker, he initially earned only \$30 a month plus lodging in the museum basement, and with fuel gas, but over the years that he tended the museum, his tasks became increasingly skilled and specialized. The museum committee purchased him a set of carpenter's tools in 1886, to aid his construction of display stands and shelves. Three years later Ardley regularly cleaned and mounted specimens, owing to the increasing size of the collections and Curry's failing health. He also learned to operate a lathe in order to slice sections of rocks and fossils. Upon Curry's death in the spring of 1894, Ardley took charge of the museum specimens and earned the new title of "caretaker and museum assistant" along with a modest pay increase (16). Not until 1906 was he permitted to relinquish the post of janitor and to reside outside the museum building. Five years later he had picked up further skills as a collector of fossils and rocks and as a preparator of ethnological materials.

Other hands were hired on a casual basis to carry out specific assignments. Several McGill graduates arranged, labelled, and catalogued collections of insects and fossils. Henry Ward set up a gorilla skeleton acquired from Liverpool, but generally Jules F.D. Bailly acted as resident taxidermist. To him fell the honour of mounting the skeleton of the bison shot by Molson and Dawson between Calgary and Medicine Hat (17). Another Montrealer, George Roberts, constructed display cases that were required increasingly as the collections grew. When the museum lacked \$600 to purchase cases for some of the botanical specimens, Roberts' offer to defer payment was eagerly accepted. Unfortunately for the poor carpenter, a year elapsed before he received even half the amount owed him (18).

By 1897, McGill employed a full complement of professors of natural history who also served as honorary curators in their



specialities. David Penhallow joined Dawson and Harrington in 1883, as professor of botany. (In 1893 Frank Dawson Adams succeeded Dawson as Logan Professor of Geology.) E.W. MacBride became professor of zoology in 1897, replacing W.R. Deeks, who had worked his way through the ranks of preparator, demonstrator, lecturer, and instructor in that field, only to resign because of the demands of his medical practice. Each of these men generously gave his time collecting, preparing, labelling, and arranging specimens (19).

Although the primary function of the Peter Redpath Museum was to serve McGill students and faculty, a variety of educational and professional organizations also enjoyed its facilities. The American and British Associations for the Advancement of Science held geological sessions in the lecture theatre and receptions in the Great Hall during their Montreal meetings in the early 1880's. The Protestant Association of Teachers and the Canadian Society of Civil Engineers also met in the Redpath Museum. There the Ladies' Educational Association heard lectures on botany, zoology, and the "geology of Bible Lands." By the early 1890's, however, the committee decided to cease holding evening entertainments in the museum, given the great risk of fire (20).

By coupling its uses by the university with an average annual attendance of around 2,000 during these years, the Redpath Museum could lay claim to being "the foremost educational institution in Canada." But lack of funds impeded its development as a research institution from the beginning. In 1886 Dawson proposed to publish a series of bulletins or memoirs to illustrate important specimens. After a short trial in the annual report, the scheme lapsed. Two years later, however, **Notes on Specimens** began publication. But again because of financial difficulties, the series suspended publication after only one number had been issued (21).

### **Consolidation: 1898-1912**

The first decade and a half of the Peter Redpath Museum had exhibited gradual but sustained growth in the size of museum collections, staff, and attendance. Certain patterns involving finances and administration, including a division of responsibility towards the building and its various departments, had been established over the years. Although the level of funding was not as great as Dawson desired, the regularity of these arrangements permitted the committee to plan for the future. Beginning in the mid-1890's, however, stability in any realm of museum operations could no longer be assured. As a result of a variety of circumstances, direction became less confident and the museum began to falter even in its educational mission.

The death of its long-time patron J.H.R. Molson in June 1897 cast an inauspicious shadow as the Peter Redpath Museum approached the twentieth century. During the next decade Dawson and the first two senior curators - B.J. Harrington and David Penhallow - would also pass away. In 1908 death claimed the practised hand of the taxidermist Bailly. By 1910 all the original members of the museum committee were deceased (22). Unfortunately for its future development, the Redpath Museum failed to recruit equally enthusiastic supporters to replace those lost through attrition. Although both Sir William Macdonald and Sir Donald Smith (Baron Strathcona) donated specimens and cases - including extensive series such as the Quebec advocate Germain Beaulieu's coleoptera and the Read collection of African curios - their commitment lacked the intense dedication of the museum's early guiding lights.

With the increasing infirmity and eventual passing away of its first patrons and directors, the Peter Redpath Museum languished. The minutes of the museum committee, mirrored in the ever more abbreviated **Annual Reports**, became perfunctory and formal. Trivial matters such as allocations for camphor balls, paper trays, and rubber hose occupied the committee's time. Meetings convened at irregular and infrequent intervals: by 1909, the committee usually met only once a year.

Since the endowments of Molson and his wife had ceased with their deaths, the financial situation of the museum worsened. The committee pleaded with the university to establish regular curatorial positions and a permanent fund for the purchase of specimens. Yet the variety of **ad hoc** arrangements sanctioned by the committee itself to cope with temporary difficulties acted to undercut these requests. The gradual takeover by the former janitor Edward Ardley of Curry's vacant assistant curatorship, for example, enabled the university to avoid making a regular appointment. Instead of assistants hired on a permanent basis, students were used - earning little or no pay - to help arrange the herbarium.

Already the **Report** for 1896 had pointed out that the museum "should not be dependent on donations and private gifts", but "should be recognized as a permanent department of University expenditure." The following year's report claimed that lack of means had brought the work in some museum departments practically to a standstill. Even the services of Bailly could not be fully utilized, "owing to the need of anatomical jars to contain some of the specimens prepared by him." The next annual report noted that only \$80 - the interest on the William Molson fund - was available for the purchase of specimens. In 1899 and 1900, Harrington communicated the museum's desperate financial plight to a meeting of the Corporation and emphasized that there were

no funds whatsoever to increase its collections. At this time museum resources ran behind expenditures by around \$400 to \$500 per year. Harrington even argued somewhat facetiously that the absence of funds to purchase specimens gave the Peter Redpath Museum "a unique position among the University Museums of the Continent."<sup>(23)</sup> The university nevertheless paid little attention to these complaints, and continued only to undertake general museum repairs and maintenance as it had originally been obliged to do.

Because accidents of fate or fortune prevailed in the realm of acquisitions, the collections grew erratically during the early twentieth century. Previous years had been characterized by gradual growth through donations, exchange, and purchase. Around 1900 individual gifts declined markedly; only in 1907 did the annual report note that such contributions were once again on the increase. Suddenly in 1910 the museum instituted exchange ententes with institutions in Germany and Japan. The acquisition of several major collections around this same time created acute exhibition and storage problems. The need to accession and display 6,000 specimens in the Ferrier mineral collection led the report of 1906 to raise the issue, first mooted ten years earlier, of separating biological from geological material and keeping the latter only in the museum. Two major ethnological collections acquired a few years later had to await show cases for months, and found exhibition space finally in the corridor (24).

The unpredictability of resources eventually threatened to affect the museum's role as an instrument of instruction as well as its role as a public attraction. As the museum committee pointed out in 1896, "a museum without means of growth soon falls behind the requirements of education." In 1903 the annual attendance began to decline precipitously from its average during the late 1890's of around 2,500, to an all-time low of 1,380 in 1906. A number of measures were instituted to reverse this trend. The committee designated special "visiting days" and instituted "college teas" in order to publicize the museum. The earlier pattern of accommodating student and professional meetings "in the interest of science or art, or questions of leading public importance" was reinstated during the late 1890's at an even more popular level: meetings of the Banjo Club, an amateur dramatic performance, and the public lectures of the Montreal Natural History Society all took place there.

By the early twentieth century the museum had renounced its past view of school classes as a distraction to serious workers and claimed that it had always encouraged "nature study for the young." Annual reports began to list the local schools that sent ever more and larger classes. They also mentioned the names of distinguished scientists from all over the world who either travelled to the museum to study its collections or borrowed

specimens for research and comparison with their own materials. In a final bid to broaden museum support, the committee abolished the admission fee in 1907. The tally of visitors increased dramatically thereafter, with over 3,000 in attendance in 1908. This increase, however, seems to have reflected a different method of tabulation that included students from schools in the total number (25).

The decline of the Peter Redpath Museum during the early twentieth century in large measure reflected the flagging fortunes of the museum movement around the globe. As the natural history sciences - now pursued by specialist geologists, zoologists, and botanists - began to present more promising vistas from the microscopic, rather than the macroscopic, level, museums began to lose their disciplinary centrality. Even Darwinian evolution, which at first had accelerated the zeal to collect by rationalizing taxonomy and giving new scientific significance to varieties, seemed to offer greater inducements to the geneticist in the laboratory than to the ornithologist or mammalogist in the field. Those who remained in the field found that new techniques like photography provided better data about ecology and behaviour than copious museum specimens (26). Developments external to biological discourse, such as the rise of public and private research institutions diverted resources and interest away from museums to other scientific endeavours.

Yet to some extent the waning fortunes of the Redpath Museum in this period resulted from the particular circumstances of its own past. Its development had been wedded to the aspirations of its first director, John William Dawson, and the designs of its early patrons. Once the imprint and especially the resources of these men were lost, the museum lacked sustenance as well as a clear sense of purpose. By neglecting the public until too late, its directors had failed to imbue others with that love for natural history and for the museum which might have led to recruiting them as supporters and eventual patrons.

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NOTES

1. William Dawson, **Fifty Years of Work in Canada: Scientific and Educational**. London: Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., 1901, 169-72.
2. "Notice of the Natural History Collections of the McGill University," **Canadian Naturalist and Geologist**, 7, 1862, 221-23.
3. Earl of Dufferin to JWD, 20 June 1877. Acc. 927, no. 47: ref. 9, J.W. Dawson to J.A. MacDonald, December 1879; ref. 5, H. Lyman to JWD, 15 December 1879; ref. 2, JWD to A.R.C. Selwyn, 7 November 1879; ref. 30, Marquis of Lorne to JWD, 19 February 1881; ref. 7, JWD to W.H. Gault, 24 December 1879; ref. 37, JWD to Tilly, 24 December 1879; ref. 19, T.H.S. White to JWD, 18 February 1881. Thomas Ryan to JWD, 2 March 1881.  
All letters cited are held by the McGill Archives, unless otherwise specified. Where no accession number is given, letters belong to the Dawson collection: J.W. Dawson papers.
4. **Daily Witness**, 28 February 1881. Acc. 927, no. 47, ref. 1b, (**Montreal Gazette?**), 28 February 1881; ref. 29, J.F. Whiteaves to JWD, 1 March 1881; ref. 44, Selwyn to JWD, 4 March 1881. For example, Acc. 927, no. 47, ref. 38, JWD to Charles Tupper, 12 February 1881; ref. 20, JWD to T.H.S. White, 17 February 1881.
5. **Witness**, 28 February 1881. Acc. 927, no. 47: ref. 38, JWD to Charles Tupper, 12 February 1881; ref. 1b, "The Geological Survey," (**Gazette?**). Stanley B. Frost, **McGill University for the Advancement of Learning**. Vol. I, 1801-1895. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1980, 243. J.W. Dawson, **In Memoriam: Peter Redpath, Governor and Benefactor of McGill University**. Montreal: "Witness" Printing House, 1894, 15. Redpath also provided \$10,000 for the purchase of display cases.
6. **Fifty years**, 176.
7. George Mercer Dawson to JWD, 20 and 26 June, 17 and 23 July, 24 September 1882. JWD to James Ferrier, 3 April 1884.
8. Robert Hamilton to JWD, 12 August 1881; A.H. Foord to JWD, 13 November 1882. Acc. 927, no. 47, ref. 38: JWD to C. Tupper, 12 February 1881.
9. Acc. 927, no. 47, ref. 20: JWD to T.H.S. White, 17 February 1881. Spencer Baird to JWD, 10 May, 17 May, 4 June 1883.
10. Peter Redpath to JWD, 17 January 1881. **Report on the Peter Redpath Museum**, 2, January 1883, 1-2. P. Kuetzing to JWD, 12 September 1882.
11. **Fifty Years**, 174. **In Memoriam: Redpath**, 15, 17.
12. **Guide to Visitors to the Peter Redpath Museum of McGill**

- University.** Montreal: 1885, 2.
13. This and subsequent information on the administration, finances, and management of the Peter Redpath Museum comes from its minute books for 1882-1892 and 1892-1917. These are held in the McGill Archives (Acc. 1602, 1b and Acc. 1459, 1).
  14. Upon reducing the fee to 10 cents, the Minute Book (1882-1892), however, claimed that it was "not imposed for revenue." (p.128)
  15. Minute Book (1882-1892), 44, 48-49, 95.
  16. Minute Book (1882-1892), 74, 82, 113. Minute Book (1892-1917), 28-30, 36-37.
  17. Minute Book (1882-1892), 30, 115, 51, 66. In 1896, Bailly became a full-time employee of the university. His \$1000 annual salary and his services as taxidermist and anatomical preparator were shared equally between the museum and the faculty of medicine. According to the Museum **Report** for 1901-1902, Bailly's job was to adapt the zoological collections to teaching purposes by remounting the specimens.
  18. Minute Book (1882-1889), 81, 92, 103-104.
  19. **Report of the Peter Redpath Museum for the Year 1897**, 24. Minute Book (1882-1892), 29.
  20. Minute Book (1892-1917), 10. Also in the Corporation Minutes, 1889-1894, 392 (McGill Archives).
  21. Minute Book (1892-1917), 107. **Report of the Peter Redpath Museum for the Year 1886**, 82; **...for the Year 1888**, 105; **...for the Year 1890**, 127.
  22. T.H. Clark, McGill University Museums: A Report of Progress, 1855-1950, p.2. Typescript enclosed in Acc. 1476, 1, f. 12 (McGill Archives).
  23. **Report of the Peter Redpath Museum for the Year 1896**, 21; **...for the year 1897**, 24; **...for the year 1898**, 38. Corporation Minutes, 1894-1901, 398, 451. Minute Book (1892-1917), 82, 84. **Report ...for the Year 1899-1900**, 30.
  24. Minute Book (1892-1917), 66. **Report of the Peter Redpath Museum for the Year 1901-1910**, 65; **...for the Year 1910-11**, 65.
  25. Minute Book (1892-1917), 66. **Report of the Peter Redpath Museum for the Year 1907-1908**, 67; **...for the Year 1904-1905**, 44 (cf. Minute Book, 1892-1917, 21). The **Report** for 1908-1909 (p. 64) mentions the larger number and size of school classes as a factor in the increase. Earlier these classes were excluded from the annual attendance figures, which were derived from the names in the visitors' register.
  26. L.V. Coleman, **The Museum in America** (Washington, D.C., 1929), iii, 225, 226.



View from the back of the main gallery  
of the Peter Redpath Museum, circa 1885.

(Courtesy of the Notman Photographic Archives)



Lecture theatre, Peter Redpath Museum.  
(Courtesy of the Notman Photographic Archives)