Archival Issues

Journal of the Midwest Archives Conference

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CONTENTS

Memory And History: What Can You Believe?
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"Mind and Sight": Visual Literacy and the Archivist
Elisabeth Kaplan and Jeffrey Mifflin

Managing Intellectual Assets: The Identification, Capture, Maintenance, and Use of the Records of Federally Sponsored Scientific Research.
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CONTENTS

ARTICLES

Memory And History: What Can You Believe?
W. Walter Menninger, M.D. 97

"Mind and Sight": Visual Literacy and the Archivist
Elisabeth Kaplan and Jeffrey Mifflin 107

Managing Intellectual Assets: The Identification, Capture, Maintenance, and Use of the Records of Federally Sponsored Scientific Research.
Kimberly J. Barata 129

The Importance of Being Diverse: The Archival Profession and Minority Recruitment
Kathryn M. Neal 145

Love Me Or Leave Me: Getting Businesses Interested In Archives
Steven L. Wright 159

PUBLICATION REVIEWS

Society of American Archivists Case Study Series:
Electronic Records Management As Strategic Opportunity

Prison Inmate Records in New York State: The Challenge of Modern Government Case Records

Policy and Politics: The Archival Implications of Digital Communications and Culture at the University of Michigan

Using Information Technologies to Build Strategic Collaborations: The State of Alabama as a Test Case

reviewed by Frank Boles 169

Universal Access to E-mail: Feasibility and Societal Implications
reviewed by Bruce Henstell 172

RLG Digital Image Access Project
reviewed by Greg Kinney 174

Debates & Discourses: Selected Australian Writings on Archival Theory, 1951–1990
reviewed by Valerie S. Komor 176

Conversion of Microfilm to Digital Imagery: A Demonstration Project
reviewed by Bill Landis 178

Guide to Architectural Records in the Oberlin College Archives
reviewed by Tawny Nelb 180

Research Guide to the Turner Movement in the United States
reviewed by Matthew T. Schaefer 182

Historical Consciousness in the Early Republic: The Origins of State Historical Societies, Museums, and Collections, 1791–1861
reviewed by Luke Gilliland-Swetland 184

EDITORIAL POLICY

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Material in a wide range of formats—including articles, review essays, proceedings of seminars, and case studies of specific archival projects or functions—will be considered for publication. Guidelines for authors of articles and case studies are available upon request from the editorial board chair. Manuscripts should be sent to the board chair, Dennis Meissner, Minnesota Historical Society, 345 Kellogg Blvd. W., St. Paul, MN 55102. The editorial board uses the current edition of *Chicago Manual of Style* as the standard for style, including footnote format. Decisions on manuscripts will be rendered within ten weeks of submission. Offers to review books or suggestions of books to review should be sent to the book review editor, Nancy Bartlett, Bentley Historical Library, 1150 Beal Ave., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109-2113.

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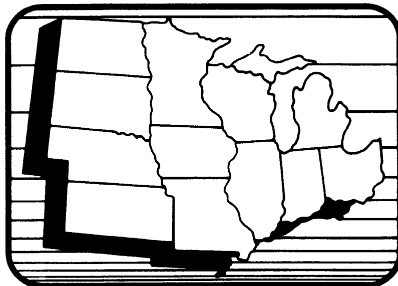

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To the Editor:

Three cheers for David E. Horn's reply to Frank Boles's essay regarding archival education (*Archival Issues,* Vol. 21, No. 1, 1996)!

Can it be a coincidence that those advocating the supremacy of the M.A.S. are almost always instructors in similar programs? No better example of a vested interest could be found. More disturbing, however, is the slap in the face that such dogmatic attitudes deliver to those nongraduate archivists whose "enthusiasm, intelligence, and dedication," to use Horn's words, are responsible for preserving and making accessible the vast majority of records extant in this country.

Given that a general education in the humanities (the B.A.) is one of the best preliminary preparations for an archivist, perhaps the problem here lies in the perceived qualitative difference between a "profession" and a "craft" or "trade." Why should archivists be afraid of being regarded as craftsmen? No one would say that a baker or a car mechanic is inherently less skilled at his work than a physicist or an English professor. Few would claim that one kind of effort is more necessary to the welfare of society than another. But many believe that the "professional" is entitled to more esteem, and that this prestige automatically translates into greater financial benefits. Putting aside the fact that today the last point is questionable in many cases, why should archivists, whose mission is to guard the legacy of the community as a whole, choose to lend themselves to this or any other kind of intellectual snobbery?

The pursuit of a "profession" too often entails half a life spent trapped in an academic shell, enormous debts upon graduation, a lack of practical knowledge that becomes painfully evident upon starting one's first job, and unmet expectations of salary and job availability fostered by the academic machine. "Craft" training in the style of an apprenticeship includes on-the-job education that provides immediate concrete skills, usually requires a more manageable outlay of time and money on the part of the prospective craftsman, and often results in a more realistic view of the job market. As for those people who are thrust with no warning into the archivist's role, an approximation of craft training through workshops and mentoring schemes is most germane to their needs and to the needs of the records in their care.

This society already sacrifices too much talent, enthusiasm, and innovation on the altar of academic specialization. Must archivists, too, become the victims of such a brain drain?

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MEMORY AND HISTORY: WHAT CAN YOU BELIEVE?

W. WALTER MENNINGER, M.D.

EDITOR'S PREFACE AND ABSTRACT: The archivists attending the joint meeting of the Midwest Archives Conference and the Society of Rocky Mountain Archivists, held in Topeka in October 1995, were privileged to hear a plenary address by W. Walter Menninger, M.D., the president and chief executive officer of the Menninger Foundation and Clinic. Dr. Menninger was formerly dean of the Karl Menninger School of Psychiatry and Mental Health Sciences, and is a Clinical Professor of Psychiatry at the Kansas University Medical School. He has written and lectured widely throughout his long and distinguished career, to both professional and lay audiences.

Dr. Menninger also has a long-standing interest in the problems of history, especially in the relationship between human memory and historical reality. His psychiatric practice and his professional research have afforded him ample opportunities to consider the complexities of human memory and its relationship to historical documentation.

His plenary remarks—reproduced here almost exactly as he delivered them—center on the idea that memory can rarely be depended upon to faithfully recall past events, especially those in which the subject directly participated. For various reasons—including self-protective mechanisms in the mind and the disaggregated fashion in which the mind stores memory fragments—we tend to remember past events unreliably and our recollection changes over the course of our lives. As Dr. Menninger points out, this calls into question historical documentation that is predominantly based on people's recollections of past events.

While historians and other end users of historical evidence are the principal targets of Dr. Menninger's cautions, his message is an important one for archivists, as well, as we assess the reliability—and therefore the archival value—of our sources and as we become increasingly involved with creating our own documentation through tools, like oral history, which rely so heavily on individual memory.

Introduction

Ten years ago it was my privilege to keynote the annual meeting of the American Association of State and Local History when it met in Topeka,[1] where I was asked to share some thoughts on the relationship of the human mind and history. At the time, I had been intrigued with the vicissitudes of human memory. All too often I came across instances of individuals recalling history as it wasn't. In a period when modern technology has enhanced the recording—tape and video—of oral history, I thought it advisable to explore the validity and reliability of memories. My title on that occasion: "Say It Isn't So: When Wishful Thinking Obscures Historical Reality." Today, I want to pick up on that theme, with a recognition that the past ten years have seen further recognition of the limits to the accuracy of human memory.

As a physician specializing in psychiatry and psychoanalysis, I am keenly aware of the importance of the past as prologue. As part of a clinical evaluation, it is essential to take a careful history. Knowledge of an individual's past experiences and behavior is vital to understanding his or her present difficulties. Yet, as a result of any number of processes, an individual's perceptions and memories can be distorted. Usually, the distortion is a function of an emotional need to preserve one's self-esteem or protect the individual from the emotional consequences of what actually happened. For whatever reason, historical reality is modified.

In 1985 psychologist Daniel Goleman authored a book about this phenomenon entitled *Vital Lies, Simple Truths, The Psychology of Self-Deception.*[2] He included an extraordinary example of this process—John Dean's memory. You may recall that John Dean was the legal counsel for President Nixon at the time of the Watergate cover-up. When he came forth to testify at the Senate investigatory hearings in June of 1973, Dean submitted a 245-page statement recounting, in specific detail, events and conversations over the many months he was involved in the Watergate affair. When queried about his facility for recalling details of conversations which took place many months before, Dean responded: "My mind is not a tape recorder, but it certainly receives the message that is being given."

Little did he apparently realize how his remarks might be checked. For when the tapes of Nixon's conversations with his staff were ultimately revealed, it was possible to check the accuracy of Dean's detailed recollections. (This comparison was actually done by Ulric Neisser.) On the day of the grand jury indictment of the five Watergate burglars, Dean met in the Oval Office with Nixon and Haldeman. Dean reported the meeting as follows:

> The President asked me to sit down. Both men appeared to be in very good spirits and my reception was very warm and cordial. The President then told me that Bob (Haldeman) had kept him posted on my handling of the Watergate case. The president told me I had done a good job and he appreciated how difficult a task it had been and the President was pleased that the case had stopped with Liddy. I responded that I could not take credit because others had done much more difficult things than I had done.... I told him that all I had been able to do was to contain the case and assist in keeping it out of the White House. I also told him

> there was a long way to go before this matter would end and that I certainly could make no assurances that the day would not come when this matter would start to unravel.[3]

When this statement is compared to the taped session:

> Comparison...shows that hardly a word of Dean's account is true. Nixon did not say any of the things attributed to him here: he didn't ask Dean to sit down, he didn't say Haldeman had kept him posted, he didn't say Dean had done a good job (at least not in that part of the conversation), he didn't say anything about Liddy or the indictments. Nor had Dean himself said the things he later describes himself as saying: that he couldn't take credit, that the matter might unravel some day, etc. (Indeed, he said just the opposite later on: "Nothing is going to come crashing down.") His account is plausible, but entirely incorrect.[4]

To understand these distortions, one must conclude that Dean's testimony described not the meeting itself but his fantasy of the meeting as it should have been. In Dean's mind, Nixon *should* have been glad that the indictments stopped with the five burglars, Haldeman *should* have told Nixon what a great job Dean was doing; and Dean *should* have told Nixon that the cover-up might unravel instead of actually telling him it was a great success. The key to understanding this phenomenon is wishful thinking.

Tell It Like It Is

At times, we are challenged to "tell it like it is," or in the words of Dragnet's Joe Friday: "Give me the facts, ma'am, just the facts." Yet, if you look more carefully, you discover that people don't really want to hear it "like it is"; they want to hear it like they want it to be.

Historically, there is a tradition of rejecting findings from knowledge or science when they challenge our sense of the world as it should be and wound our self-esteem. Recall the degree to which Copernicus was vilified because he had the gall to suggest the earth was not the center of the universe, but instead revolved around the sun. There is still much resistance to the concept of evolution as forwarded by Charles Darwin.

We are often as threatened by the truth about ourselves as by the truth about the world. Many of Sigmund Freud's ideas have been rejected because people are reluctant to accept the idea that there exist within our minds thoughts, feelings, memories and past experiences which are not accessible to our conscious awareness, but which, nonetheless, influence our behavior and conscious thoughts.

Further, we are troubled that others might learn the "truth" about us. At one time or another, nearly all of my patients have reluctantly shared with me the fear that if I knew the awful truth about them, I would have nothing more to do with them. Yet all of us have crazy and unacceptable thoughts and feelings, which we share with no one, because if we did, we would be "exposed." No one is immune to these feelings, no matter what station in life. We pretend, and we hold forth pride. We deny our limitations. We work hard to defend ourselves from seeing it "like it is" and facing up to any emotional and embarrassing consequences of that reality.

Autobiographical Memory

Students of memory identify different kinds of memory. There is the short term or "working" memory, which occurs when you look up a telephone number and keep it in mind until you dial. There is long term memory of events in the distant past, like your childhood home. There is "implicit" or "procedural" memory, which refers to behavioral knowledge of an experience without conscious recall, such as a skill once learned like riding a bicycle or swimming, or an affective reaction in response to a stimulus without understanding the basis for that reaction. There is "explicit" or "declarative" memory, which is the ability to consciously recall facts or events. There is "episodic" memory for specific events which have occurred in your life.

Autobiographical memory is largely episodic memory for both unique events occurring in one's life—like a graduation—and recurring events—like trips to grandmother's house. These memories typically include a great deal of visual imagery, but they are in no way like a video camera recording because such events are not experienced objectively. Our perceptions are inevitably biased by a variety of factors: our age and capacity to understand what is happening, our expectations and knowledge at the time of the event, and the stress and bodily sensations experienced during the event. It is significant that, no matter how accurately an event may be perceived and stored, when it is remembered it is not simply replayed as on a videotape; it is reconstructed.

With regard to memory for life events, research shows that as time goes by details get lost, though memories for unique events are likely to be more accurate than memories for recurrent events. With recurrent events we may recall generally what happened and reconstruct details according to what is plausible. Or, "we may sharply remember a few details and then reconstruct the whole from them: 'Out of a few stored bone chips, we remember a dinosaur.' Alternatively, consider this library metaphor: 'memory is not so much like reading a book as it is like writing one from fragmentary notes.'"[5]

Psychologist Elizabeth Loftus characterizes human memories as being stored in mental drawers in our brain, drawers which "are obviously extremely crowded and densely packed. They are also constantly being emptied out, scattered about, and then stuffed back into place.... As new bits and pieces of information are added into long-term memory, the old memories are replaced, crumpled up, or shoved into corners. Little details are added, confusing or extraneous elements are deleted, and a coherent construction of the facts is gradually created that may bear little resemblance to the original event."

From her work with eyewitness testimony in legal cases Loftus has found that "Memories don't just fade, as the old saying would have us believe, they also grow. What fades is the initial perception, the actual experience of the events. Every time we recall an event, we must reconstruct the memory, and with each recollection the memory may be changed—colored by succeeding events, other people's recollections and suggestions, increased understanding or a new context."[6] Indeed, Loftus offers some striking examples of instances where eyewitnesses have clearly had their memories strongly influenced by the subtle suggestion of law enforcement officers.

Rewriting History

In George Orwell's *1984* the central character, Winston Smith, worked in the Ministry of Truth where he rewrote newspaper articles in the archives each time there was a change in alliances. He would have to change the old enemy to a new ally and make it appear as if it had always been as it now was, and vice versa.[7] We now know that what Orwell fantasized indeed occurred in recent history, with a rewriting of records behind the old Iron Curtain.

While that activity represents an obvious and overt threat to the historian's search for accuracy in the past, there is another more subtle rewriting of history. This is the rewriting that occurs as people in their mature years reminisce and recall events of their earlier lives—but do so incorrectly. Clearly, some historians recognize this propensity; at least Carl Van Doren did in his Pulitzer prize-winning biography, *Benjamin Franklin*. Early in the book, Van Doren observes:

> So far in this history, Franklin, speaking of himself in his own words, has almost always spoken in the words of the *Autobiography* which he wrote 45 years after the departure from Gravesend, when he was sage and famous and writing for his son, the governor of New Jersey. Perhaps then he tempered the account of his youth, saw his course as straighter than it was, left out or had forgotten his ranker appetites, remembered too clearly the mind and will which had out lasted the lost years.[8]

An interesting perspective on recollection of life events is found in the research of psychiatrist George Vaillant, who interviewed, thirty years later, 95 subjects of a study begun in the late 1930s and early 1940s at Harvard. The original study was funded by the W.T. Grant Foundation as a longitudinal study of young adults in good health. Vaillant notes that:

> Psychologically, the Grant Study subjects in adult life fared much better than the population as a whole, but it is hard to say how much better. Originally chosen for good health, there were none who experienced difficulties too severe to master, but there were also none who had survived the game of life without pain, effort, and anxiety.[9]

As he organized his data from the follow-up interviews, Vaillant compared the data with questionnaire responses obtained at the beginning of the study. He writes:

> It is clear that the distortions produced by adaptive mechanisms may, over a period of years, become part of the individual's world view. Truth too awful to bear is unconsciously altered or postponed; the altered truth then becomes subjectively true. In other words, the men's adaptive styles affected their childhood environment as much as childhood affected choice of adaptation.[10]

Observes Vaillant, "Repression is the prototype of all the adaptive mechanisms—if you cannot bear it, forget it."[11] Certainly, some individuals use this adaptive mechanism more than others. It is not surprising for persons to recall a past which is simply consistent with their present views. Indeed, some have observed that history is a record of present beliefs and wishes, not a replica of the past. Remembering is a reconstruction using bits of past experience to describe a present state.

In describing the childhood memories of Leonardo da Vinci, Freud wrote:

> [Childhood memories] are not fixed at the moment of being experienced and afterwards repeated, but are only elicited at a later age when childhood is already past; in the process, they are altered and falsified, and are put into the service of later trends.[12]

Consider, in this context, the case of Robert Jordan, one of the composite Grant Study subjects interviewed by Vaillant. At age nineteen, Jordan was extremely conservative and attended Catholic mass four times a week. He also reported to the study psychiatrist a dream that he experienced perhaps forty times. When Vaillant interviewed him thirty years later, Jordan maintained that as soon as he arrived in college, he had doubted the validity of religion and given up church altogether. He also said that he could only recall one recurrent childhood dream, which was not the same one reported during his college years. Concludes Vaillant:

> A dream repeated forty times and church going repeated four times a week had been forgotten. How then may we obtain truth about the adult life cycle? Clearly it must be studied prospectively. It is all too common for caterpillars to become butterflies and then to maintain that in their youth they had been little butterflies. Maturation makes liars of us all.[13]

Vaillant cites other instances of forgetting. One man originally reported a class standing in military school of third out of 150. At the time he was fifty years old, he had become second out of 900. Another Grant Study subject did not approve of his adolescent children's use of marijuana. Yet in 1940, he had praised the pot-like effects of alcohol, when he wrote: "I get gentler, sweeter, less sarcastic, and enjoy dancing more. My mind is usually quite bright; I feel closer to music than ever, more open to people. Alcohol is always a pleasant experience." Vaillant notes that this man, in worrying over his adolescent children, had almost forgotten that in his own adolescence, he too had been a long-haired university dropout who wandered across Europe. [14]

Memory As A Self-Portrait

Menninger psychologist Jon Allen suggests that what you recall at any given moment is consistent with your self-concept at the time. You have a strong tendency to reconstruct events you experienced in a way that is consistent with your current self-image and the rest of your knowledge about yourself. What you remember is consistent with what should have happened in light of your current self-portrait. If you're feeling depressed, you'll remember your failure; if you're feeling confident, you'll remember your success. As your self-concept changes, you revise your autobiography. Further, nothing stays still in the brain. Every reconstruction is always a partially new construction. Especially as you recall an event many times, the connections become changed in the process. Under the guidance of your self-portrait, when you reconstruct, you may weave in fantasy and wishful thinking, reshaping your "memory" in your brain.

As Elizabeth Loftus has put it, "Truth and reality, when seen through the filter of our memories, are not objective facts, but subjective, interpretative realities. We interpret the past, correcting ourselves, adding bits and pieces, deleting uncomplimentary or disturbing recollections, sweeping, dusting, tidying things up. ...We are innocent vic-

tims of our mind's manipulations."[16] She notes Mark Twain's rumination on memory: "It isn't so astonishing, the number of things that I can remember, as the number of things I can remember that aren't so."

Recollections Of Childhood Trauma: True Or False

In the field of psychiatry in recent years, there has been an increasing controversy about the recollection by some patients of childhood traumatic experiences, particularly incidents of sexual abuse. The uncertainty of how to interpret adult recollection of childhood memories was reflected in Freud's early work. As his patients recounted such experiences, he first assumed they were based in some factual past event. Then he came to the conclusion that some of such reports were more likely a reconstruction and not an actual experience. An increased awareness of the considerable extent of child abuse in recent years has prompted clinicians to reconsider that position.

We have had an explosion of such recollections in clinical psychiatry as we have gained more understanding of patients struggling with multiple personality disorder and other personality disturbances associated with early trauma. At the same time, the zeal of some therapists in search of presumed early childhood trauma has led to the phenomenon of the "false memory syndrome." It is quite clear that not all recovered memories in these patients accurately reflect past events. Indeed, the American Bar Association Journal two years ago featured an article on "Buried Memories, Shattered Lives" which cited legal cases where judges and juries were beginning to view with skepticism some sex abuse claims based on so-called recovered memories.[17]

The American Psychiatric Association formulated a statement addressing the issue of memories of sexual abuse. It acknowledges that some individuals who have experienced documented traumatic events may nevertheless include some false or inconsistent elements in their reports. Further, it notes that memories can be significantly influenced by questioning, especially in young children. Also, memories can be significantly influenced by a trusted person, such as a therapist, who suggests abuse as an explanation for symptoms or problems, despite initial lack of memory of such abuse. Repeated questioning may lead individuals to report "memories" of events that never occurred.[18]

Memory In Old Age

Numerous studies have found changes in memory associated with the aging process. Typically, with the loss of brain cells, there is impairment of short-term memory, of immediate recall of recently learned information. Long-term memory is less impaired, although such recollections may well be distorted.

Virginia Revere and Sheldon Tobin studied reminiscence data from two population groups, one middle-aged and the other older-aged. They hypothesized that the older group would relate to the past in a different way, suspecting the older person no longer has a need to see the past realistically. "Rather," they opinioned:

> the need is to see the past in such a way as to achieve some measure of immortality, to see oneself as a hero of a life worth remembering. Stated

> another way, to see oneself as a hero of a drama worth telling, a drama worth having lived for.[19]

Revere and Tobin found that the intensity and involvement with the memories and the extent of dramatization were, as anticipated, much greater in the older group than in the middle-age group. There was no significant difference between the two groups in the consistency of values and acceptance of life as it was. But, in the older group, the researchers more often found a positive affirmation of life or a greater incidence of viewing significant figures positively.

The researchers conclude, "older persons were not only more involved with their pasts, but involved in the special way of mythicizing their recollections." This mythicizing of significant figures" can be interpreted as an adaptational response that is different from making sense of one's life.... These aged persons have recast their memories to make the uniqueness of themselves vivid. In this sense, the past becomes more real and more poignant. The myth is the reality."[20]

An Historian's Recollections

The theme persists: our memories may not be completely trustworthy and our recollections may be more wishful thinking than true reality. Our memories recreate a past that justifies and sustains our self-esteem. Historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., calls attention to this problem in his essay, "The Historian as Participant." He suggests that "there is something distinctive about the historical temperament and the historical approach; the historian surely brings to the observation and analysis of events a perspective different from that brought by the nonhistorian."[21]

Yet Schlesinger also questions whether participation in public events might not disqualify someone from writing about these events as an historian. He recalls the words of Sir Walter Raleigh, one of the few historians to suffer the ultimate criticism of the executioner's axe, that "whosoever, in writing a modern history, shall follow truth too near the heels, it may haply strike out his teeth."

Schlesinger writes that personal participation in an historical episode may well make the historian more critical of his materials. He notes:

> In writing about the past, the technical historian often is tempted to use letters, diaries, memoranda, newspapers as if they were reliable forms of evidence. When such evidence is construed under the pressure of direct experience, however, it may become more apparent that A's letters are his own self-serving versions of events; that B's diaries are designed, consciously or not, to dignify the diarist and discredit his opponents; that C's memoranda are written to improve the record; and that the newspapermen recording the transactions had only the dimmest idea of what was really going on.[22]

Schlesinger goes on to write:

> It is not obvious in practice that time has been, in fact, the father of truth, if by truth we mean the agreement of historians...As long as the problems are still alive, the passage of time only offers new possibilities for distortion. The present, as historians well know, re-creates the past.

> This is partly because, once we know how things have come out, we tend to rewrite the past in terms of historical inevitability.[23]

Schlesinger cites what James has called "our indominitable desire to cast the world into a more rational shape in our minds than the shape into which it is thrown there by the crude order of experience." He then concludes that "the historian's compulsion is the passion for pattern. Reconstructing the events in the quiet of his study, he likes to tidy things up, to find interconnections and unities."[24]

The Search For Truth

Schlesinger's observations differ little from the observations of Freud and other students of human nature and the human mind. We seek to order our universe to make it reasonable and predictable and manageable. But we are human and subject to human frailties and limitations. We search for the truth, but only half-heartedly, when we fear the truth may not be in our best interests. So we are inconsistent and self-serving in our recollections, despite our best intentions to be otherwise. As often as not, we may not fully understand why we feel or act the way we do, and we struggle after the fact to come up with a rational explanation for our feelings and actions.

As a psychiatrist, I try to take an objective position with regard to patients who come to me. I will confront my patients with any disparity between the truth as they perceive it and the truth and reality as I see it. Yet I know that reactions within me can bias my own perception if I am not careful. And I have been most impressed with the unevenness of memory.

Clearly, the historian seeks to be objective in the assessment of historical materials and to draw appropriate inferences from those materials. Nevertheless, we all need to keep in mind the limitations of data based on human memory and reminiscence. In terms of your work, you must recognize the limitations of oral history and reports of past events based just on later memory. Autobiographers should check memories against other verifying information with regard to one or another historical event. We must acknowledge the human propensity to replace reality with wishful thinking, toward the end of an enhanced self-esteem, and an affirmation of worth and meaning for one's lifetime.

NOTES

1. W. Walter Menninger, "Say It Isn't So: When Wishful Thinking Obscures Historical Reality," *History News* 40 (December 1985): 10–13.
2. Daniel Goleman, *Vital Lies, Simple Truths: The Psychology of Self-Deception* (New York: Touchstone/ Simon & Schuster, 1986).
3. *Hearings Before the Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities of the United States Senate* (Ninety-third Congress, First Session, 1973), 957. Quoted in Goleman, *Vital Lies*, 93–94.
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"MIND AND SIGHT": VISUAL LITERACY AND THE ARCHIVIST

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ABSTRACT: Contemporary culture is increasingly captured by and reflected in visual materials. Preserving and providing intellectual access to visual records will become an increasingly important aspect of archival work as such materials proliferate and are widely available in electronic form. Visual literacy, an evolving concept best defined as the ability to understand and use images and to think and learn in terms of images, is an essential skill for archivists and researchers using visual materials. Archivists of all media should strive to increase their visual literacy because of the complex ways in which visual and "traditional" textual documents interrelate. Archivists can approach visual literacy by becoming familiar with levels of visual awareness; participating in the ongoing discourse about the nature of literacy, including the relationships between visual and textual literacy; and increasing understanding of the special characteristics of image-creating technologies as well as the conventions and modes of expression associated with particular media. Expanded visual literacy will help archivists to understand and better describe visual resources as well as traditional documents and other materials of record. The results, improved finding aids and catalog records, will keep pace with anticipated expanding requirements of the research community.

Most archivists recognize that contemporary culture is increasingly captured by and reflected in visual and audiovisual documents, and that the proliferation of such materials presents new challenges to the archival profession. Archivists have demonstrated their appreciation of these challenges by organizing conference panels, workshops, committees, professional associations, and Internet discussion groups dedicated to exploring archival issues related to visual media. The concerns voiced in these forums have, with few exceptions, focused on understanding the physical aspects of the media for practical ends. Preservation techniques, scanning equipment and methods, and the technological manipulations needed for multimedia applications are among the most frequently discussed topics.

These efforts to deal with physical and practical aspects of visual materials are essential, but archivists should also devote corresponding attention to underlying intellectual issues. Case studies on use and interpretation of visual materials in specific historical and cultural contexts, examinations of the complex and shifting relationships between print media and audiovisual media, and focused explorations of the

technology and material characteristics of visual media in relation to their intellectual contents will become increasingly necessary as these materials come to constitute more of, and interrelate more closely with, the contemporary archival record.

An adequate knowledge base supports any practice, and understanding the characteristics of visual materials is crucial to archival practices such as appraisal, arrangement, and description. Furthermore, a level of competence and sophistication with the intellectual issues presented by a record's visual content is increasingly important for archivists of ***any*** medium. Contemporary, overlapping, and obsolete document forms are peculiarly interrelated. New materials of record require archivists to rethink their perceptions about concurrent or previously used document forms, and therefore to rethink their conceptions of archival theory and practice. "A new medium," as Walter Ong has observed, "transforms not only the one which immediately precedes it but often all of those which preceded it all the way back to the beginning."[1]

Explorations of the present dimensions of literacy and its future are of increasing philosophical and practical importance. "What will be the intellectual character of the new society, [and what will constitute the] 'literacy' of its people?" asked the editor of a 1982 issue of *Daedalus* entitled "Print Culture and Video Culture." How should those who engage intensively with documents—archivists and historians, for instance— conceive of, cope with, respond to, and prepare for these changes?[2]

More specifically, how should archivists approach visual materials in an informed manner, or approach "traditional" materials with a knowledge of their relationship to visual materials? The declaration that this is a culture reliant on visual communication, and that all members of such a culture require a particular set of abilities for interpreting images, is by now familiar.[3] How can archivists achieve a professional consciousness of these skills? Understanding the visual content of documents entails facility with a complex and little understood set of skills, described in this paper as "visual literacy." Visual literacy is essential for people bombarded by television, news photos, advertisements, digital images on the World Wide Web, and other aspects of our contemporary super abundance of visual stimulation. Yet how is visual literacy practiced? What individual skills does it require? Does it involve a solely interpretive set of skills, or has it an expressive component as well? How does it relate to other communications processes? Is visual literacy merely a component of human cognitive development, or is it learned, and thus tied to culture-specific conventions for communication? If the latter, then by what methods can it be taught? If visual communication is a form of "literacy," then to what extent can the dimensions of visual information be understood by analogy to language? By extension, to what extent can visual materials be understood by analogy to traditional textual materials? Whether archivists consciously consider these questions or not, they affect daily archival work. Whether they realize it or not, archivists who work with visual materials, even on an occasional basis, grapple with visual awareness on several levels.

Archivists, like others, will have to wait for a full understanding of the implications of visual materials. Additional research and additional hindsight are required. In the meantime, there are ways in which archivists can begin to gain an interesting and useful understanding of visual literacy issues. This paper serves as a preliminary articulation of questions about the nature of visual expression and interpretation, and a preliminary

application of those questions to the archival profession. It suggests that archivists will benefit from an increased facility with levels of visual awareness, and that such facility can result from investigation on at least four frontiers:

- an increased attention to the scholarship on history of literacy generally, as well as to the discourse on visual literacy;
- an increased awareness of the conventions or modes of expression employed by visual materials such as film, photography, and video, and the levels of analysis at which such materials can be understood;
- an awareness of how historians and others in related disciplines are facing visual awareness issues, and an exploration of the possibilities of collaboration;
- a review of the efforts of archivists over the years in relation to these issues.

The Evolution of a Concept

In a written text, perception, understanding, and expression of the building blocks and the ways of putting those blocks together are referred to as "literacy," a set of skills traditionally associated with reading and writing. What, then, is literacy's equivalent when it comes to visual materials?

Scholarship on visual literacy is best viewed within the framework of the larger literature on the history of literacy in general, which has enjoyed renewed attention since the early 1980s. At the risk of oversimplification, it might be stated that this literature redefines the concept of literacy from its traditional definition, the ability to read and write, to a complex set of shifting, evolving, overlapping communications processes; processes driven by changing technology, occurring in overlapping stages, and more complex than has been allowed in the past.[4]

An immediately striking feature revealed by a survey of literature on the concept of visual literacy is the variety of terms applied by scholars to the concept. The interpretive aspect of the process of "doing" visual literacy, by which visual information is mentally registered and processed, is described variously in the literature as "reading," "listening," "hearing," and "decoding." The expressive component, by which information is communicated through visual means, is described as "writing," "speaking," "composing," "encoding," and "uttering." These terms imply a variety of approaches to the concept, including explicit analogies to traditional literacy, and careful attempts to sidestep that analogy.[5]

The term "visual literacy" was first developed and popularized in the late 1960s by John L. Debes, coordinator of education projects at the Eastman Kodak Company. Debes described his idea tentatively at first: "When I say ***visual literacy*** what I have in mind is a great dim shape, the outlines and importance of which are not yet clear."[6] What was clear, according to Debes, was that some sort of confluence of "knowledge, theory, and technology" was underway, embodied in a concept whose time had come. "I think of visual literacy," he wrote, "as a great amoeba-like entity with pseudopods reaching out in many directions. I see those pseudopods labeled with the names of sources such as semantics, linguistics, philosophy, psychology, the industrial, vocational, and graphic arts, psycholinguistics, art, and screen education."[7]

Debes convened the First Annual National Conference on Visual Literacy, held in Rochester, New York, on March 23, 1969, attended and sponsored by diverse groups including university and high school educators, English teachers, audiovisual instructors, art teachers, and representatives from Eastman Kodak, the University of Rochester, and Syracuse University.[8] At the conference, Debes attempted a fuller formulation of the concept:

> Visual literacy refers to a group of vision-competencies a human being can develop by seeing and at the same time having and integrating other sensory experiences. The development of these competencies is fundamental to normal human learning. When developed, they enable a visually literate person to discriminate and interpret the visible actions, objects, and symbols, natural or man-made, that he encounters in his environment. Through the creative use of these competencies, he is able to communicate with others. Through the appreciative use of these competencies, he is able to comprehend and enjoy the masterworks of visual communication.[9]

By the mid-1970s, visual literacy ceased to be solely a concept, and became a self-described movement. Perhaps because it coincided with widespread concerns in the early 1970s about the impact of television on young children, and perhaps because experts in a variety of disciplines began simultaneously to recognize that contemporary culture is increasingly likely to be reflected in, captured by, or represented by visual media, the idea of visual literacy caught on immediately. In addition to the disciplines Debes foresaw as contributing to the discussion on visual literacy, scholars in education, art theory, film theory, history, film history, media and communications studies, sociology, and semiotics all began to address the topic. Some embraced the phrase and used it explicitly, while others grappled with the same issues, but for the most part rejected the term itself. By the mid-1980s, the volume of literature on visual literacy was enormous, and a number of newly established journals devoted considerable attention to the concept. Still, visual literacy continued to be plagued by foggy definition and inconsistent application.[10]

A few voices noted that the lack of a consistent theory and definition of visual literacy was problematic, both for the entire discussion, and for its practical application. In an important essay summarizing the literature to 1982, instructional technologist John A. Hortin stated the problem in this way:

> Many authors have mentioned sources for a theoretical foundation of visual literacy but failed to give a thorough analysis or satisfactory explanation of the theory and its link to practice. For instance, no one has satisfactorily explained the analogy between visual language and verbal language. We need an historical, analytical study of the philosophical origins of visual literacy.[11]

Hortin continued, "it is necessary to know the meaning and theoretical foundations of visual literacy before one can use visual literacy effectively."[12] In 1986 educator Richard Sinatra noted that:

> The meaning of visual literacy has not been clearly defined in functional, realistic terms. This is undoubtedly due to the expansiveness of

> the concept, the meaning of visual itself, the academic leanings of [those] applying the terms, and preoccupation with the forms and techniques of media communication...A major problem for visual literacy enthusiasts is that they have been using a catch-all term to mean anything that is delivered through visual sensory output.[13]

The most recent attempt to formulate a theory of visual literacy is found in Paul Messaris's 1994 *Visual 'Literacy': Image, Mind, Reality*, which draws from a range of disciplines to deconstruct assumptions that have accompanied the concept from the start. Messaris attacks the premises that visual images are arbitrary and culture-bound; that visual literacy (defined as familiarity with a visual language or grammar) is necessary for visual comprehension; and that visual literacy and verbal language are analogous. As he writes, "strictly speaking, of course, the term 'literacy' should be applied only to reading and writing. But it would probably be too pedantic and, in any case, it would surely be futile to resist the increasingly common tendency to apply this term to other kinds of communication skills (mathematical 'literacy,' computer 'literacy') as well as the substantive knowledge that communication rests on (historical, geographic, cultural 'literacy')."[14]

Hortin's 1982 proposal that "visual literacy is the ability to understand and use images and to think and learn in terms of images, i.e., to think visually"[15] is probably the most useful definition to date, because of its simplicity, inclusiveness, and refusal to rely on the conventions of language for its definition.

In sum, the volume of recent literature devoted to visual literacy demonstrates that it is an idea whose time has come, while its meaning and application continue to evolve.

The Need for Increased Awareness

Those who appraise, arrange, describe, and provide access to visual materials must be able to understand and express by means of the written word the contents of the collections. These processes of perception and translation occur on several levels, and it may be useful to consider three such levels, with accompanying examples.

A first level of visual awareness might be described as an immediate or ***superficial*** one. On this level, the viewer determines what a photograph, piece of film or video, or other material, is "of." For example, when viewed cursorily, a sample of unedited campaign footage from the Robert F. Kennedy Film Collection at the John F. Kennedy Library depicts the 1964 New York Senate campaign and is immediately identifiable as images "of" Robert Kennedy, in various settings: greeting crowds in Harlem; speaking at a press conference at a midtown hotel; or riding in a convertible with Ethel Kennedy. A superficial look at Robert Capa's famous still photograph of the D-Day invasion shows an allied soldier with rifle and equipment, hunkered down in the surf, drifting or crawling in shallow water. His face bears an expression of fear counterbalanced by determination.

On a second level, the Kennedy footage is "about" much more. "Aboutness" refers to ***concrete*** subject content, and includes, for example, various aspects of politics and culture in the mid-1960s: standard protocol for political campaigns; minority and women's participation in the political process; dynamics between ethnic neighborhoods

in American cities; New York City life, commerce, and architecture; and much more. The process by which the viewer perceives these subjects differs from that which occurs on the superficial level. The concrete level demands more complex ways of thinking about the images and requires specific historical knowledge of circumstances or events, participants, techniques, and more. The second level of visual awareness can also disclose more "about" Capa's 1944 invasion photo. Omaha Beach, on June 6, 1944, was raked continuously by machine gun fire from German pillboxes. The soldier was about to stumble into a dangerous melee, visible just ahead, littered with the bodies of maimed and dying comrades. The crossing had been rough. Fear is daunting. Courage is sustaining. And so forth.

Most archivists accept that an adequate level of specialized historical background knowledge is vital to the ability to process a collection. An archivist with appropriate background knowledge can recognize elements from the superficial and the concrete levels of visual perception and find ways to express them. Between general historical knowledge and research into the specific historical background of the materials, such information can be adequately perceived, translated, and conveyed in a finding aid or catalog record.

The third level of visual awareness is considerably more elusive. It has little to do with the superficial contents or the concrete subject matter of the document, but involves instead the perception of the document's purely visual, or ***abstract*** elements. These elements cannot be as easily expressed with words, and the perception of them entails an understanding of the realm of conventions associated with the visual. While the second level requires a sharp eye coupled with a measure of basic historical knowledge, the third level is distinctly more subtle, requiring the same sharp eye as well as a particular set of sensibilities and skills, and a knowledge base that, like facility with history and historiography, must be learned. This form of expertise requires sophistication with conventions and technology for both visual perception and visual expression; an understanding of the conventions of particular media in their particular context (e.g., television in the 1960s, political advertisements relating to a particular campaign, filmmaking techniques at the turn of the century, the evolution of nineteenth century still photography, etc.); an ability to critically dissect a document composed of elements such as time, light, sound, and motion; and an ability to translate these elements into a verbal description. Of additional importance is a level of awareness of other components of visual materials, which can include symbol, organization, ambiguity, space, sequence, rhythm, moment, and point of view, as well as historical contextual matters such as what the film's creators intended to express visually, possible expectations of original viewers, and possible perceptions of subsequent viewers.

Footage from the Robert Kennedy Collection can serve as one example. Archivists who experience (view, listen to) a document must understand the building blocks from which the document is constructed, and ask questions about the way the document uses these building blocks to communicate information. The building blocks begin with a vocabulary that includes such elements as camera angle, perspective, and editing techniques. Questions arise from an analysis of the vocabulary as applied to the particular document. Why, for instance, did the director choose to film Kennedy from certain angles? Why is the camera handheld at certain times and on a dolly at others? Is it

significant that the image is jerky at times, smooth at others? What is the effect of the swift panning of the vast crowd, and the effect of lengthy close-ups of individual faces in the crowd? What do those faces tell us, and how does the way in which they are filmed convey director Charles Guggenheim's intention or vision? Guggenheim adapted to television ***cinema verite*** techniques borrowed from directors associated with the French New Wave. How were these techniques used to evoke emotion in the viewer? How do these techniques stand up over time? Are they ambiguous, even disturbing, or trite or formulaic ways of sending messages to viewers? To what extent is the viewer required to think actively about, and engage with, the images to understand them, and what will viewers, familiar with the conventions for contemporary visual communication, absorb passively?

Level three of visual awareness can also guide interpretation of Capa's D-Day photo, raising questions as well as answering them, but in all cases leading closer to a fully informed perspective. Capa, for example, was a photographer who sold images to the press, whose reputation and career had been built upon action photos taken in dangerous situations. His invasion photos were intended for the broadest possible publication (newspaper readers in America, in unoccupied Europe, and perhaps elsewhere). His point of view as a socialist was one of sympathy with the common man. He took no interest in darkroom techniques, and generally considered his work done once he had frozen a newsworthy moment on his negative strip.[16] Did Capa intend to emphasize the indomitability of the common man by pointing the lens down, and showing the soldier crawling or drifting, instead of charging, as heroes stereotypically do? Is the image blurred to suggest violent motion, or commotion, confusion, fear or because the photographer himself was partially submerged behind a steel fortification and may have been trembling from cold or fear? Were the negatives improperly dried and therefore blurry? Did Capa specially choose this man to represent so many others, or was his first choice lost when all but eight of his 106 Omaha Beach negatives were accidentally destroyed by a careless darkroom technician?[17] What is the significance of his choice of camera, lens, focus, exposure, moment? What was he intending to express, and how were viewers likely to receive his photograph in 1944, and how today?

Possibilities for visually literate interpretation of an image, whether moving or still, are enhanced when the image is maintained by an archives in context with related materials. Images created by the same photographer help explain one another, as do related collections. The tremendous importance of photographer's notes, for example, is illustrated by the practices of Dorothea Lange, whose habit was to summarize each day's picture-taking in notes setting the context and recording short biographies of people depicted. Lange felt that half the value of her work was lost if pictures were not adequately documented by notes. "I don't like the kind of written material that tells a person what to look for or that explains the photograph," she told an interviewer. "I like the kind . . . that gives background . . . without directing the person's mind. It just gives him more with which to look at the picture."[18] These vitally important written materials are what film historian Thomas Cripps has called the "paper trail."

"Seizing the Light: the Appraisal of Photographs," by Ballard and Teakle, attempts to outline some criteria for assessing the research value of photographs:

> The aim is to recognize the original intention of the photograph—its particular cultural use by particular people. This is rarely given within the picture, but is developed in its function or context....What was the purpose for the record being created, when, by whom, in what context? Photographs cannot be meaningfully employed unless... creator and context are understood. Visual literacy requires the same critical analysis as verbal literacy. Familiarity with the changing conventions of photography is essential to reveal the full meaning of historical images. Every photograph is altered in some way by the bias of the creator (intentionally or unintentionally), the nature of the apparatus, the film processing and printing and the unique interpretation...by each viewer. Photographic evidence of a particular event or location is often inaccurate or misleading because it is incomplete.[19]

Historians and Visual Awareness

Some of the best insight into the nature of visual literacy comes from the field of history. Increasingly, historians have expended a great deal of effort exploring the possibilities of "reading" and "writing" with visual materials, and of teaching those skills to students. Their recognition of the importance to their discipline of visual materials has led to a substantial body of literature.[20]

As early as 1924 Johan Huizinga's magisterial *The Waning of the Middle Ages* called attention to the value of visual evidence in garnering historical insight. Huizinga saw nothing in "traditional" documents that illustrated the range of emotional experience that he knew (from art) existed in the late medieval period. He turned to different sources as a way of eliminating this blind spot, and in particular proceeded to analyze the paintings of the Van Eyck brothers and their successors. Van Eyck portraits, for example, often included a meticulous visual inventory of the sitter's possessions, and clues to the sitter's emotional state. Depiction of private space as a key to the state of mind of those who fill it became common in painting of subsequent centuries.[21] Such portraits/interiors have, of course, more obvious and accessible uses for historians interested in objects used or displayed, and their relationship to space, and to people in the space. Photographs, being less subjective, and including a greater wealth of detail, are even more useful for purposes of historical understanding than paintings. As with other media, there are pitfalls in the interpretation of photography, which can be overcome to some extent by visually literate scrutiny and insight.

Until recently most historians have neglected non-traditional sources in constructing their theses. The pattern of research codified by Leopold von Ranke in the nineteenth century (historians should rely on original written records methodically analyzed and interpreted) still prevails,[22] but many historians now want, in addition, oral histories, visual evidence, and other sources of information.[23] The mid-to-late-twentieth century discovery of the photograph as a legitimate source may be related to an awakening interest in women's history, minorities, the poor, and other topics less well documented by written records than the topics favored by previous generations of historians.[24] (Still photographs have often been included in histories or biographies as illustrations in the

form of eight-or sixteen-page inserts of plates, but such inclusion has almost always been an afterthought, a visual bonus to attract readers and book buyers. Such images were supported by, not used as support for, the historical text, ordinarily based on traditional written documents.)[25]

Artifacts and the American Past, by Thomas Schlereth, analyzes reasons why historians have so often distrusted or disregarded visual evidence and why many have yielded to a begrudging acceptance. The American Historical Association Conference in 1939 featured as a principal speaker Roy Stryker, who had engineered the Farm Security Agency's concerted drive to document, with the camera, depression-era conditions and the effects of the government's effort to alleviate them. Schlereth believes that Stryker's session, "Sources and Materials for the Study of Cultural History: Documentary Photographs," was a catalyst in the promotion of visual literacy for historians. He adds that the kinds of questions historians have traditionally asked:

> have not been phrased in ways that photographic data can answer directly...as students of the word, with a large investment in careful verbal analysis, many historians...have tended to deprecate new types of visual evidence that threaten primacy of verbal communication.... To be sure, historical photography has significant limitations as historical evidence. Yet, after all the methodological rejoinders have been issued, all questions of veracity and representativeness raised, and all the problems of adequate citation and verification noted, historical photography still survives as an important evidential node enormously valuable to the historian...The historian must judge.[26]

In short, the level of visual literacy of the researcher is an aid to interpretation and a possible safeguard against being misled.

Schlereth alerts researchers to a number of common pitfalls. "The camera," he warns, "can lie, as often and as clearly as any other tool wielded by people intent on telling lies. And even...where the photographer is...honest...his picture will show only what the particular lens on the camera is capable of showing in the way of depth, clarity, and spatial relations...We would have seen more than what the frame or the exposure allows us to see. Cropping of a scene cuts off the viewer from other details that may well be relevant to an understanding of the picture." The book discusses problems related to long exposures and historical photographic processes, and warns that manipulation can occur at every stage, regardless of era. Historians using photographic evidence must remember that photos are not a facsimile of total past scenes and events, but only a partial reflection of past reality. "Moreover, the photographer exerts enormous control over that reflection and the information and insight it conveys."[27] Of special significance is Schlereth's advice that the negative, the primary source of photographic evidence, can seldom be altered without showing signs. The historian, therefore, should examine negatives whenever they are available for inspection.[28]

Historians began to demonstrate an interest in the relationships between moving image materials and the historical tradition around 1949. This interest was first a German, then a British, and by the mid-1960s, an international phenomenon. One scholar has compiled a list of nine academic conferences devoted to history and film between 1968 and 1975, most of which took place in Europe.[29]

Only gradually did historians in the United States begin to address the topic. Articles on issues relating to moving image materials began to appear in the 1970s in *Radical History Review*, the *Journal of Contemporary History*, *Oral History Review*, and in the American Studies literature. A 1982 article in the British *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* proclaimed that "research and writing in...the field of documenting historical research through reference to films [is] growing. In the United States we are now coming into what might be called the 'second generation' of... historians with a bent for using films as documentation." The author also observed, however, that this field was still far from the mainstream of historical research, noting that "the documenting of history through films [has] developed as [a] comparatively idiosyncratic" pursuit, and describing the individuals attracted to this form of research as "mavericks."[30]

But by the early 1980s, historical film reviews appeared regularly in the major historical organs in the United States, such as the *Journal of American History* and *American Historical Review*, and the mainstream professional organizations had begun to sponsor conferences on film and history, to organize committees on the subject, and to give annual awards to innovative historical work with film and video.[31]

Previous generations of historians had treated moving image materials with reactions ranging from "bemused indifference to outright hostility," as one observer has suggested.[32]

By the time the *Journal of Contemporary History* devoted its entire July 1983 issue to "Historians and the Movies: the State of the Art," the relationship of visual materials to history had become a topic of legitimate, if not widespread, interest among historians. As historian-filmmaker Nicholas Pronay observed,

> There...has been a noticeable change of attitude concerning the difficulties which this non-written record material presents for the historian, or indeed about the desirability of using it at all. [A] growing proportion of our profession came to consist of those who were already brought up in a society in which the moving picture, televised or projected, provided the primary form of communication...[33]

Debates about history and moving image materials have centered around a set of issues that are never more than temporarily resolved. These issues include the legitimacy of moving image documents as historical evidence;[34] the potential of moving image documents for portraying history;[35] the necessity of visual literacy skills for historians and students;[36] and fundamental concerns about the nature of images versus the nature of language.[37]

Visual Literacy and the Archivist

Archivists, as well as historians, should explore the ideas behind visual literacy, and define visual literacy in practical terms applicable to archival methods and archival records. Though all participants in contemporary culture regularly interact with visual materials, the interactions of historians and archivists with these document forms are particularly ripe for examination because both groups engage intensively with documents on a professional basis and in a variety of complex ways. Furthermore, as has

been recently observed, the "perception of information [is] affected by its manner of transmission," and this is a "critical issue for archivists."[38]

Surprisingly, neither library schools nor archival degree programs offer a special track for training visual resources specialists, and very little attention is devoted to visual materials in the general curriculum.[39] "Guidelines for the Development of a Curriculum for a Master of Archival Studies Degree," approved by the Council of the Society of American Archivists on June 5, 1994, do not mention a need for archival trainees to become oriented in the administration of visual resources.[40] Nor did the Association of Canadian Archivists Education Committee make any specific recommendations about visual materials in its 1988 report, "Guidelines for the Development of a Two-Year Curriculum for a Master of Archival Studies Programme."[41] A 1993 report published in the *American Archivist* delineating important areas for education of future archivists and historians fails to mention visual literacy skills, though it does refer to "the inclusion of many new types of sources in archival repositories."[42] The 1994 issue of the *American Archivist* was devoted to a discussion of pressing current archival issues, upcoming concerns, and priorities for future research, yet visual materials were mentioned only in passing, indicating that these issues have lost, or perhaps not yet been accorded, the urgency they deserve.[43] Nevertheless, the archival literature has for many years included references to the importance of the intellectual issues presented by abstract visual awareness.

In 1968, John B. Kuiper, as head of the Motion Picture Section of the Library of Congress, wrote in reference to moving image materials that archivists must first reevaluate their traditional methods and, second, rethink their intellectual approaches in the wake of the proliferation of moving image documents. "Inevitably," he wrote, "... as archivists...we must be concerned with...education...as well as with the problems of availability, cataloging, selection, and acquisition, although there is no doubt that these problems must also be given fresh treatment." "We serve," he wrote, "as the bridge between our collections and the clearer understanding of the century that our collections undoubtedly provide."[44]

Ten years later, archivist Walter Rundell's groundbreaking article on still photography addressed the expressive uses of visual materials. Still photographs, first viewed as "adjuncts to literary sources and for display," gradually came to be viewed by other scholars as "original sources themselves," with expressive potential in their own right.[45] Rundell's article was important, in part, because it alluded to the uniqueness of the image as a mode of communication, and implied that new ways of understanding images, not bound by textual conventions, were in order. In addition, it demonstrated the ways in which modes of literacy overlap, and in which new modes are made to bear the conventions of older ones.[46]

Several broad-based analyses of groups of photographs on related historical themes have been completed with satisfying results. Joan Schwartz, for example, examined the extant photographic record of British Columbia prior to its incorporation into the Canadian Federation, looking at many intersecting factors, including boosterism, attitudes toward the wilderness, the necessity for professional photographers to produce images they could sell, the difficulty of reaching remote locations with heavy equipment and chemicals, and the problems of depictions associated with limitation of the medium

during the period under study. She reminds historians using photographs as source material to always ask: who made it, who was expected to receive its message, and what was it meant to convey? She concluded, in part, that pre-confederation British Colombian photography focused on the alteration of the wilderness by humans rather than on the beauties of nature, due to both the emotional need of settlers to feel that they had recreated a home environment similar to that which they had left, and the desire to attract additional settlement. While the image itself can be analyzed for certain types of information, its use by a buyer can tell something else; for example, a mass-produced photograph of a famous sternwheeler or Indian village may be found in a photo album of the type commonly kept in a Victorian parlor.[47]

In 1979, Hugh Taylor reiterated Kuiper's suggestion that traditional archival methods be reevaluated in the context of new forms of record, and recognized that visual materials have their own special qualities and requirements quite separate from those of written documents. In "Documentary Art and the Role of the Archivist," an article on art objects (Canadian landscape paintings) as archival record, Taylor made several important observations that apply to the present discussion. He warned that "to those of us brought up on history written entirely from textual records, the written word has a certain respectability, a deceptive precision, a convincing plausibility that masks its limitations," and that "our literary training has often caused us to 'read' pictures 'literally' without being aware of certain rules and conventions that are in sharp contrast to the rules of alphabet, grammar, and syntax." In spite of this, he advised, "we must all learn to describe pictorial content in words if we are to retrieve it."[48]

The most recent and most ambitious attempt to address the intellectual issues attending moving image materials was the organization of a conference by the International Council of Archives, held in Ottawa in 1990, and titled "Documents that Move and Speak." Conference participants consisted of an impressive international array of archivists, librarians, and media specialists, and discussions embraced a broad spectrum of issues. Many participants advocated the need for archivists to expand their conceptual horizons in regard to the significance of audiovisual media. Jean-Pierre Wallot, National Archivist of Canada, noted that "the challenge confronting archivists is not just the physical aspects of moving image and sound documents, but also the intellectual aspects." He continued that "we should not conclude that the key questions confronting archivists in this area are simply questions of technology."[49] Participants also noted the importance of studying new and changing media of record both on their own terms and within the context of older document forms and literacy patterns. "Moving image and sound documents should not be studied in isolation. They form part of the new information record of the twentieth century which will have an impact on all aspects of the archival profession. Thus, they must become part of a plan to assess the role of the archivist in this new age."[50] Hugh Taylor continued in the same vein in his presentation at the conference, chiding archivists for not pursuing these issues further.

> Archives are a subset of the whole communication process, and the media we use affect our individual perceptions and impact on society as a whole. As archivists we could have become aware of this since the 1960s through the works of Marshall McLuhan, Harold Innis, Walter Ong, and many others, but we have been slow to recognize this aspect in our search for

> meaning and value. We were all reared for the most part on the heavy gruel of text.[51]

These calls to action have resulted in relatively little output in terms of archival research and publications, yet the problems persist. For a variety of reasons, attention to visual literacy issues will be a priority for archivists as the century draws to a close. Descriptive access, for example, may be the most important, most problematic, and least explored aspect of audiovisual archives administration. It is the point at which visual literacy skills become crucial. The translation process, entailed by providing descriptive access, confounds even seasoned audiovisual archivists.

Extensive description of visual materials is vital for preservation of documents and for ease of reference for researchers. Because of the physical difficulties presented by moving image collections in particular, researchers are extremely dependent upon access to preliminary descriptions of the materials, rather than to the materials themselves. As one film archivist observed in 1983, "Film cataloging is the least visible activity of a film archive. Yet, an accurate, professional description of both filmographic and technical information about the collections is the pivot upon which the other activities depend."[52] The substance of Clive Coultass's 1976 diatribe on the importance of descriptive tools for moving image materials holds true today, though the practices he mentions are now dated.

> It is impossible for any one person to view all of the [archives'] footage, and detailed information necessarily has to be provided by the subject index cards, shot sheets or other documentation, which can only go so far and might not adequately give an impression of the visual composition of a shot, or it can be obtained from one or other individual who has personally seen different parts of the collection. The danger . . . is that one senior film librarian may accumulate a great deal of knowledge himself and, even though he may transfer the basic details to the cards, he can be so harassed by pressure of demand and shortage of staff that his own intimate acquaintance with the collection is only sporadically passed on to his subordinates, themselves busy with day-to-day administration and with scarcely any time to look at film.[53]

Archivists need to be able to describe visual materials in terms meaningful to researchers with various levels of sophistication. Even an understanding by the archivist that there ***are*** several levels of visual awareness can provide for better description. Certainly, a description that goes beyond the first level of visual awareness, as discussed earlier, can be a great help to a researcher. If the finding aid can use the vocabulary of visual communication by briefly noting such aspects as camera angle, distance, and shot composition, so much the better. Though these terms may mean nothing to some researchers, they function as codes to others, who understand that such specifics are part of the "language" of visual communication, and can interpret them as such. "Medium-shot low angle pan of crowd faces with occasional close ups interspliced" means a great deal more to a visually sophisticated researcher than does "crowd scenes." Without editorializing or imposing inappropriate interpretation, the former connotes an entire style of visual expression, places the document within a historical context of the genre, gives clues as to the intentions of the director, the

deliberate and the unplanned elements of the footage, possibilities for interpretation, and other considerations, while the latter reveals none of this content.

Heightened access to visual materials through multimedia databases will solve neither the visual literacy problem nor ameliorate the challenges of visual description. It may, instead, accelerate the urgency of the problems facing archivists. Such collections cannot benefit researchers if archivists do not possess the knowledge and skills necessary to provide adequate verbal descriptions of the visual contents of digitized images. Descriptive tools, such as catalog records and finding aids, will become increasingly important as visual documents continue to proliferate and as access to the images, or digitized representations of them, increases. As Alfred Willis wrote in the "Visual Resources" chapter of the *Guide to Indexing with the Art and Architecture Thesaurus*, "Computer technology has made possible the digitization of images, but attacking the problems of managing disembodied visual images in computerized image banks is a matter of urgent concern for visual resources specialists."[54] And, one might add, for all archivists.

Spurred on by the advent of image digitization, and by the general increase in volume of visual materials, efforts to improve techniques for providing descriptive access to moving image collections in particular have increased in recent years. These efforts have proceeded on three fronts: attempting to provide archivists with standardized vocabulary for describing the form and content of moving image materials; reaching consensus on the kinds of data to be included in descriptions; and providing means of sharing descriptive information from repository to repository. These three tasks are linked and interrelated: as the trend toward emphasis on data sharing increases, and as researchers' expectations rise, standardization becomes imperative. Archivist Clive Cochrane summarized the problem, describing the current state of film archives in the U.K.: "Because of the different practices employed by archives and libraries, those working with moving image materials possess a variety of skills, knowledge and attitudes and no professional body plays a dominant role."[55] Nevertheless, impressive efforts have been made in these three directions by dedicated archivists and librarians in recent years.[56]

The "Visual Resources" chapter of the *Guide to Indexing with the Art and Architecture Thesaurus* lays out the theoretical issues underlying these practical problems eloquently, but offers no facile solutions:

> Managing intellectual access to visual resource collections involves the coding or translating of the information inherent in those items, primarily information about the cognitive and/or aesthetic content of the subject depicted. The complex task of translating the information contained in images into words and other codes...is complicated by uncertainty about how human beings derive information from pictures and the differing intellectual and disciplinary perspectives of users. The difficulty of expressing certain qualities of pictures in verbal language is not necessarily due only to an imperfect command of the language, or to some kind of imperfect "visual literacy," but rather to the real limits of verbal and visual communication themselves. It would appear that some qualities of the [image] are simply indescribable in words...These problems

> are not ones of theory only...The problems associated with the disparate nature of what one can 'see' in a visual resource are mirrored by those associated with what one can say or ask about it as well. Researchers' disparate questions about the images in visual resources collections drive the information retrieval function. In handling them, catalogers are reminded again and again just how difficult it is to specify in words what information is conveyed by a particular image.[57]

Archivists who do not possess a basic understanding of the history of the media of record, its technology, the conventions of visual communication, and the history of shifts in modes of literacy will experience additional (and ***unnecessary***) difficulties in creating the tools needed to meet such challenges.

A Call to Expand our Role

Archives and archivists are well-positioned in the 1990s to provide some much needed grounding for the use and interpretation of visual materials: by playing an important role in promoting visual literacy; alerting researchers to possible problems in interpretation; and managing collections of visual materials more effectively.

Archivists should make a special effort to keep related materials together. On the most basic level, this means keeping together images that were created together. Subject access and cross-referencing can always be provided, but loss of context results in loss of information. Photographers's notes and other complementary sources should be sought out, preserved, and made available. If donors of collections are asked a few extra questions they may well remember having seen notebooks or scribbled-upon negative sleeves or film cans somehow misplaced or otherwise separated from the images they describe.

Transferring an image to another repository is appropriate if doing so reunites a broken collection or enhances the usefulness of resources. Users should always be informed about the existence of other repositories with images relevant to their research, and this means that archivists must communicate among themselves.

Users of visual resource documents may benefit from the examination of accompanying archival materials, such as written notes, negatives, outtakes, unedited camera originals, and still photos, which permit them to see the ***processes*** by which choices are made, allowing far richer and more complete understanding of the documents than would be afforded by viewing the final product in isolation. Negatives, for example, are the part of a photographic record closest to what the lens actually saw and are difficult to alter without a trace. They should be available for inspection by users of a collection, and can often be viewed sufficiently without being removed from protective enclosures. Archives should keep a light box in the reading room next to the always available supply of white cotton gloves. Many researchers who use collections containing visual materials are familiar with such procedures and possibilities. Most archivists, however, are not prepared by education or training to recognize, understand, and convey information about visual communication on this third level and should take steps to upgrade their skills. Archives should maintain a shelf or two of reference books about the history of visual media, including details about technological change and

analysis of the social contexts of, for example, film or photography in various periods. Patrons should be made aware of these reference works and staff members should be given the time and encouragement to peruse them. (Of course, a thoughtful rejection of published conclusions is always a possibility.)

Archivists should learn what they can about the authenticity of images they accession through examining provenance and otherwise tracing the history of a collection. Ask donors, or creators, if possible: "How was it made, and when? Was it, or a related image, ever exhibited or published? Where was it kept? How did it come to you?" Increasing potential for high-tech image alteration will make such considerations especially important in the future.

Visual media are a stimulus to the memory and can be shown to knowledgeable informants as a way of opening them up in oral history interviews or when compiling notes on the history of a family, a town, a religious institution, a college, or business. The circumstances under which such recollections were preserved should always be noted as part of the record, including the catalog number or other identifying label of each ***aide-memoire***.

Archivists should promote a symbiotic relationship with researchers, who, after all, have more time to focus undivided attention on details, and who often come to a project with some degree of subject expertise. Archivists can bring to this exchange of information their own special insights.

Above all, archivists should ask the right questions about visual collections and encourage patrons to do the same. Archivists need to be able to help researchers understand aspects of the collections that may not be obvious, or may be masked by misconceptions about the medium. We cannot afford to consider such skills the exclusive domain of film or photograph specialists any longer. All media, even traditional textual ones, can benefit from visually literate interpretation, and background on the conventions associated with communications media and document forms enhances archival work tremendously. With regard to visual materials, this understanding of the history of the media and their unique conventions is at the heart of the concept of visual literacy. Automation will eventually integrate the retrieval of all media, and the entire media spectrum may be retrieved in a complex search. Archivists should be prepared to guide researchers through at least some of the pitfalls and sources of confusion, providing information needed for balanced interpretation, explaining why images may not be what they seem.[58]

Archivists do not have to become experts in visual literacy, just as they do not have to become systems analysts or computer programmers, in order to appreciate the archival issues and challenges posed by textual electronic records. But archivists, as much as historians, do have a responsibility to become familiar with such challenges and issues in the documentary landscape. There are a number of ways in which we can enhance understanding of our collections and improve our practices. We can begin by attempting to understand levels of visual literacy, and upgrade our descriptions accordingly. We can peruse available sources on the technology and history of visual communication, and on the aesthetics of photography, film, and video. We can and should engage in the already active discourse on visual literacy, on shifting modes of literacy, on the

impact on our society of new document forms. Attention to these issues should be a required component of any archival education program.

Preservation policies presume that information contained in the documents is worth preserving. Making the informational content of archival documents, including visual materials, accessible requires the creation of adequate descriptive tools, in the form of finding aids, catalog records, and guides. The creation of such tools requires skills and a knowledge base that hinge upon thoughtful consideration of changing definitions of literacy, the possibilities and limits of translation, and the nature of communication through language and image. What is the worth of carefully preserved or digitally scanned materials if their informational content is not accessible to researchers?

Improvements in Dutch lens grinding in the late sixteenth century made available several innovations in visual aids, including improved spectacles and primitive microscopes, which attracted much attention as novelties.[59] A northern European coin of the period circulated the following wisdom in the form of a Latin motto, worth considering today:

> "Of what use are lens and light
> To those who lack in mind and sight?"[60]

As archivists, we shape the record of the past because, in part, we do serve as the bridges between collections and users. We are, as such, in a unique position to respond to the challenges posed by changing media, by the evolving nature of the documentary record. We can build better bridges. It is a big responsibility, but a fertile and promising endeavor.

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NOTES

1. Walter Ong, *Interfaces of the Word: Studies in the Evolution of Consciousness and Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 90.
2. Stephen S. Graubard, "Preface," *Daedalus* 111 (1982): vii.
3. Consider, for example, Stephen S. Graubard's observation that "we live in the century of the 'moving image,' but have only barely begun to consider the cultural and social implications of that fact" (*Daedalus* 114 (1985): v). This issue of *Daedalus* was titled "The Moving Image." More recently, see "Visual Images Replace Text as Focal Point for Many Scholars," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 19 (July 1996): A8–A15.
4. A typical traditional definition of literacy is found in *The American Heritage Dictionary*, 2nd college edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1985). The recent works relating to the history of literacy are numerous and include the works of M.T. Clanchy, Richard D. Brown, Walter Ong, Eric Havelock, Rosalind Thomas, Jack Goody, and Harvey J. Graaf.
5. In addition, the word "text" is applied in its traditional sense by some scholars to mean written or printed works, and in its deconstructionist sense by others to describe images, sounds, and virtually any other form of communication. Many scholars neglect to define their terms with confusing results.
6. John L. Debes, "The Loom of Visual Literacy," *Audiovisual Instruction* 14 (1969): 25.
7. Debes, "The Loom of Visual Literacy," 25.
8. Laverne W. Miller, "Some Thoughts on Visual Literacy," *Choice* 22 (March 1985): 937. From this conference sprang the International Visual Literacy Association (IVLA), an eclectic interdisciplinary group that has met and published its proceedings annually since then. In 1970 Debes and Clarence Williams founded the Center for Visual Literacy at the University of Rochester.
9. Debes, "The Loom of Visual Literacy," 27.
10. Journals include *The Journal of Communication, Visible Language, Media and Methods, The Journal of Visual and Verbal Languaging,* and *Visual Resources*.
11. John Hortin, "A Need for a Theory of Visual Literacy," *Reading Improvement* 19 (1982): 260.
12. Hortin, "A Need for a Theory of Visual Literacy, " 261.
13. To illustrate this point Sinatra cites a 1976 conference at which delegates were asked for definitions of visual literacy. "Analysis of the 62 definitions indicated that 52 different phrases were used to define the adjective 'visual,' and that 3 major meanings evolved for the word 'literacy'. . . ." Richard Sinatra, *Visual Literacy Connections to Thinking, Reading, and Writing* (Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas, 1986), 45–46.
14. Paul Messaris, *Visual 'Literacy': Image, Mind, Reality* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994), 2.
15. Hortin, "A Need for a Theory of Visual Literacy, " 261–262. This article includes a succinct summary of successive definitions of visual literacy and a useful bibliography from 1969 to 1982.
16. Richard Whelan, *Robert Capa* (New York: Knopf, 1985), 15.
17. Whelan, *Robert Capa*, 210–215. Some extensive quotes from Capa's own account of his D-Day assignment and its aftermath are found in Cornell Capa (ed.), *Robert Capa* (New York: Grossman, 1974), 68–71.
18. Beaumont Newhall, *Dorothea Lange Looks at the American Country Woman* (Fort Worth, TX: Amon Carter Museum, 1967), 71.
19. Cilla Ballard and Rodney Teakle, "Seizing the Light: The Appraisal of Photographs," *Archives and Manuscripts* 19 (May 1991): 44–46.
20. Investigations in archives-related disciplines in addition to history will enhance archival understandings of visual literacy. Valuable insights can be drawn from work already done in such fields as art and film theory, art history, museology, and philosophy of art, all of which customarily discuss visual information in terms of interpretation, expression and analysis. In addition, the writings of artists themselves can be quite enlightening. This approach would of course entail the momentary setting aside of divisions between art and "non-art" materials, an act that could be instructive. As Hugh Taylor has written, "The line [between archival records and art] is by no means clear-cut and points up the dilemma of a culture that distinguishes art from record in an uneasy dichotomy." Hugh Taylor, "Documentary Art and the Role of the Archivist," *American Archivist* 42 (October 1979): 425.
21. Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (London: Edward Arnold & Company, 1952), 222–296.
22. Michael Thomason, "The Magic Lantern Revisited: The Photograph as a Historical Source," *Alabama Review* 31 (April 1978): 83.

23. Hugh A. Taylor, "Documentary Art and the Role of the Archivist," *American Archivist* 42 (October 1979): 417–419.
24. Marsha Peters and Bernard Mergen, "'Doing the Rest': The Uses of Photographs in American Studies," *American Quarterly* 29 (Bibliography Issue 1977): 280–282.
25. Walter Rundell, Jr., "Photographs as Historical Evidence: Early Texas Oil," *American Archivist* 41 (October 1978): 373.
26. Thomas J. Schlereth, *Artifacts and the American Past* (Nashville, TN: American Association of State and Local History, 1980), 14–15.
27. Thomas J. Schlereth, *Artifacts and the American Past*, 43–47.
28. Schlereth, *Artifacts and the American Past*, 45.
29. Nicholas Pronay, "The 'Moving Picture' and Historical Research," *Journal of Contemporary History* 18 (1983): 366.
30. Paul Monaco, "Research-In-Progress: A Sampling from the U.S.A.," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 2 (1982): 180.
31. The Committee on Radio, Television, and Film Media of the Organization of American Historians was established in the late 1970s. The American Historical Association, in 1984, expanded the award categories in its teaching prize to include innovations with moving image media. The American Studies Association has made film criticism a regular topic of discussion in its meetings since the late 1970s.
32. Daniel J. Walkowitz, "Visual History: The Craft of the Historian-Filmmaker," *Public Historian* 7 (1985): 53. In addition, Paul Smith has pointed out that "the criticisms...of film regarded as record can be levelled at other forms of source material: written and printed documents, for instance, may equally be partial, subjective, tendentious, emotive, and even forged. Nothing has been more curious in discussions of film's role in historical studies than the degree of suspicion directed against it by historians who are prepared to accept verbal material with far less critical apprehension...It is largely the comparative unfamiliarity of film, decreasing with each new generation of historian, which has earned it such suspicion..." Paul Smith, *The Historian and Film* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 6.
33. Pronay, *"The 'Moving Picture' and Historical Research"*, 366.
34. With continued attention at professional conferences, and with the publication of such landmark works as historian John E. O'Connor's *American History/American Film: Interpreting the Hollywood Image* (New York: Ungar, 1979) and *American History/American Television: Interpreting the Video Past* (New York: Ungar, 1983), skeptics could no longer deny the validity of the research value of moving image documents with their previous self-assurance. As O'Connor wrote in 1990, "In their various publications the contributors to this volume have been arguing for nearly two decades that historians should expand their horizons and begin to do justice to the study of moving images. Now it is time to press that issue further. There are important areas of historical scholarship where the researcher who ignores the close study of moving image evidence has failed to cover the subject; and the number of these areas is sure to increase in the future." John E. O'Connor, *Image as Artifact: the Historical Analysis of Film and Television* (Melbourne, FL: Krieger, 1990), 1ff.
35. Historian Arthur Marwick was convinced that moving images could not represent history, though they could help to enhance students' interest. "Film," he wrote, "...is not suited to the presentation of a complex historical narrative, and is most certainly unsuited to complex historical analysis" (Smith 1976, 153). In contrast, most contributors to the special 1983 issue of the *Journal of Contemporary History* agreed that no fundamental barrier exists between images and print for the presentation of history. When the December 1988 issue of *American Historical Review* devoted its "Forum" to the topic, four of the five contributors agreed that it is indeed possible to present legitimate history on film, and these four expressed a readiness to move on to a deeper analysis of the problem. As Robert Rosenstone, a pioneer advocate of the potential of history on film wrote, "I no longer find it possible to blame the shortcomings of historical films either on the evils of Hollywood or the woeful effects of low budgets, on the limits of the dramatic genre or those of the documentary format." At stake, as Rosenstone suggested, was a fundamental dilemma of historical definition, with vast implications for the discipline. Perhaps it was not the limitations of film that caused problems, but the limitation of traditional conceptions of history. "Can one really put history onto film," he asked, "...or does the use of film necessitate a change in what we mean by history, and would we be willing to make such a change?" His challenge is profound. Do the conventions of textual historiography (traditional conceptions of primary and secondary sources, stylistic customs, citations, bibliographies, statistics, etc.) enable historians to present history in its most objective and authentic form? Is it only through the use of such conventions that historians can present rich, complex, and subtle analyses of historical events or issues? Might

images permit complex analyses as well, using the conventions of visual, not textual, communication? Hayden White suggests that visual history (history presented by means of moving image media) represents a challenge to traditional history and historiography not unlike the challenge presented by feminist historiography: not only new answers, but new kinds of questions must be formulated, questions which ultimately require reevaluation of the entire framework of the discipline. Hayden White, "Historiography and Historiophoty," *American Historical Review* 93 (1988): 1199.

36. "Visual literacy is an essential tool for citizenship in contemporary America," wrote O'Connor in 1990. "It would be easy to teach students to be cynics (or to reinforce them in their cynicism), but this would be neither productive nor educational. Not long ago, the naive presumption was common that whatever people saw on the news they accepted as fact. Today, people are so ready to disbelieve news reports, and especially news analysis, that 'media bashing' has become an effective political tool." John E. O'Connor, "History in Images/Images in History: Reflections on the Importance of Film and Television Study for an Understanding of the Past," *American Historical Review* 93 (1988): 1208. Training in visual literacy skills is essential for historians. Historian Daniel Walkowitz has argued that despite historians' increased recognition of visual media as legitimate tools for writing and teaching history, the point of these efforts is if lost "neither historians nor their students have learned to 'read' images." Daniel Walkowitz, "Visual History: The Craft of the Historian-Filmmaker," *Public Historian* 7 (1985): 54.
37. When these issues are confronted, they are generally discussed in terms of a debate over the validity of the analogy between images and language. To what extent can images be compared to language, and can methodological approaches to textual documents be applied to visual materials? See especially Smith, 1976; Robert Rosenstone, "History in Images/History in Words," *American Historical Review* 93 (1988): 1173–1185; John Schott in Barbara Abrash and Janet Sternburg, eds., *Historians and Filmmakers: Toward Collaboration* (New York: The Institute for Research in History, 1983); Pronay, "The Moving Picture;" Joshua Brown, "Visualizing the 19th Century," *Radical History Review* 38 (1987): 114–125; and O'Connor, *Image as Artifact.*
38. James K. Burrows and Mary Ann Pylypchuk in Barbara Craig, *The Archival Imagination: Essays in Honor of Hugh Taylor* (Ottawa: Association of Canadian Archivists, 1992), 250.
39. This absence is demonstrated by an examination of the Society of American Archivists' *Directory of Archival Education, 1995–1996.*
40. Society of American Archivists, "Guidelines for the Development of a Curriculum for a Master of Archival Studies Degree," *Archival Outlook* (September 1994): eight-page insert.
41. Association of Canadian Archivists, "Guidelines for the Development of a Two-Year Curriculum for a Master of Archival Studies Programme," *Archivaria* 29 (Winter 1989–90): 128–141.
42. "Special Report: Historians and Archivists: Educating the Next Generation," *American Archivist* 56 (Fall 1993): 732.
43. Margaret Hedstrom, issue ed., "Special Issue: 2020 Vision," *American Archivist* 57 (Winter, 1994).
44. "The Historical Value of Motion Pictures," *American Archivist* 31 (October, 1968): 390.
45. Walter Rundell, "Photographs as Historical Evidence," *American Archivist* 41 (October, 1978): 373.
46. On the latter point, see also Rosalind Thomas, *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
47. Joan M. Schwartz, "The Photographic Record of Pre-Confederation British Columbia," *Archivaria* 5 (Winter 1977–1978): 17–44.
48. Hugh Taylor, "Documentary Art and the Role of the Archivist," *American Archivist* 42 (October, 1979): 427.
49. Jean-Pierre Wallot, in his welcoming speech. National Archives of Canada, *Documents that Move and Speak: Audiovisual Archives in the Information Age,* (New York: K.G. Saur, 1992), 12.
50. Wallot, in "Documents That Move and Speak," *12.*
51. Taylor, in "Documents that Move and Speak," 19.
52. Early archival writings on moving image materials acknowledge this fact. See, for example, the 1956 statement that "the more informative the descriptions are, the less the need to consult the film itself in searching. Frequent screenings of films for reference purposes is expensive, both in time and damage to films. Since archival holdings often include unedited films lacking narration or other documentation, the records description task of the archivist is a major responsibility. It is of the greatest importance that his descriptions be accurate, for finding aids not founded on careful research can bring discredit on him and his agency." Hermione Baumhofer, "Film Records Management," *American Archivist* 19 (July, 1956): 242. For a more recent statement, see Sheila Intner's comment that "new

nonbook media materials...and increasing popularity of older media forms seems to indicate a need for more and better summary notes. Catalogers, who write them, need to accept responsibility for doing the job and getting the help they need to do it well." Sheila Intner, "Writing Summary Notes for Films and Videos," *Cataloging and Classification Quarterly* 9 (1988): 72.

53. Coultass, in Smith, *The Historian and Film*, 44.
54. Alfred Willis, "Visual Resources' in Toni Petersen and Patricia Barnett eds., *Guide to Indexing with the Art and Architecture Thesaurus*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 165.
55. Clive Cochrane, "An Overview of the Trends in the Collection and Use of Moving Images in the U.K.," *Journal of Documentation* 49 (1993): 289–290.
56. Eileen Bowser's 1991 comment that "At present there is no universal standard for genre and subject terminology" for moving image materials remains true in 1996. Eileen Bowser and John Kuiper eds., *A Handbook for Film Archives* (New York: Garland, 1991), 103. The major efforts to provide controlled vocabulary specifically for audiovisual materials include the *Art and Architecture Thesaurus* and Martha Yee's *Moving Image Materials: Genre Terms* (Washington DC: Library of Congress, 1988). There are no universally or even nationally accepted standards for cataloging methods and no agreement on data elements for catalog records. See National Archives of Canada, *Documents That Move and Speak* (New York: K.G. Saur, 1992), 156. The now-obsolete MARC VM format and Wendy White-Hensen's *Archival Moving Image Materials: A Cataloging Manual* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1984) provide the basic tools for feature film cataloging, but neither has been satisfactory for cataloging unedited footage. Both are at present undergoing major revisions. See Martha Yee and Linda Tadic, "Report of the AMIA Cataloging and Documentation Committee," *Views: The Newsletter of the Visual Materials Section, Society of American Archivists* (9 April 1995): 4. Agreement on data element definitions and cataloging standards becomes increasingly important as multi-repository databases of descriptive information on audiovisual collections are expanded. At this writing, data sharing utilities for moving image materials include: local online film archives catalogs, which are accessible via the Internet; the national bibliographic utilities (RLIN, OCLC), which accept MARC VM records; and the National Moving Image Database (NAMID), conducted under the auspices of the National Center for Film and Video Preservation at the American Film Institute. NAMID's goal is to serve as a comprehensive database of descriptive information about film and video holdings in the United States. These massive databases have a great potential, but as Roger Smither cautioned in an important article in 1987, "The cause for concern in the film archival world is precisely the fact that common standards for data exchange are being developed not only well after the perception of the usefulness of shared data, but also after the development of the first potential contributions to a global data base." He continues, "The viability of data exchange depends on the consistency of the data shared." He cites in addition "a tendency to assume that the introduction of new technology in some way automatically results in an improvement in services and circumstances. This is simply not confirmed by experience." Roger Smither, "Formats and Standards: A Film Archive Perspective on Exchanging Computerized Data," *American Archivist* 50 (1987): 329, 332, 333.
57. Willis, "Visual Resources."
58. See Hugh Taylor, "2020 Vision," *American Archivist* 57 (Winter 1994): 140.
59. Derek Birdsall and Carlo Cipolla, *The Technology of Man: A Visual History* (London: Penshurst Press, 1979), 146.
60. Helmut Gernsheim and Alison Gernsheim, *A Concise History of Photography* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), 7.

MANAGING INTELLECTUAL ASSETS: THE IDENTIFICATION, CAPTURE, MAINTENANCE, AND USE OF THE RECORDS OF FEDERALLY SPONSORED SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH.

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ABSTRACT: Academic organizations, in addition to government and private industry, must begin to regard sponsored research records as vital and integral *evidential* and *intellectual assets*. This essay emphasizes these records' value as a means of risk management for both the researcher and the institution. Establishing a Department of Intellectual Assets (a name chosen to reflect the nature of the records management/archives program) under the jurisdiction of the University's Controller's Office, where the vital records of all research being performed at the university are maintained, is the primary goal for ensuring adequate evidence and accountability of these activities. The paper points out that the records which emanate from scientific research activities are discipline specific and, as a result, archivists and records managers must work together to develop programs that will reflect this diversification. The goal of what this essay is suggesting is to transform the focus of records professionals off of *information* and onto *evidence*—evidence of fiscal, administrative, and legal transactions, as well as providing evidence of laboratory proceedings.

The proliferation of scientific research after World War II has made it increasingly apparent that attempts to schedule and maintain access to meaningful and evidential research documentation have become disproportionately inadequate given the explosion of such documentation, partially attributed to the increased use of computing for both the administration of, as well as conduct of, modern scientific research. Academic institutions, along with government and private sector organizations, must begin to regard these records as important *intellectual assets*—not only for the benefit of scholarly research, but, perhaps more importantly, to provide a means of ensuring project accountability both fiscally and ethically. Records managers and archivists must pursue creative avenues for motivating institutions to establish records management programs designed to work cooperatively with institutional archives to ensure that those

records that fulfill administrative, fiscal, and legal requirements are scheduled for retention, in addition to records that may enable researchers to explore the biographical and sociological aspects of science. Documentation selected for retention must reflect the totality of the research process and be regarded as a vital resource for intellectual property and risk management. It is imperative that institutional decision-makers understand that these intellectual assets ensure the efficient administration of, as well as the continuation and validation of, scientific research at an institution. Through examination of the totality of the scientific record, with some emphasis on the administrative aspects of this process, this essay proposes the establishment of a records management program working cooperatively with an archives program, under the direction of an *Office of Intellectual Assets*, as a solution for ensuring the identification, capture, maintenance, and disposition of these records, in an attempt to not merely reduce duplication of effort, but to *guarantee* accountability and compliance.

Because the scope of scientific research is so vast, this essay limits its discussion to sponsored projects funded by federal agencies, primarily the National Institutes of Health, to conduct basic, experimental, research science in an academic institution. More specifically, this essay uses the Department of Pharmacology in the School of Medicine at the University of Pittsburgh as a case study from which the life-cycle of these records can be traced. Pharmacology was selected as being representative of typical problems encountered in academia when considering the identification, capture, and maintenance of scientific research records.

Evidence Based Administration

All sponsored project funding in the Department of Pharmacology is administered through a business office that is responsible for overseeing government and private industry grant and contract[1] submission and awards, fiscal reporting, procurement and reimbursement, and asset management. Human resource documents, as well as records originating from the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) office, are administered and maintained by the staff of the Executive Administrator for the department. Graduate theses and doctoral dissertations are bound and housed in the Chairman's Office (additional printed copies are maintained by the School of Medicine and microfilm copies reside in the school's library). Actual research documentation and personal papers are the only records that pose a real problem because they are generally dispersed between a Principal Investigator's office, lab, and home. None of these records are maintained under the jurisdiction of an established records management program within the School of Medicine or within the University as a whole.

Aside from the obvious reason of documenting worthwhile research, development of an effective and efficient institutional records management and archives program would ensure evidence of organizational accountability and compliance and reduce duplication of effort and encourage maximum quality, use, and value of information as a strategic objective. In other words, the goal is to transform the focus of records management and archives programs off of *information* and onto *evidence*—evidence of fiscal, administrative, and legal transactions, in addition to providing evidence of laboratory proceedings.

To achieve this change of focus the necessity for building a strong working relationship between records management and archives programs must be emphasized. Operating together, these programs ensure the provision of long-term storage of important records.[2] The life cycle of these records cannot be administered in the absence of a concern for both current records and archival records without running the risk of losing evidence, weakening accountability, and undermining corporate memory.

So how does one design a program that will not only encompass readily accessible administrative records, but will also attempt to incorporate multiple formats and dispersed records, as well as those aspects within the evolution of a research project that frequently remain undocumented, such as the formulation of hypotheses? What do we need to know about a project? What functions generate which records? Are the by-products of these functions really records or are they data—what are their characteristics? How well do these records reflect the research process? What do they tell you and what do they leave unanswered? How does one contend with scientists who traditionally resist the encroachment of additional administrative demands on their research, as well as individual departments that frequently harbor territorial tendencies toward their records? With these questions and more in mind, endeavors to integrate a new records management/archives program should proceed with an awareness of, and a realistic strategy for, dealing with the variety of documentation involved in scientific research and a sensitivity toward the various departmental cultures existing within an institution or an individual school.

Identifying Significance

In developing strategies for scheduling the records of scientific research, a set of criteria has to be established to distinguish between those projects that deserve full documentation and those for which a final published report along with an accounting summary will suffice.[3] Disciplinary committees within the institution should be formed to determine which projects warrant full documentation based on the project's significance to the disciplinary community (i.e., was it a pioneering endeavor, did it unearth startling new results, were new techniques developed), its ability to enhance the prestige of the academic institution, and its influence on the generation of graduate theses, thereby encouraging the development of new courses and/or disciplines.[4] Such committees are best composed of both the creators and users of scientific records, as well as those individuals who are responsible for administering them.[5] Their inclusion is critical because:

> By their participation in the appraisal of their records for historical purposes, scientists and high-level administrators would become conscious of the potential value of their records, and experience increased morale from this recognition of the importance of their efforts. More immediately, their identification of significant R&D events, programs, and facilities will make possible the destruction of a great quantity of unneeded and bulky R&D records.[6]

Once a project has been deemed worthy of enhanced documentation, it should then be subjected to the process of determining what materials produced by that project are

considered to be records and which are non-records, the objective being to retain only those materials with the most evidential value. If the goal of the records management and/or archives program is to be as meticulous as possible, it should schedule for retention grant and contract proposals and specifications, award statements, correspondence between the researcher/university and the funding institution, progress reports, accounting statements, and closing reports. In addition, a comprehensive program has the right to glean laboratory notebooks, data files,[7] logbooks, and diagrams for apparatus from the laboratory, assuming that these records are no longer necessary for ongoing research.[8] A concerted effort should also be made to acquire the personal/professional papers of the Principal Investigator and to integrate these into the other materials. However, these materials should not be treated as a separate manuscript collection. Overall, the surest way to decide exactly which records to schedule can be attained by studying the actual scientific research process.[9]

Realizing Scientific Research Dynamics

Understanding the sociology of scientific research begins with a recognition of the research process as "the pursuit of curiosity into the physical environment producing new understanding and new arrangement of physical matter."[10] Investigators begin by formulating a hypothesis based on a gap or inconsistency in the known knowledge base. Agencies, responding to national or special-interest priorities, frequently dictate the direction of an investigator's research.[11] In addition, new projects often piggyback off ongoing research being conducted in the investigator's own laboratory or that of a collaborator.

After a hypothesis is formed, the investigator begins to conceptualize the research methods that will be employed—the goal being to either prove or disprove the validity of their theory. Responsibility for carrying out these methods is then distributed accordingly to various members of the laboratory, who then begin the cycle of experimentation and analysis. Their goal is to establish procedures based on existing theories and to accumulate testable evidence to support their theory. Once initial experimentation indicates that a project is plausible, the Principal Investigator will write and submit a grant proposal to request the necessary funding. If the proposal is funded, then the investigator is presented with the task of completing the research in a specific time period, usually between two and four years depending upon the award. However, this may vary from discipline to discipline. During that time, the investigator must submit annual progress reports and file noncompeting renewals for funding.[12] At this point, it should be noted that the initial hypothesis can often change midstream. The nature of ongoing experimentation and analysis is based on trial and error, which results in a rather amorphous process. In the end, breakthroughs, as well as failures, can be equally valuable in their contribution to the base of scientific knowledge. Investigators are frequently sharing information about their results through publications, poster presentations at conferences, lectures, informal conversations, and correspondence. Once a funding period ends, the investigator is left with the option to either terminate the project, if it hasn't already run its course, or submit a competing renewal.[13]

Product Reflecting Process

The scientific research process leaves in its wake a long trail of documentation: the hardware (apparatus, specimens, slides), the raw data (laboratory notebooks, logbooks), and the written printed word (administrative records, such as grant proposals, procurement, and human resource records).[14] For the most part, records management and archives programs will be unable to obtain the actual hardware used because it is frequently cannibalized for other projects. However, attempts should be made to either schedule any relevant documentation regarding its procurement, design, assembly, maintenance, and use or, if possible, to document it through the use of photographs or video. Logbooks are frequently good sources of insight into the importance of a particular instrument or piece of equipment.

The Raw Data

The raw data recorded in laboratory notebooks presents the records manager and/or archivist with a slight dilemma. Although the data reflects choices made by the investigating team, it must be maintained in context, otherwise it cannot be interpreted and is rendered meaningless.[15] To determine what amount is necessary to be preserved, one must consider what kinds of data are being produced, who uses it, and in what ways. In addition, contemporary research is frequently subject to federal audits. As a result, notebooks have held key roles in data disputes. It is no longer uncommon to find the following information recorded in these notebooks: the title of the experiment, the experiment's number, the date it was performed and by whom, a paragraph or two explaining why this experiment was run, and the materials and methods used. Notebooks maintained as such offer researchers invaluable insight into the genesis of scientific discoveries, as well as provide the institution with a valuable source of evidence.[16] On the other hand, some archivists feel that if a summary of the data has been published in journal articles or reports, or if the data results from experiments that can be easily reprised without consuming excessive time, money, or effort, then the data can be destroyed without future repercussions.[17]

Administrative Records

The written printed word comprises the bulk of scientific documentation. Administrative records are primarily form driven and are more easily adaptable to retention schedules. They have fiscal and legal value for both the investigator and the academic institution, as well as research value based on the record's uniqueness, credibility, understandability, time span accessibility, user demand levels, and types of usage.[18] Activities, such as grant and contract submission, procurement and reimbursement, and human resource transactions are the primary impetus for the creation of administrative records. Grant applications provide evidence of the rationale, methods, budgetary restrictions, division of responsibility, and accomplishments behind a given research project.

For active federal grants and contracts, the Department of Pharmacology's Business Office retains a copy of the entire completed grant application, along with any

correspondence (copies or originals), financial reports, and materials authorizing the use of recombinant DNA, blood-borne pathogens, radioactive materials, or other biohazardous materials, as well as animal and/or human protocols,[19] for seven years—covering the four years the award is active plus an additional three years following closure of the award.[20] Pending applications, if they are not funded, are only maintained for approximately one year following submission. However, if a proposal is not funded, but there is a prospect of resubmission, the application will be retained for two to three years. Outside the department, the Office of Research maintains records of the pre-award process and Research Accounting retains post-award records.[21] Unfortunately not all of the accounts managed by the Business Office are this clearly delineated. For example, the laboratory of one of the department's primary faculty members is housed in facilities maintained by the Pittsburgh Cancer Institute (PCI), an independently operated research institute affiliated with the University of Pittsburgh, but housed in facilities owned by the University of Pittsburgh Medical Center (UPMC).[22] Therefore, indirect costs, which pay for purchasing, library maintenance, and building maintenance, are paid to the UPMC. However, the Principal Investigator has chosen to use the University of Pittsburgh's support facilities and have all paper work maintained in the Department of Pharmacology. This situation has resulted in a documentation quagmire that has yet to be resolved.

Sponsored research money is awarded to an institution, as opposed to the Principal Investigator. As a result, if a Principal Investigator leaves one academic institution for another, the grant or contract is transferred to the next institution. Although all formal reports and correspondence are transferred, copies are usually maintained by the former institution. With subcontracts,[23] all original documents outlining the terms of the subcontract should be maintained by the primary awardee. One unfortunate side-effect of subcontracting is that it can lead to fragmentation of the record because often collaborations are multi-institutional, multi-disciplinary, or even, at times, multi-national.[24]

Procurement and reimbursement records offer additional cursory insight into the research process. However, their accuracy as a reflection of products consumed by a given project is questionable at best. In theory, only those supplies/materials intended for use in a specific project can be charged to that account. Despite this, situations arise under which laboratory staff do not accurately identify the appropriate projects that these supplies/materials are to be charged to. Therefore, they are initially charged incorrectly, only to be transferred to the proper account when the error is discovered. On the other hand, there are times when an account number for a new award is not released in a timely fashion, thereby forcing expenditures onto the department until the time that the account number is released and these costs can be transferred to the appropriate project. Regardless, purchase requests will not reflect these transfers. To compensate for this inconsistency, many research departments within the School of Medicine maintain monthly level reports that do accurately reflect both the initial purchase and, if applicable, subsequent transfer of supplies/materials purchased with sponsored research funds.

The Business Office of the Department of Pharmacology retains the hard copies of these records for a period not to exceed seven years.[25] Hard copies are also maintained by Service and Records for seven years, in addition to microfilmed copies that are

retained indefinitely.[26] For the most part, only the records of equipment purchases are of great concern because they reflect departmental assets. If the Principal Investigator leaves the University, any equipment purchased with sponsored research funds may follow that individual. Records reflecting the tagging, maintenance, transfer, and retirement of all departmental equipment are maintained for an unspecified time by the department. In addition, Asset Management retains capital equipment records for the duration that the equipment resides on University property.[27]

Personnel records of staff members working on sponsored research projects are equally as ambiguous as purchase requisitions. Few labs have unwavering daily routines. Although Principal Investigators try to respect human resource allocations as they are reflected in the grant proposal, it is virtually impossible to adhere exactly to the percentage of effort allocated to each lab member in that proposal. In addition, there is really no way for the administrative staff to audit this. As a result, laboratory personnel are on their honor regarding the percentage of effort they devote to a given project. It should be noted that federal auditors representing the United States Public Health Service reserve the right to walk into any NIH funded laboratory and request verification from a researcher that they are giving the appropriate percentage of effort to a given project.[28] The Department of Pharmacology maintains all personnel records in the department indefinitely. At this point in time, no personnel records have ever been destroyed. In addition, microfilmed copies of all personnel and payroll records are maintained by Service and Records indefinitely.[29]

Personal/Professional Records

On the fringe of this discussion lie personal and/or professional records.[30] These records generally reside in either the Principal Investigator's office, lab, or home and their form is dependent upon the style of that individual. The quality (i.e. intellectual content) of these records varies extremely depending upon their perceived relationship to future research. Such records may consist of materials from professional societies or committee work, or they may be reflective of a teaching component (e.g. lecture notes, syllabi, and student papers). Preprints, offprints, and reprints, both their own and those of colleagues, are frequently disbursed throughout an investigator's personal papers. Sometimes even those elements of the scientific research process that would normally go unrecorded, such as the formulation of a hypothesis, may be discovered among these files. However, the latter generally only occurs if a Principal Investigator suspects that their research may involve a patent discovery, and, therefore, documents their thoughts for proprietary reasons.[31] By no means is this an organized process, rather, it may consist of either formal *notes to the file* or more informal notes jotted down in a laboratory notebook. While the consistency and thoroughness of such documentation is dependent upon that individual's habits, for the most part, investigators tend to be more apt to document in detail when a discovery is potentially patentable. Generally, although not necessarily as a rule, investigators recognize that their personal papers, so to speak, are not necessarily their property. However, it is not unusual for these records to leave the academic institution along with the investigator. Minimally, the Investigator will opt to make copies of their records to carry away with

them. Unfortunately, without an established records management and/or archives program, it is extremely difficult to wade through the morass of ownership and accountability issues applicable to these types of records—never mind compliance to any university or federal policies and/or procedures.

Research Results

The dissemination of research results occupies the final stage of naturally occurring documentation. Throughout an investigator's research, this dissemination of information provides a continuous process that refines one's research though informal means, such as telephone conversations and e-mail correspondence, as well as more formal progress reports and publications.[32] Interestingly enough, the majority of investigators, as well as research administrators, view the general body of formal publications as their archival record.[33] However, published materials on their own do not necessarily accurately reflect the actual sequence of events for a given experiment. They do not specify exactly who was accountable for what research assignments, and do not address such equipment related concerns as design and construction, nor do they indicate funding sources or any policies or procedures governing decision making. More importantly, any setbacks are rarely reported in the formal literature. Published materials only fulfill the investigators' need to communicate their work to their communities and, at the same time, claim any discoveries made as their own.[34] Nonetheless, in an attempt to provide the whole picture, so to speak, it should be acknowledged that "while archives may not house the journal and technical report literature, the selection of manuscript and archival sources should complement the body of published material."[35]

Regulatory Records

Records, such as those mandated by OSHA, are vital for the appropriate regulation of radioactive materials, recombinant DNA, animal/human protocols, biohazardous materials, and the handling of blood borne pathogens. Within the Department of Pharmacology, compliance with OSHA requirements conjures up an interesting issue that affects the efficient expedition of these records. Pharmacology is housed within the University's School of Medicine. However, the department is physically located in a University of Pittsburgh Medical Center (UPMC) facility and, therefore, is obligated to appeal to UPMC's OSHA headquarters. To complicate matters further, the department is primarily allied with the School of Medicine because only the University can grant faculty appointments. However, any clinical research conducted in the department must be done under the auspices of UPMC. As a result, some administrative functions that may touch on federally sponsored research projects must be processed through the hospital. Needless to say, this causes some degree of record entanglement.

Research administrators rely on a variety of sources to keep them informed of their requirements for maintaining the records of federally sponsored research projects, whether they are grants or contracts. For the most part, administrators look to those regulations outlined by the National Institutes of Health (NIH) as a general guideline. At the same time, there are several services available such as Washington FAX™, which

consists of former Washington reporters who specialized in the life science area. These individuals report on congressional hearings and prowl the agencies and then condense this information into a weekly fax sheet. In addition, there is the *Federal Grants Management Handbook*, produced by the Grants Management Advisory Service, and the *Guide to Record Retention Requirements in the Code of the Federal Regulations* published by the Office of the Federal Register. However, the latter has been found to possess limited usefulness and questionable accuracy. The NIH also administers the NIH GrantLine, which is an electronic information service that includes the *NIH Guide for Grants and Contracts*, NIH extramural program guidelines, and organizational listings from the NIH Telephone Directory. Administrators also frequently make use of the following professional organizations, which can function as watchdogs: The Society of Research Administrators (SRA), National Council of University Research Administrators (NCURA), the Association of American Universities (AAU), the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges (NASULGC), and the Council on Governmental Relations (COGR). Finally, several world wide web home pages are beginning to surface, such as the National Institutes of Health's, that may provide guidance to those lost in the ever increasing complexity of grant and contract submission and administration.

Developing Strategies And Contemplating Methods

Given the inconsistent nature of this voluminous body of records, what possible strategies are plausible to improve the scheduling and preservation of these documents? First, records managers and archivists must lobby for the implementation of record keeping standards for scientific documentation. Such standards must incorporate allowances for the diversity of this body of records (ie. exceptions to the rules), yet agree on some basic series elements that must be maintained. Standards need to be explored for the arrangement and description of those records that will eventually be transferred to an archives program. In addition, collaborative scheduling proposals must be explored, in anticipation of dealing with the records of an awardee's collaborators and subcontractors—both of which may be located in other laboratories, departments, institutions, or even countries. However,

> ...before pressing Universities and other institutions to take care of their scientific archives we should ourselves have a much clearer idea, in terms of space, staff, time and money, of what we are asking them to take on.[36]

Clarification of what is being asked of academic institutions would have to consider location, staffing, and budgetary considerations. Ideally, records management and archives programs should be kept out of the university's library system and be given their own department and budget. At the University of Pittsburgh, a records management and subsequent archives program to document research activities should be allied somehow with Research Accounting under the auspices of the Controller's Office. This location would afford the program the ability to supplement post-award records, maintained under the jurisdiction of Research Accounting, with previously unscheduled records from the various research departments. The program should then be renamed to

reflect the nature of the program, for example *Office of Intellectual Assets,* a name that is in tune with its mission to manage intellectual resources, risk, and accountability.[37]

To ensure the effective scheduling of research records at the University, subspecialty programs would have to be developed that would be tailored to fit the nature and type of school in question. For example, a record keeping program developed to document research activities being conducted in the School of Fine Arts would not be entirely applicable to the School of Medicine. Records managers and archivists must seek a middle ground that aspires toward goal integration between the nature of the records produced by each school within the University and the needs of the Records Management and Archives Program.[38]

Once standards are in place, one of the more effective strategies would be to encourage the federal government, working together with academic institutions, to either impose or empower the university to introduce incentives to meet record keeping practices. Such incentives could take the form of programs designed to teach good record keeping practices to doctoral students that could be incorporated into a department's or school's seminar program. In addition, programs should also be developed to target the investigators themselves, as well as support staff. Another strategy could be to implement audits carried out by and/or fines given by the federal agency, that would either be deducted from the current year's award monies or withheld from the subsequent year's award. Just as there are penalties for financial mismanagement, so should there be for records mismanagement. If audits prove that the situation is chronic, then punishment is non-renewal; after all, these are taxpayer dollars.

If fines are to be considered as penalties for ignoring record keeping standards, then methods for auditing these records need to be explored. The following is an example of one method that could be adapted for this purpose. The Department of Pharmacology implemented a program intended to measure a laboratory's compliance with OSHA regulations. First, the department published an internal OSHA manual. The laboratories were then given a predetermined period to read the manual and correct any known violations. Following this initial grace period, the department elected to have a representative from the OSHA office perform a mock audit of each laboratory. A listing of any overlooked OSHA violations was presented to the Principal Investigator of each laboratory along with a summary of fines that would have had to have been paid out of the Principal Investigator's laboratory monies had this been a genuine audit. Needless to say, this approach had the desired effect on most of the laboratories in the department.

Funding agencies need to be more specific in the proposal application packet or in the award statement regarding ownership and anticipated scheduling of records that will result from that award. This statement would need to delineate responsibility for the scheduling and retention of research-related records, as well as those of administrative, fiscal, and legal practices. Increasingly there is a demand for guidance from the federal government in navigating the changing nature of grants and contract administration. Research administrators, as well as investigators and one hopes records managers and archivists, are aware that:

> One of the results of the complexity in federal assistance management has been a tendency toward decentralization and devolution of authority. A primary example in the area of grant administration has been a marked shift in emphasis over the past 15 years from transaction control to systems oversight and from central to local responsibility. Where the federal government maintained centralized control of decisions affecting financial accountability through line item budgets, agency approvals, and detailed fiscal reporting, such control has given way to more local autonomy in decision-making and to systems oversight.[39]

Decentralization of authority increases the pressure on academic institutions to assume responsibility for the preservation of sponsored research records.

The final report of the Joint Committee on Archives of Science and Technology (JCAST) specified that the ideal situation would be for research records to remain with the academic institution to which they were awarded. However, the report also suggests that if there is not a records management and archives program in place at that institution to oversee the disposition of these records, then custody should revert to the awarding agency upon completion of the project.[40] This is not necessarily a reasonable solution. Instead, federal agencies should consider withholding grant monies from institutions that refuse to comply with retention regulations. Of course this is contingent upon these agencies specifying—clearly—what those regulations are. Records pertaining to contract research, because they are clearly under the jurisdiction of the federal government, would be the responsibility of the awarding agency and, therefore, handled differently.

It is unlikely that the awarding agency will earmark additional funds for records retention. Expenses incurred from the maintenance of research records should be the responsibility of the academic institution. If the schools within that academic institution want to obtain a certain caliber of researcher, they offer salaries that are attractive these individuals. Ergo, the institution should not begrudge the funds necessary for preserving the records of these prized researchers. This would ensure that the records remain at the institution, thereby enhancing the prestige of that institution's research collections.

In the end, if an institution is unable or unwilling to maintain these records, and the federal government does not choose to acquire them, the option of transferring them to a discipline-based history center or petitioning other organizations to create a specialized data-gathering archives may provide a solution. The latter should only be pursued as a last resort for those records documenting a pioneer endeavor or a particularly controversial form of research.[41] Data-gathering archives tend to only glean easily accessible information, omitting valuable administrative and other contextual records. Frequently these materials are gathered without respect for their provenance: order is manufactured as materials are accumulated. Discipline-based history centers would be the ideal alternative solution. Existing centers, such as the American Institute of Physics (AIP), can provide leadership and advice on how to get programs started.[42]

Conclusions

Perhaps the most pressing recommendation that needs to be made for improving managed access to scientific research records concerns the development of electronic record keeping systems that would have the ability to glean metadata regarding the identification, capture, maintenance, and use of research records and manufacture audit trails. E-mail is already becoming the preferred method of correspondence among researchers and administrators. Furthermore, the data accumulated by scientific research is generally maintained electronically and the use of electronic lab notebooks, particularly in pharmaceutical research environments, is becoming the preferred method of recording research results.[43] In addition, by the end of this century, the means by which federally sponsored research projects are administered will be changing dramatically. The National Institutes of Health are currently in the process of developing the Electronic Grant Application Development (EGAD) project, a process for enabling the electronic submittal of grant and contract applications. Moreover, academic institutions are seeking ways to streamline administrative functions through electronic means. The University of Pittsburgh has recently contracted with Oracle to develop a system to bring the requisitioning and purchasing functions at the university online, as well as to enable electronic monitoring of committed or encumbered budgetary monies—all of which is aimed at paperwork reduction. However, electronic record keeping only compounds the problem rather than offering a solution. As has already been shown, the archives and records management professions are not doing particularly well with paper records, so how can they really do much better with electronic record keeping systems?

Perhaps the fundamental question plaguing the struggle to document contemporary research science is: *how do you control knowledge that is fractured, frustrating, protracted, and vague?* Every researcher stands on the shoulders of their predecessors, thereby adding to the ever widening body of scientific knowledge. As this base of knowledge expands, increasingly specialized disciplines evolve. Accordingly, the individuals and methods employed by records management and archives programs need to begin to reflect this diversification.

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NOTES

1. Grants are defined as "an award given for a sponsored program that contains a broad scope of work defined by the Project Director..." and contracts are defined as "an award given for a sponsored program that contains a scope of work that is specified by the Sponsor." Office of Budget & Administration, "Sponsored Projects," *Policy and Procedure* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh, January 15, 1988), p. 8; "...grants are given to those perceived to be most able to make a significant contribution to the body of knowledge, and contracts are awarded to those most capable of producing the desired results at the most reasonable cost." Joan K. Haas, Helen Willa Samuels, and Barbara Trippel Simmons, *Appraising the Records of Modern Technology: A Guide* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1985), p. 27.
2. Important records, in this context, are those records that are evidence of either a research related or administrative transaction (i.e. information sent or received in the conduct of an official activity or communicated to a person or database as part of such an activity). Evidence is the result of a record's data, structure, and context.
3. Helen Willa Samuels, *Varsity Letters* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1992), p. 110.
4. Ibid, p.114; Bruce V. Lewenstein, "Preserving Data About the Knowledge Creation Process: Developing an Archive on the Cold Fusion Controversy," *Knowledge: Creation, Diffusion, Utilization* 13 (September 1991): 302.
5. Helen W. Samuels, "Documenting Modern Chemistry: The Historical Task of the Archivist," chap. in *Chemical Sciences in the Modern World*, ed. Seymour H. Mauskopf (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), p. 242.
6. Joan N. Warnow, with Allan Needell, Spencer R. Weart and Jane Wolff, *A Study of Preservation of Documents at Department of Energy Laboratories* (New York: American Institute of Physics, January 1992), p. 14.
7. Ideally, one would want to preserve "...a selection of the data, perhaps less than 1% overall, that will attract scholarly scrutiny by helping to document representative research or major links in the chain of scientific progress." Clark A. Elliot, ed., *Understanding Progress as Process: Documentation of the History of Post-War Science and Technology in the United States; Final Report of the Joint Committee on Archives of Science and Technology* (Chicago: Distributed by the Society of American Archivists, 1983), p. 35.
8. Ultimately, because funding is awarded to the institution, not the investigator, these records are the property of the recipient institution.
9. "When scientific ideas are discussed without reference to the concrete technical problems against which they were forged, what results is a decidedly misleading notion of the way in which scientific theories develop and impinge on their extra scientific environment." Thomas S. Kuhn, "Relations Between History and History of Science," *Daedalus* 100 (Spring 1971): 276–78, quoted in Clark A. Elliot, "Experimental Data as a Source for the History of Science," *American Archivist* 37 (January 1974): 28.
10. Allen B. Wagner, "Unique Ownership Issues in Biomedical Research," *Research Management Review* 2 (Spring 1988): 5.
11. Haas et al., 30.
12. A non-competing renewal indicates that the investigator has already been awarded the funding, but still must submit a revised annual budget and update any procedural or staff changes.
13. Competing renewals are not automatically funded, rather they are treated in the same manner as new project proposals.
14. John Spink, "A Scientist's Appraisal of Laboratory Records or 'Tribophysics in Transition'," *Archives and Manuscripts: The Journal of the Australian Society of Archivists* 15 (May 1987): 14.
15. "Unintelligible experimental research data... should, of course, never be accessioned except in small quantities when they constitute a species of memorabilia." Paul Lewinson, "Toward Accessioning Standards: Research Records," *American Archivist* 23 (July 1960): 305; Elliot, "Experimental Data," 29.
16. Chauncey D. Leake, "Responsibility for Science Archives," *ISIS* 53 (1962): 145.
17. Maynard J. Brichford, *Scientific and Technological Documentation: Archival Evaluation and Processing of university Records Relating to Science and Technology* (Urbana-Champaign, IL: University of Illinois, 1969), p. 17; Elliot, *Understanding Progress as Process*, 60; Spink, 11.

18. "...fiscal value is closely related to legal value in that many fiscal records are retained for purposes of compliance..." Schwartz, 77; Elliot, *Understanding Progress as Process*, 32.
19. Animal and/or human protocols outline *specifically* what procedure(s), surgical or otherwise, that will be carried out on what specific type of animal, or, in the case of humans, it outlines the criteria for selection and specifically what procedures will be performed.
20. "...the decisive factor in determining the length of record retention for federal awards is the identification of the award as a grant or contract." For federal grants, "records shall be retained for three years from the date the final expenditure report is filed" and for federal contracts "records shall be retained for three years from the date final payment is made... If any audit commences prior to the expiration of the above periods, the records shall be retained until the completion of the audit and resolution of any audit findings." Office of Budget & Administration, 43.
21. Research Accounting is ultimately responsible for records retention of all sponsored projects. Records of the current fiscal year are maintained on campus, while records of previous years are housed in a remote storage facility.
22. Despite its name, the UPMC is not a part of the University. It is an entirely separate institution.
23. A subcontract refers to a situation where an investigator is contracted by the primary awardee of the sponsored research monies to perform a specific component of the overall research.
24. Joan Warnow-Blewett "Historical Documentation Research," *Chemical Sciences in the Modern World*, ed. Seymour H. Mauskopf (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), p. 257.
25. The length of time that these records are maintained within the department is entirely dependent upon available storage space.
26. Records for the current fiscal year are maintained on campus, preceding years are transferred by Central Business Services to a remote storage facility.
27. The University of Pittsburgh regards any equipment valued over $2000 with a life span of two years or more as capital equipment.
28. USPHS is the umbrella agency overseeing the NIH. Because NSF funding is also *technically* federal monies, they too reserve the right to audit investigators.
29. Only those records for the current fiscal year are maintained on campus, previous years are transferred by Central Business Services to a remote storage facility.
30. "While some records can easily be classed as 'official' and others as 'personal,' there is a gray area which we can call 'professional' files. For some DOE scientists, for example those whose impact on science policy extends to a national or international level, these professional files are extremely valuable." Joan N. Warnow et al., *A Study of Preservation Documents*, 6.
31. It should be noted that oral histories can also be obtained as a means of capturing the motivations behind a given research project.
32. "Unlike many of the written records of the laboratory, informal discussion provide material which has neither been corrected nor formalized." Bruno Latour and Steve Woolgar, *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 168.
33. Elliot, *Understanding Progress as Process*, p. 26; Helen W. Samuels, "Sci-Tech Archives and Manuscripts: An Overview," *Science & Technology Libraries* 9 (Summer 1989): 4.
34. Haas, et al., 69–76.
35. Samuels, "Sci-Tech Archives," 5.
36. Roger H. Ellis, "The Historical Manuscripts of Science and Technology," *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 4 (October 1970): 93.
37. Patents are viewed as *intellectual property* that is governed by the Office of Intellectual Property. So it stands to reason that, if research records are to be considered *intellectual assets*, they should be maintained by the Office of Intellectual Assets.
38. Howard L. Smith and Wanet C. Tuttle, "Managing Research Scientists: Problems, Solutions, and an Agenda for Research," *Journal of the Society of Research Administrators* 20 (Summer 1988): 147–148.
39. William S. Kirby, "Toward a Model Policy for Federally Supported Research," *Journal of the Society of Research Administrators* 21 (Spring 1990): 8.
40. Elliot, *Understanding Progress as Process*, 46.
41. Lewenstein, 80.

42. Refer to Larry J. Hackman and Joan Warnow-Blewett, "The Documentation Strategy Process: a Model and a Case Study," *American Archivist* 50 (Winter 1987), 12–47 for an in depth discussion on establishing a documentation strategy followed by a case study on the development of the AIP initial documentation strategy. In addition, consult Helen Willa Samuels, "Who Controls the Past," *American Archivist* 49 (Spring 1986), 109–124 for further information of documentation strategies.
43. For perhaps the most thoughtful and carefully laid out strategy for implementation of an electronic record keeping system for the pharmaceutical industry, refer to: Ulf Andersson. SESAM: Philosophy and Rules Concerning Electronic Archives and Authenticity. (ASTRA: Sweden, February 28, 1996). http://www.sils.umich.edu/e-recs/Sesam.

THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING DIVERSE: THE ARCHIVAL PROFESSION AND MINORITY RECRUITMENT

KATHRYN M. NEAL

ABSTRACT: Recent projections indicate that the American work force will become increasingly pluralistic during the 21st century. What implications do these changing demographics have for the archival profession? Regardless of racial background, individuals have joined the profession in small numbers. The field remains largely racially homogenous, however, despite some past and current efforts to remedy the situation. The author presents reasons why the issue of diversity demands archivists' concern, explores the reasons behind the shortage of minorities in the profession, and suggests possible means by which to encourage more people of color to enter.

As the 21st century approaches, considerable, if not much, ado is being made about the presence (or absence) of multicultural diversity[1] within various disciplines and professions. According to current forecasts, such as the oft-cited *Workforce 2000*, the appearance of the American labor pool is changing. The size of the total work force is growing more slowly, while the numbers of older, female, immigrant,[2] and non-white workers[3] are increasing. By the year 2000, forecasters predict, non-whites will compose 29 percent of new entrants into the work force, having doubled in size as a group since 1987.[4] Native-born white males will make up only 15 percent of newcomers in this future group of workers; at the time of the study's publication, their percentage stood at 47 percent.[5] How should the archival profession adapt to these shifting demographics? In her president's message to the membership, Brenda Banks, immediate past president of the Society of American Archivists (SAA), offers the following guidelines:

> For many years SAA has made futile attempts to recruit non-whites into our profession. Yet, according to predictions, even without notable recruitment efforts, the profession will eventually begin to reflect U.S. population trends. We should, therefore, turn our attention from the narrow focus of recruitment to address the broad implications that this shift in the population and workforce anticipates. Perhaps we should be thinking about: how collections will change, how documentation

> strategies may be broadened, who will be using the collections, what format will make collections most useful and accessible, who will manage collections, and how will they be trained.[6]

While Banks rightly asserts that these wide-ranging implications merit archivists' concern, the issue of minority recruitment should also remain part of the future archival panorama. Social, organizational, and economic benefits can result from building a multicultural workforce within the profession.

The social reasons for cultivating racial diversity might seem obvious but bear some elucidation. Simply put, cultural gaps ultimately can be bridged as individuals of various racial groups are encouraged to work together and learn about one another. Ideally, "[diversity] signifies an acceptance of difference and represents a commitment to valorize the full spectrum of cultural backgrounds and experiences ***alongside*** the perspectives of white, European males."[7] Within the archival profession and within society at large, the call for increased diversity is a call for ***inclusion***, not ***replacement***. Members of each racial group have already influenced American culture, contributing in areas ranging from literature and the arts to technology to enriching the general lexicon. Although the contributions of some of these groups have not necessarily been widely acknowledged, this inherent pluralism prevails and should continue to be nourished. In their article "Diversity: Ten Issues to Consider," Kathleen de la Peña McCook and Tosca O. Gonsalves offer an additional rationale for the social value of increasing diversity as they outline matters about which library professionals should be concerned. "The United States has been a fortunate nation," the authors contend, "because of the waves of new cultures and people who have found a home through successive generations. Recognizing that this has been our strength all along, fostering diversity based on historical precedent just makes good sense."[8]

From a management perspective, promoting diversity also makes good sense...good business sense. Diversity management expert R. Roosevelt Thomas aptly makes this case. "Managing diversity does not mean controlling or containing diversity, it means enabling every member of your workforce to perform to his or her potential,"[9] Thomas explains. The so-called melting pot metaphor, which discourages racial distinctions in favor of conformity to the status quo, no longer works in organizational management (if it ever did); much more effective is the incorporation of these employees' unique traits into the missions and daily business practices of organizations.[10] Lest it be thought that an increase in racial diversity will lead to a decrease in quality, Thomas disagrees: "...[C]ompetence counts more than ever. The goal is to manage diversity in such a way as to get from a diverse workforce the same productivity we once got from a homogeneous workforce, and to do it without artificial programs, standards—or barriers."[11] For archival institutions, Thomas's statements definitely apply. Expanding the numbers of staff members of color and tapping their potential should (and no doubt would) enhance the overall functions of archives and manuscript repositories. New ideas would likely be stimulated in areas that include, but certainly are not limited to, donor relations (for instance, how to approach and document members of growing communities of color most effectively) and reference/access (determining how to improve services as user groups become increasingly diverse, or how to attract a more diverse pool of researchers if society's changing demographics are not reflected).

Closely related to the organizational rationale is the notion that the buck could, quite literally, stop here. If our archival stock is not diversified for the aforementioned reasons, then consider the financial imperative. As H. Nicholas Muller III warned in 1990:

> Those historical societies which rely on public support must face some dawning demographic and political realities. In 1995, black, Asian, and Hispanic eighteen-year-olds will outnumber whites of the same age in the United States…Such 'minorities' will send larger delegations to the city councils, county boards, and state legislatures. In turn, these politicians—who may have little or no experience with historical societies and who may even regard them with hostility as bastions of an old white elite—will allocate public funds upon which public cultural agencies rely.[12]

This prophetic projection does not bode well for a profession already largely plagued by a lack of funds and staff. The implication for archivist is obvious; our very economic survival depends on how seriously measures are taken to embrace the burgeoning multiracial society.

As Brenda Banks has indicated, archivists' awareness of the need for attention to this issue is hardly new. In 1972, SAA's Committee for the 1970s advised the Society to "appoint a standing committee on minority groups to press for the rights and advancement of minorities."[13] Yet, no such action was taken until 1978, when Robert M. Warner developed a joint committee comprising members of SAA, the American Association for State and Local History (AASLH), and the American Association of Museums (AAM), to tackle the issue of such recruitment in cultural institutions. The committee set as its ultimate purpose:

> to study the present situation, develop statistics and other information, and try to determine what the handicaps are that prevent minorities from being more involved in museums, archives and historical agencies. This includes, but is not limited to, personnel, programs, outreach activities and visitation. Further, the Committee is to work to develop ideas, programs, methods, and procedures that can be implemented nationwide to increase minority-group participation in all of the areas above. The Committee shall develop a preliminary plan for its activities and a preliminary budget and then proceed to a grant request for the necessary funds to accomplish the plan.[14]

Unfortunately, a lack of adequate finances curtailed the activities of this group, save for the writing of a grant proposal submitted to the National Endowment for the Humanities requesting funds to cover an ambitious recruitment campaign.[15]

The formation of the SAA/AASLH/AAM Joint Committee was not the only initiative taken by SAA to address the issue of cultural diversity during that period. At the 1981 annual meeting in Berkeley, California, Council passed a resolution to establish an internal SAA Minorities Task Force to complement the joint committee's efforts to promote the recruitment of minorities into the profession and increase their participation.[16] Thomas C. Battle was appointed to serve as chair. During the few years that followed, this group held open houses at the SAA annual meetings, along with a roundtable discussion at Howard University. In 1985, these activities caught the eye of

Vice President/President Elect Shonnie Finnegan, who suggested that the task force restructure itself as a roundtable.[17] Ultimately, members of the task force agreed; its regrouping culminated in 1987 with what is known now as the Archivists and Archives of Color Roundtable.

Surprisingly, virtually no articles have been published in archival journals about minority recruitment in the profession or about archivists of color. Ann Allen Shockley fills part of the gap with her essay, "Librarians, Archivists, and Writers: A Personal Perspective," by covering (albeit briefly) the past, present, and future of African Americans in the profession.[18] As archivists have broadened their repositories' collecting scopes, or established new institutions devoted to previously underdocumented areas, such as religion, ethnic groups, and social history, they have written case studies about them. But these publications often focus more on the materials collected than on the collectors.[19]

The archival profession's familiar bedfellow, librarianship, has generated a larger body of work that documents the presence of people of color in the field. For example, E.J. Josey, of the University of Pittsburgh's School of Information and Library Science, has been particularly prolific in the study of African-American librarians.[20] A recent spate of articles focuses on librarians' concerns about how the predicted changes in racial demographics may affect libraries and the profession as a whole.[21] As is the case with its allied fields, such as archives, records management, and the museum curatorial profession, the library profession cannot boast of a flawless past or present, where minority participation is concerned. For instance, according to the Association for Library and Information Science Education, a paltry 8.5% of graduates of library science master's programs in the 1991–1992 academic year were people of color.[22] To the field's credit, however, several of its professionals have continued to grapple with the issue of recruitment and to recommend measures for improvement. A few of these measures, which will be discussed later, can be applied to archives, adapted into strategies that are both viable and valuable. This paper is intended to further the general[23] discussion of cultural diversity in the archival profession by addressing two questions: One, why are relatively few minorities entering the profession, and two, what actions should be taken to recruit archivists of color?

Why are relatively few minorities entering the profession? This first question begs another: How many people of color are already archivists? To account for ***all*** minorities in the profession would be a difficult, if not impossible, task. A more manageable approach lies in focusing on the profession's national organization, the Society of American Archivists, and its minority membership. Unfortunately, according to J. Frank Cook, who maintains SAA's archives at the University of Wisconsin—Madison, SAA has never collected data about the racial backgrounds of its members in any systematic manner.[24] And unlike Mabel E. Deutrich and Michele F. Pacifico, who, in their respective studies, were able to identify most women archivists from SAA's records on the basis of first names,[25] minority archivists cannot be quite so easily discerned, even by last name. Since SAA membership applications do not routinely ask for such information (and of course, even if they did, members would not be ***required*** to provide it), precise figures of the minority membership as a whole are simply not available.

The mailing list of the Archivists and Archives of Color Roundtable provides some indication of minority representation in SAA. Currently, the list contains more than 400 individual members. But this tally is rather insufficient. After all, not every member of the roundtable is a person of color, nor do all SAA members of color belong to the round table. In 1993, roundtable leadership began gathering data for a membership directory via a questionnaire, which asked for racial/ethnic background. Despite a meager response (only 54 surveys were returned), the draft of the directory represented a promising step toward tracking the minority archivists who have joined SAA. The recently published edition contains more than 90 entries.[26] All of the individuals included classify themselves as archivists, but not all are SAA members.

Several reasons for the shortage of minorities entering the profession can be identified, each laden with complexities. This discussion offers three of the most significant: One, archivists' public image (or lack thereof); two, a tradition of neglect of communities of color by the information professions; and three, low graduation rates, particularly at the graduate level. A likely fourth contributing factor is a usual suspect: economics.

Archivists are not the only information professionals to be plagued by image problems. Librarians, for example, have faced many stereotypes of their profession over the years, including that of the perpetually patron-shushing, bookish, and bespectacled individual. Yet rarely do they encounter someone who has ***no*** idea of what librarians do. In regard to archivists, it is another story. As Richard J. Cox points out, "The general public and even employers now seem to lack any real comprehension of the nature or importance of archival work."[27] Timothy L. Ericson takes this notion of public perception a step further. "We either have no image at all or one that is a stereotype, or an image that is absolutely ridiculous, such as the occupational outlook that equated the work of archivists with that of crossword-puzzle makers and disc jockeys,"[28] he says. Naturally, it follows that since this lack of awareness affects the general population, some individuals of color experience it as well.

A particular image may persist in the minds of some people of color, however: that of archives as institutions that predominantly preserve the history of European Americans. After all, prior to the late 1960s, many historical agencies did just that, collecting primarily the papers of famous white men, and to a lesser degree, those of famous white women and famous black men.[29] The very shortage of minority archivists being examined here also fuels this lingering perception. Failing to see themselves as culturally represented on archival staffs, some members of minority groups may conclude that the profession is one that does not welcome their participation.

The relatively sparse number of people of color earning master's degrees also plays a part in minorities not entering the profession. Most archival employers seek candidates who have completed at least one master's degree program, typically in history or library science. Yet, according to a study released by the U.S. National Center for Education Statistics, of all master's degrees conferred in 1992, African-American students received 5.2%, Asian-Americans/ Pacific Islanders 3.6%, Hispanics 2.7%, and Native Americans and Alaskan Natives .4%.[30] These figures may not sound particularly alarming, unless it is noted that according to the 1990 census, African-Americans constituted 12.1% and Hispanics, 9% of the U.S. population.[31] The education statistics then appear

to be quite low. Several reasons may account for this paucity, including the rising costs of graduate education and the lack of support systems for minorities within some institutions. Nonetheless, with the percentage of minorities earning master's degrees—irrespective of field—so small to begin with, how can the pool of applicants of color for archival positions be sizable? Let us not underestimate the influence of long-term economics: Many of these graduates have been lured—at least in part—by the lucrative salaries now available to them in such professions as law, medicine, engineering, and business. Generally speaking, the archival profession cannot compete on this level.

To uncover additional reasons why more minorities are not pursuing archival careers, I decided to "begin at the end" by asking ***current*** archivists of color how they started their careers. I developed a brief survey instrument, which posed this question as well as asked respondents for the academic and professional degrees they have obtained, the length of their careers to date, their racial background, and their ages (See Appendix). The questionnaire is hardly scientific; in fact, it was never meant to be. Instead, it can be best described as an experience survey—a tool borrowed from social science research—that is designed to reveal the insights of a particular group of professionals.[32] I sent the survey to 100 archivists and special collections librarians whose names were taken from the Archivists and Archives of Color Roundtable's mailing list.

Despite the relatively low percentage of surveys returned (nearly 30%),[33] some interesting information was generated. As this survey instrument is largely of the experiential type, it follows that the experiences of the respondents are of greatest significance. Nonetheless, a brief profile of the makeup of the respondents is in order here as well. In terms of ethnicity, archivists of African descent composed a substantial majority of respondents (27 out of 29). Of the remaining respondents, one was Asian American and the other, Latino. Ages of respondents ranged from 25 to 81 and amounted to an average of 46.62 years.[34] Most of the respondents were 40 to 49 years old (10 of 28). Several individuals who reported their academic credentials had received a master's degree in library science (16 of 28), while seven received master's degrees in history or a related discipline, such as African-American Studies. Two respondents had earned both degrees. Another two respondents received degrees with special emphases on archives. Five obtained doctoral degrees in history. Still others earned master's degrees in areas not entirely common among archivists, such as counseling and divinity. Finally, a majority of respondents had spent eleven to twenty years in the profession (12 of 29 respondents). The number of respondents who had been in the profession between five and ten years or more than twenty (7 and 6 respondents of 29, respectively). Naturally, then, four archivist respondents had been employed by archival institutions for fewer than five years.

The question of how the individuals entered the profession generated an array of responses, which fell into seven broad categories. Respondents were introduced to archival work via: 1. college coursework, 2. participation in archival projects, 3. recruitment by archivist friends, 4. a shift in job responsibilities or promotion, 5. entrepreneurial opportunities, 6. general interest, or 7. sheer accident. No one category had a clear majority of responses. It should also be pointed out that the descriptions that respondents provided sometimes fit into more than one category. In those cases, I tried

to determine which reason predominated and placed the response accordingly. A sample of responses from each category follows.

Archives sparked the interest of four of the twenty-nine respondents while they were undergraduates. As a junior, one respondent "became completely enthralled by the profession" after taking a tour of an archives for a class on historiography. This fascination led her to enroll in a library science program and specialize in archives and special libraries. Another respondent had to write an extensive research paper, making use of primary source material in the archives of her institution, to fulfill the requirements for a major in history. While completing this assignment, she spoke with the university archivist about the profession. "After that rewarding exposure," the respondent explains, "I decided to pursue the necessary graduate degrees to enter the archival profession as a professional."

Four other respondents, not yet formally educated in archival studies, found themselves working on archival projects. They so enjoyed the work that they decided to build careers in the field. One such respondent was a graduate student in library science who volunteered at a local manuscript repository. Intrigued by the collection that she was assigned and confident that her interests in "research and literature" corresponded with archival practice, she sought out other opportunities to work in archives. Another respondent began his career in archives as a researcher for a national institution's documentary editing project.

Approximately five respondents indicated that they had been recruited by friends or mentors to enter the profession. One retired librarian was encouraged by a friend and former colleague, as well as by the head of an institution's archives department, to accept a position as a part-time processing archivist. Another respondent, who had been an English teacher and director of a number of education-related programs, was invited to apply for a position as an archival assistant. She was soon encouraged to obtain the professional training necessary to become a processing archivist, which she accomplished via attending an archives institute and a workshop.

Eight individuals experienced a shift in job responsibilities— typically from librarian to archivist—or some type of appointment. For instance, one respondent was a special collections librarian but was promoted to a position that required that she receive archival training. A second respondent moved from high-ranking positions in public services and circulation at his institution to become the head of Special Collections. The new position entailed his managing and overseeing manuscript collections. Still another respondent served as a clerk-typist for a federal repository before enrolling in its archival-training program. As a graduate student in history, one respondent had intended to pursue a university teaching career. He passed a civil service examination and fairly soon thereafter received an offer from a national repository to join its staff as an archivist. Yet another respondent had been studying law in his native country when he was selected by that country's president to direct the nation's archival research center.

Three archivists created their own positions: one established a religious archives, another an African-American history archives, and the third convinced the president of a university to support the creation of a campus archives. General interest in archives appeared to best describe the reasons for two respondents having entering the

profession. "Through my advanced studies in history and the excitement of researching old documents, I acquired this interest in the archival profession," one respondent said. The other respondent remarked that, while she was introduced to manuscript material as a library science graduate student, her "love of black history brought [her] to the archival field ultimately."

Two individuals entered the field purely by accident. One respondent, for example, dissatisfied with a career in social services, considered shifting to museum work. She volunteered at a state historical society, where she was introduced to manuscripts. Another respondent had recently earned a bachelor's in history and sought an alternative career to teaching. At that time, working in an archives had not occurred to her until she became an intern at the local state archives.

One archivist's response defied categorization. She reported that she "[v]oluntarily, but grudgingly" entered the profession because the graduate program in historical editing, which she sought, did not exist at the time. Before taking the plunge completely, however, she conducted an investigation of the profession to discover what it entailed. My own entrance into the archival profession—while somewhat of the "sheer accident" variety—slightly resembled that of the last respondent cited. I, too, used my investigatory skills to look into the field. As a former journalist, I am accustomed to taking a thread of an idea, conducting research and interviews, and weaving the data gathered into an informative story. Ironically, this very approach guided me into the archival profession. I was a graduate student in journalism, completing a class assignment, when the first thought of building an archival career set in. I wrote a feature profile about Bob DeFlores, a Minneapolis-based film collector, who preserves motion pictures and short jazz films (called "soundies") and makes them accessible to the public through free showings and lending them for use in documentaries and commercials. Although not a trained archivist, DeFlores showed such enthusiasm for his work during the interview that he piqued ***my*** curiosity to learn more about the archival profession. After graduation I served as a writer and an editor for a national art magazine. I enjoyed journalistic work but dreamed of finding a career that would combine writing and research with history and preservation. For nearly two years, I spent much of my spare time investigating books on careers. I discovered the existence of the Society of American Archivists in the aptly-titled book *Careers for Bookworms and Other Literary Types* by Marjorie Eberts and Margaret Gisler[35] and wrote to the organization for more information. I also conducted an informational interview with Penelope Krosch, university archivist at the University of Minnesota. The more I learned about the field, the more convinced I became that it was the right one for me. I then pursued a master's degree in library science at the University of Michigan.

The aforementioned archivists managed to settle into the profession. But what should be done to recruit more minorities? Broadly speaking, the answer is rather a trite-and-truism: take a proactive approach. Some measures have already been taken by SAA and two regional groups. One effort was the formation of the Archivists and Archives of Color Roundtable, a group within SAA, in 1987. This special-interest group, according to its mission statement, serves three primary purposes: "[To] identify and address the concerns of archivists of African, Asian, Hispanic, and Native American descent; [to] promote wider participation of said archivists in the archival profession,

and; [to] promote the preservation of archival materials that pertain to people of color."[36] Members of this round table were instrumental in establishing the SAA Minority Student Award, which is an outreach effort intended to encourage students of color to consider archival careers and to participate in SAA.[37] The Midwest Archives Conference also offers a scholarship specifically to students of color, while the Kansas City Area Archivists offers a summer internship in an archival repository. Additionally, SAA now features a mentoring program, which is designed to introduce newer members into the profession and promote communication between the various generations that comprise SAA.[38] Although not aimed ***specifically*** at minority archivists, this program could go a long way toward fostering a positive atmosphere for, and advancing the professional growth of, recruits of color. In this respect, it has the possibility of moving beyond recruitment and into retention.

While these measures to address the need for a more pluralistic work force are good first steps, certainly more can and should be done. Generally speaking, archivists might begin by minding our c's and u's—colleges and universities. At historically black Fisk University, university archivist Ann Allen Shockley proposes to focus particularly on history students, encouraging them to use archival collections in their honors projects. Such experience introduces students both to historical documents and provides a glimpse into archivists' responsibilities.[39]

Bibliographic instruction can be an effective tool in attracting undergraduates, but the net should be cast beyond the traditional fields of history and library science. Reaching out to students in area studies programs, such as Asian Studies, Chicano Studies, and the like, should yield prospective candidates. By establishing contact with the chairs and professors within the departments, college and university archivists could keep abreast of events that are taking place pertaining to and promoting the use of institution's archives. Professors could be encouraged to work the archives into their curricula or to at least bring their students in for tours, for example. The archives might profit from extra assistance while offering students a chance to learn about archives via work-study or volunteer experiences. Meanwhile, the archivists could stay aware of potential recruits to the profession.

Concentrating exclusively on students of color at the college and graduate levels would be a drastic mistake, however. After all, before progressing to college and advanced degrees, students must receive high-school diplomas. Archivists from various types of repositories might consider volunteering to speak to students in high schools—and perhaps even in junior high schools—about what archival work entails. Of course, these presentations, tailor-fit for audiences of that age group, might best take place in the archives, so as to enable archivists to illustrate them with unusual, attention-grabbing materials. Career Day and other special programs involving young people are also possible venues for talking about archives. Schools with especially high concentrations of students of color should be targeted. In addition, young people's clubs, such as the traditionally African-American Jack and Jill of America organization, also show promise as sources of eventual recruits. Granted, the results might not be immediately tangible; nonetheless, it is probably never too early to try to plant this professional seed in the minds of the young while imparting the significance of preserving historical documents. A few of them might actually listen.

Looking to the archival profession's allied field, librarianship, provides some additional inspiration. Em Claire Knowles makes sound suggestions for bringing people of color into librarianship in her article, "How to Attract Ethnic Minorities to the Profession." Among them, she recommends the establishment of networks within professional organizations and library personnel offices, the contacts for which would seek out potential recruits of color.[40] This idea can be broadened to encompass building relationships with the administrative staffs and members of local and national chapters of cultural, civic, and political organizations. The Asian Pacific American Heritage Council, the NAACP, the Hispanic Organization of Professionals and Executives, the Urban League, and the National Association of Asian-American Professionals, are but a few possible resources. Archivists from every type of archives or repository could benefit from establishing contacts of this sort. These individuals often have their fingers on the pulses of their respective communities. Not only might prospective recruits be revealed through such contact, but also potential donors of papers and resource allocators. Activities that might ordinarily be undertaken for the purpose of archival advocacy in general, such as attending cultural events and fairs, could be specially adapted to attract a few interested individuals. Find out if there are special events planned around Chinese New Year, Cinco de Mayo, or Juneteenth, for example, and try to arrange to participate in them. Some of the attendees encountered might become intrigued by the field. Simply put, archivists would likely learn how to better serve communities of color by requesting advice on outreach straight from the source.

Cultivating cultural organizational or community contacts offers additional perks. Like the Kansas City Area Archivists, members of other archival organizations and institutional staffs might develop internship programs for people of color. These interns would receive an introduction to archival work, and, once the contacts realize the mutual benefits of such programs, they might agree to sponsor the programs jointly. Ethnic newspapers should be considered essential resources as well. These newspapers typically reach segments of communities of color that might not always consult the mainstream media. Archival job opportunities most definitely should be advertised in the ethnic press.

This study serves as the proverbial tip of the iceberg of a highly complicated issue. Brenda Banks implies in her aforementioned forecast that recruitment is not necessarily as compelling an issue as retention of those archivists of color who have already joined the ranks. This and the factors that she demarcates all merit greater discussion, particularly as they relate to communities of color. Multicultural diversity is clearly a multifaceted matter. With its description of cultural diversity's ethical and financial significance to archives, consideration of some reasons for the shortage of minorities within the profession, and recommendations for developing and implementing recruitment measures, perhaps this article has introduced but a few threads into a tale yet to be completely woven.

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APPENDIX

Diversity in the Archival Profession: A Survey

This questionnaire was developed for the purpose of determining how archivists of color—both active and retired—originally entered the profession. Although respondents will not be referred to by name, survey results will be used in an article that examines the shortage of minorities in the profession. (Information relating to the return of the surveys omitted)

Diversity in the Archival Profession: A Survey

Academic or professional degree(s) obtained: ______________________

Number of years in profession: ______________________

Race/ethnicity ______________________

Age ______________________

How did you enter the archival profession? ______________________

____

____

____

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____

____

(Please continue response on other side, if necessary)

Signature (optional) ______________________

NOTES

1. Throughout this article, the terms ***multicultural diversity*** and ***racial diversity*** will be used synonymously to refer to the inclusion of persons of African, Asian or Pacific Islander, Latino, Native American, or Inuit descent. Members of these groups will be referred to collectively as ***minorities*** or ***people of color***. The latter terms are hardly adequate. In some areas of the country, the numbers of individuals within these groups and the number of individuals of European extraction are roughly equal, thereby rendering the concept of ***minority*** meaningless. The phrase ***of color*** may be considered preferable but is also problematic. Superficially speaking, certain members of the aforementioned groups bear complexions similar to persons of European descent; sometimes the converse is true. And, if one person is described as being ***of color***, does that mean that another can be colorless? It is, perhaps, a case of incurable semantics.
2. William B. Johnston and Arnold E. Packer, *Workforce 2000: Work and Workers for the Twenty-first Century* (Indianapolis, Ind.: Hudson Institute; Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1987), xiii.
3. Ibid, xx.
4. Idem.
5. Ibid, xiii.
6. Brenda Banks, "SAA Beyond the Year 2000," *Archival Outlook* (November 1995), 3.
7. Carla J. Stoffle and Patricia A. Tarin, "No Place for Neutrality: The Case for Multiculturalism," *Library Journal* (July 1994), 48.
8. Kathleen de la Peña McCook and Tosca O. Gonsalves, "Diversity: Ten Issues to Consider," *The Bottom Line* 6:3/4 (Winter 1992/Spring 1993), 44.
9. R. Roosevelt Thomas, "From Affirmative Action to Affirming Diversity," *Harvard Business Review* 68 (March/April 1990), 112.
10. Idem.
11. Idem.
12. H. Nicholas Muller III, "Including Everyone," *Columns* (bimonthly newsletter of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin) 11:4 (August/September 1990), 3.
13. Philip P. Mason, "The Society of American Archivists in the Seventies: Report of the Committee for the 1970s," *American Archivist* 35:2 (April 1972), 205.
14. Joint Committee on Opportunities for Minorities in Museums, Archives, and Historical Agencies, "Recruitment and Training of Minority Groups in Cultural Institutions," undated draft of grant proposal, Committees, 1981–82: Joint SAA/ AASLH/AAM on Minorities, SAA Archives, University of Wisconsin—Madison Archives, Madison, Wisconsin, 3. At the time that the grant proposal cited was developed, the committee consisted of: SAA representatives Philip P. Mason, chair (Wayne State University) and Elsie Freeman Freivogel (National Archives and Records Service); AASLH representatives H. Alonzo Jennings (African American Historical and Cultural Museum, Philadelphia) and Martha M. Bigelow (Michigan History Division, Department of State); and AAM representatives George H.J. Abrams (Seneca-Iroquois National Museum) and Raul A. Lopez (Riverside Municipal Museum, Riverside, California).
15. Philip P. Mason, "Archives in the Seventies: Promises and Fulfillment," *American Archivist* 44:3 (Summer 1981), 204.
16. "Minutes: Council Meeting, 4 September 1981," *American Archivist* 45:2 (Spring 1982), 239.
17. Shonnie Finnegan to Thomas C. Battle, 16 August 1985, Committees, 1985–86: Task Force with AASLH on Recruiting Minorities, SAA Archives, University of Wisconsin—Madison Archives, Madison, Wisconsin.
18. Ann Allen Shockley, "Librarians, Archivists, and Writers: A Personal Perspective," *The Black Librarian in America Revisited* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1994), 316–323.
19. For a general examination of the rise of such special-subject repositories and acquisitions issues facing them, see Linda J. Henry, "Collecting Policies of Special-Subject Repositories," *American Archivist* 43:1 (Winter 1980), 57–63.
20. A selection of Josey's works include: *The Black Librarian in America*, ed. (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1970); *What Black Librarians Are Saying*, ed. (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1972); *The Handbook of Black Librarianship*, ed. with Marva L. DeLoach (Littleton, Colo.: Libraries Unlimited, Inc., 1977); *Opportunities for Minorities in Librarianship*, ed. with Kenneth E. Peeples, Jr. (Metuchen,

N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1977); "The State of Diversity," *The Reference Librarian* 45/46 (1994), 5–11; and *The Black Librarian in America Revisited*, ed. (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1994).

21. Besides the works that pertain to multicultural diversity in librarianship cited elsewhere in this article, see also: Ann Knight Randall, "Minority Recruitment in Librarianship," in *Librarians for the New Millennium*, ed. William E. Moen and Kathleen M. Heim (Chicago: American Library Association Office of Personnel Resources, 1988), 11–25; Benjamin F. Speller, Jr., ed., *Educating Black Librarians: Papers from the 50th Anniversary Celebration of the School of Library and Information Sciences, North Carolina Central University* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company, 1991); Roberto G. Trujillo and David C. Walker, "Academic Library Responses to Cultural Diversity: A Position Paper for the 1990s," *The Journal of Academic Librarianship* 17:3 (July 1991), 157–161; Barbara Hoffert, "Dragon Dancers and Eastern Westerns: Serving the Asian American Community," *Library Journal* (July 1994), 42–45; Kathleen Hoover Hill, ed., *Diversity and Multiculturalism in Libraries*, Foundations in Library and Information Science, vol. 32 (Greenwich, Conn.: Jai Press, 1994); and Lorna Peterson, "Multiculturalism: Affirmative or Negative Action?" *Library Journal* (July 1995), 30–33.
22. Kathleen de la Peña and Paula Geist, "Diversity Deferred: Where Are the Minority Librarians," *Library Journal* (1 November 1993), 35.
23. Casting these groups into a collective multicultural basket introduces the risk of oversimplifying differences in histories, perceptions held by the so-called mainstream society, and cultural values within the groups. It is, of course, essential to take into account the aforementioned factors when addressing the issue of diversification, whether in an individual institution or within the entire profession. Given the paucity of literature on the subject of multicultural diversity and archivists, however, a broader focus will be taken in this discussion.
24. Electronic mail response to author's query, J. Frank Cook, University of Wisconsin—Madison, 17 April 1994.
25. Mabel E. Deutrich, "Women in Archives: Ms. Versus Mr. Archivist," *American Archivist* 36:2 (April 1973), 171–181, and Michele F. Pacifico, "Founding Mothers: Women in the Society of American Archivists, 1936–1972," *American Archivist* 50:3 (Summer 1987), 370–389.
26. Carol A. Rudisell, comp., "African American and Third World Archivists Roundtable Membership Directory," preliminary edition (September 1993); Karen L. Jefferson, comp., *Archivists of Color Directory,* (Society of American Archivists: Archivists and Archives of Color Roundtable, 1995).
27. Richard J. Cox, "Professionalism and Archivists," *American Archivist* 49:3 (Summer 1986), 239.
28. Timothy L. Ericson, "'Preoccupied with our own gardens': Outreach and Archivists," *Archivaria* 31 (Winter 1990–91), 120.
29. James O'Toole, *Understanding Archives and Manuscripts* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 1990), 39–40.
30. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 115th Edition* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1995), 192.
31. Figures issued by the Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, in *The World Almanac and Book of Facts 1993*, 125th ed. (New York: Pharos Books, 1992), 388.
32. Claire Selltiz, Research Methods in Social Relations, 3d ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976), 94.
33. A total of thirty surveys have been returned, but two factors are worth noting. Six surveys came from individuals employed by the same institution, but none of the respondents (each of whom signed his or her survey) were part of the original sample group. Because this instrument was not undertaken to produce complex quantitative results, these responses were deemed valid for the study. One exception, however, was the survey returned by an archivist of European descent; this respondent's data was not included in the overall results since the purpose of the survey was to garner information specifically from archivists of color. Additionally, surveys have continued to arrive rather infrequently since the original deadline of 1 March 1995. In fact, I received one as recently as June 1996. Data from these late arrivals also have been incorporated into the overall findings.
34. One respondent could provide only an estimate of his actual age because he was born into a tribe in an African country that does not maintain birth records. The estimated age range that he described (35 to 40) was not included in the average.
35. Marjorie Eberts and Margaret Gisler, *Careers for Bookworms and Other Literary Types* (1990; 1992 printing, Lincolnwood, Ill.: VGM Career Horizons, 1992.

36. "Mission Statement," *Archivists and Archives of Color Roundtable Newsletter* 10:1 (Spring 1996), 8.
37. "Minority Student Award," *Archival Outlook* (January 1995), 14.
38. Application for New Mentoring Program, *Archival Outlook* (March 1994), 21.
39. Shockley, 321.
40. Em Claire Knowles, "How to Attract Ethnic Minorities to the Profession," *Special Libraries* 81:2 (Spring 1990), 142.

LOVE ME OR LEAVE ME: GETTING BUSINESSES INTERESTED IN ARCHIVES

STEVEN L. WRIGHT

ABSTRACT: American archival repositories have done a fairly good job of documenting political activities, military conquests, the arts and cultural affairs, as well as the lives of prominent individuals. However, they have done a less than adequate job documenting where people spend a majority of their lives—in the workplace. Large corporations recognize the importance of history and employ professional archivists who preserve those records that assist the company in accomplishing its mission. Problems arise, however, in trying to document the small to medium-sized companies, the "bone and sinew" of America's capitalist system. How can archives and related historical projects be made affordable to businesses? Perhaps, more importantly, how do we convince a CEO of the utility of history? In 1991, the Cincinnati Historical Society Library inaugurated a successful and unique corporate outreach program that confronts these issues directly.

In the summer 1982 issue of *The American Archivist*, Harold Anderson, the journal's editor and author of a foreword entitled "Business Archives: A Corporate Asset," wrote: "Business archives are coming of age as more and more companies reap the benefits of one of their most useful and inexpensive corporate assets."[1] The emergence of American corporations that adopt the "long view," thereby showing they realize the necessity and importance of maintaining a link with their company's past, is commendable. Procter & Gamble, Microsoft, Merck & Company, Kraft Foods, Inc., and the Coca-Cola Company are a few of the major corporations that maintain archives managed by professionally trained archivists. While there appears to be a strong commitment on the part of each company to maintain archives, even these archivists must justify regularly to executive management the utility and marketability of history.

If corporate archivists, who collectively have done a respectable job preserving their companies' heritage, are filled with anxiety and must scramble for every morsel of "historical" justification, what must be the condition of archivists who work with small to medium-sized regional companies that do not have the resources to support a full-time archivist? The distress, the feeling of being used, of not really belonging to the company, of being non-essential fluff, and the obvious reality that it is extremely difficult for an archivist to sell or to convince a CEO of the viability and the utility of

maintaining historical records causes great concern. It is distressful for an archivist to feel that his or her service will be needed only to celebrate an anniversary and then...oblivion. The archivist, along with the company's history, is disposed of as the enthusiasm for the celebration disappears. It is not long before the archivist is abandoned, relegated to the bowels of the building, only to be resuscitated when an "urgent" historical or legal question arises. If it is the latter, one quickly becomes damned for saving or for destroying the records. How does the archivist, especially a business archivist working at a not-for-profit historical society and lacking any corporate allegiance, obtain, preserve, and increase a CEO's interest in the company's records?

Since 1991, the Cincinnati Historical Society Library's pioneering Business Archives Program has offered a fee-based archival/historical research service to many established companies within the greater Cincinnati region. This corporate outreach program makes historical and current records retention affordable and accessible to local businesses and organizations. Whether the company is 20 years old and employs 30, or 150 years old and employs 800, the program assists executives in maintaining the information unique to the business. In addition to collecting and organizing information, the Business Archives Program can assist a company in historical research and writing and in curating an exhibition.

There are three broad areas that need to be discussed regarding corporate outreach. First, there is the difficult task of convincing business owners of the need to preserve historically significant records. Second, executive management needs a thorough understanding of how other companies have utilized archives effectively. Finally, there is a need for specific examples of how the Cincinnati Historical Society Library's Business Archives Program has succeeded in offering regional businesses and organizations fee-based archival and historical research services.

Rarely does an owner inquire directly about processing records, researching and writing a corporate history, or interviewing a retired employee or executive. Usually, a "cold call" must be made to the owner or ranking executive. The hope is that the conversation will heighten their interest in scheduling a formal meeting. The least controversial approach is to discuss an impending anniversary, for this lends itself to summarizing the services offered by the Business Archives Program.[2] Most owners are impressed that the Historical Society Library is interested in the company and a bit curious as to how the Business Archives Program can help. Whether the owner is interested in archival administration, records management, oral interviews, or the researching and writing of the company's history, their voice rings with the anticipatory sound of "do you have something on our company that we don't know about?"

It is usually at the initial meeting that the main objection is addressed—why an owner or corporate executive may not want to have anything to do with archives. Do not let them openly parrot what they have heard from others about the validity of history. Experience has shown that it is more dramatic and a bit unsettling to have the historian reinforce verbally what an executive may believe: history is "bunk." Perhaps by "hearing" themselves, they may be less quick to reject the suggestion to participate in the program. Through more than five years of experience, the author has found that executives offer the same basic excuses for not maintaining archives that Maynard Brichford identified about twenty-five years ago:

1. Maintaining archives is too expensive.
2. "Corporate skeletons" may be found.
3. There are doubts about the validity of archives.
4. Executives are unwilling to believe what archives "tell" them.
5. Executives generally perceive historians as muckrakers who will expose the company as Matthew Josephson-type characters who believe that all business people are robber barons.[3]

Because these issues have been brought to the fore by "the opposition," executives do not know how to reply. They have been put off-balance. Ironically, candidness makes executives a bit uncomfortable, and they become more receptive to hearing the reasons why they should care for records and be concerned about preserving the company's history:

1. Archives are a unique database that permit a company to study business developments, they can be used in litigation support, to assist with public relations, and to indoctrinate new management trainees.[4]
2. Archives save money. Processing the company's records costs less than compiling an anniversary brochure and can yield more meaningful information.
3. Archives serve corporate planners. Records alone cannot predict the future, but they do enable one to understand where the company has been.[5]
4. Archives identify the company's "culture" and all that it connotes.
5. Archives can be used to understand the evolution of past policies and the precedents established through daily operations. They are an asset as surely as any item on the balance sheet.[6]
6. Archives allow for valuable and balanced judgments.
7. Simply collecting business records is not enough—selecting ***quality*** is much more important.
8. If costs prohibit developing an archives, then store the ***correct*** and more meaningful records with the Historical Society until sufficient money can be allocated for processing.
9. Integrate the existing records management program with the archives program.[7]
10. Encourage executives to view archives as a managerial tool of corporate information and not as "nice, little, old things that are neat for people to view occasionally." Taken out of context, archives have little, if any, meaning.

It is also important to emphasize how other companies have used history and archives by showing newspaper and magazine advertisements, pamphlets and brochures, and product packaging. Some examples from company participation in the Business Archives Program, are the Fleischmann Yeast Company, Frederick Rauh Insurance Company, and the Cincinnati Opera. Others are drawn from the public domain, such as Louis Vuitton Luggage, Motorola Corporation, or the New York Stock Exchange.

Ironically, once an owner is interested in archives, a recurring dilemma surfaces: the records company owners think are important usually have little value. Conversely, what the owners do not think is historically important, archivists treasure. A content list that reflects the types of business records the Business Archives Program desires is provided here (see appendix). After reviewing the list, the executive may realize that given the types and varieties of records, an archivist is not a muckraker necessarily bent on

doing harm or embarrassing the company. In fact, after studying the list, many owners feel disappointed that they have not done a more thorough job of maintaining meaningful records. This list has developed into a great icebreaker.

Contracts for various services have come to a total of over $250,000 since the start of the program, just shy of $46,000 a year. By almost any standard the program can be judged a success. The fees cover not only the salaries and benefits of one full-time archivist and, since November 1995, a shared employee, but offset the cost of archival supplies (boxes, folders, clips, basic conservation), telephone and copier expenses, and professional travel. The program has accomplished one of its intended goals: it has created a self-supporting archival program, though it must be noted that there are sixteen dedicated volunteers who perform, under supervision, a majority of the processing that helps the program ultimately accomplish its mission.

Some collections have been acquired in ways similar to most historical institutions. When a company is a going concern, senior management sees little merit in participating in the Business Archives Program. Ironically, when a company either goes out of business or is absorbed by another out-of-town concern that plans to close the local facility, the company's "old" management realizes that if meaningful records are not donated to the Historical Society Library, no written record will exist of the company's business contributions and its community involvements, or of the successes of the individuals that made the company prosperous. The U.S. Shoe Corporation (retailers of Red Cross, Joyce, and Pappagallo shoe brands), and the Drackett Corporation (inventors and manufacturers of Windex and Drano) are two Cincinnati companies that fit this category. The Business Archives Program accepted the records as donations because both were important to the economic history of Cincinnati. Perhaps, one day, either former employees, a local foundation, or family members will fund an archival processing project.[8]

"Managers at every level of the corporation, from the board room to the shop floor," wrote George Smith, president of the Winthrop Group, "have a need for a history of the company that is larger than their own experience."[9] Although archivists and historians believe passionately in this statement and in the utility of history, convincing an executive of the usefulness of the past is not easy. The Business Archives Program has been involved in five corporate history projects. Some adhere to Smith's model that business histories should "act as agents of change," others do not.[10] Two of the projects, those of the Fleischmann Yeast Company and Kluener Packing Company (a local meat packing operation), were written for 125th and 100th anniversary celebrations, respectively. These histories provide accurate historical information and give company personnel something to rally around for an anniversary. However, both lack in-depth historical analysis because few meaningful records exist. Fleischmann distributed a copy of its history to its employees worldwide. Kluener geared its history to use at industrial trade shows; both histories have little, if any, public exposure. Two additional writing projects, Frederick Rauh & Company (an old-line, local insurance agency) and the Cincinnati Southern Railway (the only municipally owned railway in the country), were meant for the "man on the street." Neither was for an anniversary, yet they were requested because extensive internal changes necessitated reflection. Management hoped that a comprehensive but honest history would become a resource that current and future

managers or trustees would refer to concerning the company's growth and experiences.

The final example, Littleford Day, Inc., a local family-owned sheet metal job shop that throughout its 140-year history successfully made the transition from a builder of road construction and maintenance equipment to a manufacturer of high-speed, high-tech industrial mixers, was motivated by a non-family president directing a business where family members were not involved actively in day-to-day operations. The president viewed a history as a method of binding the family together, enabling them to feel proud of the company's successes, and as a way to educate fourth-generation family shareholders in the company's heritage. Although the history details where the company has been and highlights the difficult decisions that were made to keep it profitable, most importantly it looks toward the future. The Littleford Day, Inc. history brings continuity to an established enterprise. It complies with Smith's dictum that histories should "concentrate on the dynamic accumulation of past events and decisions that have abiding significance for the present and the future."[11] The president plans to give a copy to board members, extended family members, stockholders, and select employees. Additionally, the president believes that portions of the book will be placed on CD-ROM where it will be viewed electronically by potential customers attending industrial trade shows.

An important reason why the Business Archives Program has been successful in garnering research projects is that the client's needs were addressed; the company is not limited to using the final product in a manner predetermined by the historian. The program is dynamic enough to respond to the company's needs. Granted, archivists and historians would love business histories to be works of enduring value. Brichford was correct when he argued that histories written for the purpose of increasing esprit are wasteful. However, executives have their own motivations and stratagems. In some cases the cliche that "something is better than nothing" has merit.

Anniversary histories are easy to understand and a company has a tight deadline by which the project needs to be completed. The reasons for a non-celebration history are less obvious. In fact, in the Littleford Day, Inc. project, the president's intended application was not known until much of the research and writing had been completed. It is not that the president engaged in deceptive practices—quite the contrary. It is necessary that archivists and historians pay just as much attention to what is not said as to what is said. To pretend that a "standard" company history exists is not professional. It defeats the very essence of history and undermines its value and utility to the company or institution being served.

Ironically, a "sales" call was not required to obtain these writing projects. Three assignments resulted from the respective president's reading of a bimonthly column in a local business newspaper on old Cincinnati businesses and business personalities. Another came about because volunteers had finished processing the company's records. The fifth contract resulted from the company's chairman blindly calling the Historical Society Library and inquiring if anyone could offer advice on researching and writing a company history. What was interesting in ***all*** of these cases was that none of the executives wanted an advertising firm to do the work. Usually, battle armor must be donned to convince a president or a public relations department executive not to use an

advertising firm for historical perspectives and interpretations. The companies that chose the Historical Society Library may have thought that a trained historian could do a more comprehensive, accurate, and professional job.

A unique approach to corporate outreach was tried recently for the sponsorship of an exhibition on the John Holland Gold Pen Company, a business founded in 1841 that closed its doors in 1980. A dedicated volunteer spent three years processing the collection. It was a filthy and difficult task, but she persevered and finished the collection by late summer 1995. However, a problem remained. How could the Business Archives Program obtain sponsorship for an exhibition of a company whose assets were auctioned publicly fifteen years earlier and where no family or extended family members existed?

While downtown one day for a marketing appointment, the author met the owner of an office supply store that sold high quality writing instruments and an array of stationery and office supplies. After discussing the Business Archives Program, the owner was informed that the Historical Society was processing the John Holland Gold Pen Company records; as an antique pen enthusiast, he was quite familiar with the company's heritage. He was asked if his company could possibly sponsor a small exhibit in the library. He loved the idea. After several discussions, plans were made for a five-case display; four cases pertained to the John Holland Gold Pen Company, and the fifth case displayed contemporary models of fountain pens from some of the world's major pen companies: Parker, Schaefer, Waterman, and Pelikan. Originally, plans called for an antique pen collector to appear on a designated Saturday and appraise the collectable pens of patrons. However, he had to cancel at the last moment. The exhibit was well received by the media—from the newspaper and television to a local history bulletin board on the Internet. Both participants benefited from the exhibit: the Business Archives Program was able to highlight the opening of an important collection and the sponsor was able to increase market awareness of contemporary fountain pens. All this was accomplished through a company that is only tangentially related to fountain pen manufacturing and sales. It proved to be a unique and affordable way to make a collection's accessibility known to the public.

Another necessary step in securing corporate support of archives is efficient service, something most not-for-profit institutions fail to understand. One late afternoon, the director of a major art museum in Cincinnati, who happened to be a former officer at Cincinnati's largest bank, called at 5:00 P.M. inquiring about landscape drawings of the museum's gardens. After it was confirmed that they were part of the Historical Society Library's holdings he asked if he could view them, knowing full well that it was past closing time. Obviously, it was not a problem. He stayed for 1½ hours and was impressed that he was not hurried. After a lengthy conversation about the Business Archives Program he inquired about the possibility of processing his museum's institutional records. It is unlikely that someone who said, "I'm sorry, but we close at 5:00..." would have received the same offer. If archivists want to be taken seriously, accepted as a genuine and influential part of the corporation, then patrons and even employees must be treated as paying customers.

A key component of service is follow-up. It is important to visit the office instead of using the mail or a courier service when drafts of the company's history are submitted

for review. It is more time consuming and costs money, but it is absolutely necessary. Recognize that the client is the customer buying "our" wares and expertise. Additionally, it is important to be reminded that you are probably the only representative from the archives that this executive will ever see. At these meetings, discuss what has been written, answer questions, and take notes on possible revisions. Remember, the company's archives is only one of several projects on the president's mind. There is nothing wrong with being recognized on the manufacturing floor, in the CEO's office, or in the board room. This signifies to employees and middle management how important the project is to the president, a small but vital function of corporate outreach.

One of the more challenging aspects of corporate outreach, besides servicing existing clients, involves advertising. How can a fiscally restrictive program include advertising? The answer, very simply, is that it cannot. There is an effective alternative, however. Two years ago contact was made with the editor of the *Business Record*, a local Cincinnati business newspaper. Would the paper be interested in a monthly column concerning Cincinnati's business history, including both biographies and company reviews? The managing editor thought it was a marvelous idea. Approximately twenty-four articles have been published, some have received positive responses in the "Letters to the Editor" section from the general readership. More importantly, three corporate research and writing contracts valued at approximately $63,000 have resulted from this marketing/advertising effort. The column enables the Cincinnati business community to realize that the Business Archives Program exists and provides the program the exposure it needs to expand.

A final thought concerning corporate outreach is both non-quantifiable and subjective, but something that is extremely important: enthusiasm. Company executives enjoy an historian who is genuinely interested in preserving the company's history. Experience demonstrates that most business people are impressed with the historian's research skills, the ability to gather facts from a box of records and to make intellectual and contextual sense of them. If an historian performs this task with a high energy level and meets the proposed deadlines, the company's management becomes even more impressed. The stereotype of the "radical" historian slowly dissipates when management realizes that he or she is a professional who takes genuine pride in quality work. Enthusiasm alone will not convince the unenlightened or persuade ahistorical managers, but it is hoped that executives will take an initial look at corporate archives in terms of costs and benefits.[12] One day management may believe in history's utility. Presidents, owners of companies, board members, and trustees can understand and appreciate the need for archives if the idea is presented by a knowledgeable and enthusiastic employee or consultant.

The Business Archives Program's experience with corporate outreach seems to be filled with success stories; however, it has not been easy. The time period from initial contact to signing a contract is separated by weeks, even months, of sleepless nights, personal anxiety, and wishful thinking that a "deal" has been consummated. Generally, history is a hard sell and making businesses aware of the need to preserve history and understand the economic utility of historical information is extremely difficult. There is no one answer for every situation. However, the empirical examples and method of operation reviewed here have worked with a modicum of success.

Regardless of one's political affiliation there is no denying that market capitalism is a true American success story. There are blips on the economic screen, but it is the model that others emulate. Americans invented it, so Americans are obligated to document and preserve it. Business people are not bothered by such matters, but archivists should be concerned. Whether employed as a corporate archivist or as an "outsourced" business archivist, it is incumbent upon all professionals to develop innovative uses of company records that demonstrate history's effectiveness and relevance. Only then will executive decision makers embrace the usable past that archivists have preserved so dutifully.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR: Steven L. Wright is the Business Archivist at Cincinnati Museum Center, Cincinnati Historical Society Library. He has a B.A. and M.A. in American history from the University of Cincinnati. The author wishes to dedicate the article to his coterie of sixteen volunteers without whom the Business Archives Program could not succeed.

APPENDIX

CINCINNATI MUSEUM CENTER
CINCINNATI HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CINCINNATI HISTORY MUSEUM

CINCINNATI HISTORICAL SOCIETY LIBRARY

Union Terminal
1301 Western Avenue
Cincinnati, Ohio 45203
513/287-7030
fax 513/287-7095

WHAT BELONGS IN A BUSINESS HISTORY ARCHIVES?

1. Materials that tell the story of the company, its structure, its basic goals, decisions, programs, and its success or failure.

2. Information about employee relations and civic involvement, as well as biographical data about major personalities within the company.

THE KINDS OF MATERIALS WE ARE INTERESTED IN INCLUDE:

<u>LEGAL DOCUMENTS</u>
Articles of Incorporation
Constitution
Annual Reports
Bylaws
Contracts
Insurance Policies
Wills & Estate Records
Mortgages
Deeds
Title Records
Patents
Court Transcripts & Orders

<u>PRINTED MATERIALS</u>
Certificates
Advertisements
Awards
Pamphlets
Brochures
Reports
Proofs
Circulars
Broadsides
Programs
Flyers
Clippings & Articles
Articles
Books
Employee or Company Publications
Newsletters

<u>FINANCIAL DOCUMENTS</u>
Financial Statements
Ledgers
Journals
Loans
Securities
Notes, Bills & Receipts

<u>MANUSCRIPTS</u>
Correspondence
Letter Books
Minutes
Officers' Reports
Memoranda
Diaries
Proceedings
Speeches
Reports

<u>OTHER FORMATS</u>
Product & Market Research Materials
Posters
Photos & Negatives
Audio Recordings
Video Tape & Film
Charts, Diagrams & Graphs
Architectural & Engineering Drawings
Product & Packaging Design
Manufacturing, Research and Development, and Engineering

THIS LIST IS BY NO MEANS EXCLUSIVE. IT SIMPLY PROVIDES EXAMPLES OF THE KINDS OF MATERIALS THE CINCINNATI HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S BUSINESS ARCHIVES SEEK.

NOTES

1. Harold P. Anderson, "Business Archives: A Corporate Asset," *The American Archivist* 45 (Summer 1982): 264.
2. I have encountered only one rude and embarrassing rejection using this approach. After meeting with the vice president of sales and marketing to discuss the company's approaching 125th anniversary, it was determined that the chairman probably would be interested in hearing how the Business Archives Program could help. I returned a week later to discuss the program with the chairman. The vice president of sales also sat in on what became a very "brief" meeting. Before I could complete a sentence, the chairman interrupted and asked why I was wasting his time. History meant nothing to him. His company had endured for almost 125 years and certainly did not need assistance understanding its place in general American/economic history. And as far as "documents and records" were concerned, he had thrown them out a few years earlier. Dumbfounded, I apologized for the misunderstanding and walked out of the conference room escorted by an equally perplexed vice president of sales. The vice president assured me that it was not anything I had done directly: "Sometimes he just gets like this."
3. Maynard Brichford, "Businesses Use of Business History," *Records Management Quarterly* 4 (October 1970): 15.
4. Leon Shkolnik, "The Role of the Archive in the Corporate Structure," *Records Management Quarterly* 24 (October 1990): 19.
5. K. Austin Kerr, Amos J. Loveday, and Mansel G. Blackford, *Local Businesses: Exploring Their History* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1990), p. 12.
6. Robert A. Shiff, "The Archivist's Role in Records Management," *The American Archivist* 19 (April 1956): 115.
7. Christopher Hives, "Records, Information, and Archives Management in Business," *Records Management Quarterly* 20 (January 1986): 3.
8. Since this paper was delivered at the May 1995 MAC Conference, Drackett family members have donated $28,000 to cover the cost of processing the company's archives. The collection includes paper records as well as museum objects and film and videotape.
9. George David Smith and Laurence E. Steadman, "Present Value of Corporate History," in *Corporate Archives and History: Making the Past Work*, ed. Arnita A. Jones and Philip L. Cantelon (Malabar, Florida: Krieger Publishing Company, 1993), p. 165.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*, p. 164.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 176.

PUBLICATION REVIEW

Society of American Archivists Case Study Series including *Electronic Records Management As Strategic Opportunity* by Thomas J. Galvin and Russell L. Kahn (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 1996), 22 pp. $6. Teaching Notes 14 pp. $12; *Prison Inmate Records in New York State: The Challenge of Modern Government Case Records* by Thomas D. Norris (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 1995), 18 pp. $6. Teaching Notes, 38 pp. $12; *Policy and Politics: The Archival Implications of Digital Communications and Culture at the University of Michigan* by Anne J. Gilliland-Swetland (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 1996), 36 pp. $6. Teaching Notes 20 pp. $12; and *Using Information Technologies to Build Strategic Collaborations: The State of Alabama as a Test Case* by Charles M. Dollar and Deborah S. Skaggs (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 1996), 48 pp. $6. Teaching Notes 9 pp. $12.

Reviewing a project such as the case study series, sponsored by the Society of American Archivists and funded by the NHPRC, calls for two types of analysis. A logical starting point is to take up the series as a whole, considering the merits of the structure to which the various authors are asked to conform. Working from this broader understanding one can then consider the merits of the individual case studies that make up the series.

Using case studies to illuminate the nature of archival work is a sound idea. As an applied discipline that is rooted "in the work" it makes good intellectual and pedagogical sense to create case studies through which to explain and explore "the work" and to serve as a basis for broader, more theoretical, concepts. It is also clear that there are almost as many ways to write a case study as there are cases to be told. However, the case studies the profession is offered in this series are disappointing, in large part because of the conceptual framework in which they were created.

Based on the four studies published, this series was apparently conceived as a group of case histories with associated study questions. Although case studies can certainly be written this way, generally speaking this approach would appear more appropriate in professions where there is a large body of case studies and the questions to be asked are relatively standard. A business case study, for example, that simply lays out the facts and then asks basic questions about whether the firm's strategy maximizes profits covers ground well travelled in business school and is in need of little additional framework for students to use and discuss.

The study questions that accompany the best of the SAA case studies, however, make clear that these case studies are not travelling to frequently visited sites, nor are the questions posed ones that have agreed-upon professional frameworks through which

students can develop answers. Rather, the case studies, all of which discuss electronic archives in one way or another and many of which look at novel strategies for moving forward professional agendas, push the envelope both of our craft knowledge and our theoretical frameworks.

Because these studies are positioned at the edge of archival practice rather than at the core of our professional knowledge, the apparent editorial decision to ask authors to include study questions but not offer substantive analysis is unfortunate. Good case studies that look at cutting edge issues should not only lay out the "facts" of the case but also offer substantive commentary regarding the overall significance of the events. The authors of these studies are in a good position to do this. All appear to be first-hand participants in the case discussed and all, one assumes, would have thoughtful and interesting insights regarding the overall success or failure of the various aspects of the case. Sadly, the series does not appear to have been conceptualized to give the authors this opportunity and archival educators educators and students this very valuable, additional information.

The conceivers of the series may well take issue with my argument, suggesting that in the Teaching Notes which accompany each case study is found the insight needed to spark useful discussion through what are, in the best studies, very probing questions. However, the failure to ask the authors of the case studies to answer the questions posed in their Notes makes unavailable analysis by the very people best informed to consider the merits of the case and develop answers to the questions. The inclusion of thoughtful analysis by the authors would have facilitated a more informed discussion of the case by both instructor and student.

The series is not only disappointing because it lacks analysis, but also because of the way its authors are asked to relate the "facts." Authors apparently have been asked not to offer information regarding the results or outcome of each case. Each author informs readers of the necessary background and context through which to understand what transpired, introduces the actors, and tells what events occurred and what decisions were made. Consistently lacking, however, is information regarding the ultimate outcome of the events. Readers never discover if, as a result of the actions taken, the desired results occurred. Without knowing the outcomes it is difficult to reach any useful conclusions about the overall merits of the activities described.

Turning to the individual case studies, the best of the group is *Using Information Technologies to Build Strategic Collaborations: The State of Alabama as a Test Case*, written by Charles Dollar and Deborah Skaggs. It clearly points out the structural limitations imposed by the series. Dollar and Skaggs present a well organized, succinct explanation of how in 1990–91 the Alabama Department of Archives and History developed a statewide plan to deal with some aspects of digital information technologies. Learning how Alabama came to adopt several policies in 1991 and 1992, however, does not make it possible for the reader to determine if these were policies that actually achieved the intended objectives.

Nor does the authors' brief coda, which notes that the events of 1991–92 led to the adoption of new "Technical Leaflets" in 1994 and 1995 (which are published in full in the Teaching Notes), address the fundamental question of whether these new "Technical Leaflets" had significant impact. The title of the case study asks if Alabama's

actions would serve to "Build Strategic Collaborations," not whether the actions were an effective mechanism to revise and republish technical leaflets. The leaflet may well be the tool employed but the collaboration is the issue to be studied. The failure of the authors to address this salient point greatly lessens the value of their generally well-presented case study.

Similarly, the questions posed in the Teaching Notes written by Dollar and Skaggs ask very interesting questions about issues such as the importance of visionary leadership, the need for knowledgeable and experienced staff, and the role of strategic planning. These are fundamental questions and one can imagine numerous readers hoping that the authors will share what would be very well informed answers. Alas, apparently those who conceived the format would rather readers stumble about developing answers to such questions in the purity of their ignorance rather than engage in intelligent discussion sullied by persuasive commentary. This is a significant error in judgement. The Dollar and Skaggs case study makes clear that the series framework limits and inhibits authors who otherwise would have likely written a much better case study.

Less successful than Dollar and Skaggs' work, but still interesting, is Thomas D. Norris's *Prison Inmate Records in New York State: The Challenge of Modern Government Case Records*. Norris's case, like that of Dollar and Skaggs, is well presented. It suffers from the same basic flaw, however, in that the outcome of the case is left unstated. Where Norris's work is less successful is in the accompanying Teaching Notes. These pose questions less provocative and penetrating than those written for the Alabama study.

The weakest of the four studies is *Electronic Records Management As Strategic Opportunity*, written by Thomas J. Galvin and Russell L. Kahn. Here, basic flaws appear in the presentation of the case. Take, for example, the authors' undocumented assertion on page 2 that the Office of Archives & Records Management (OARM) within the State University of New York came about, in part, because of "lobbying from archivists and records managers on the campuses," and contrast it with a factual statement on page 3 noting that OARM's first survey of SUNY campuses revealed that "few campuses had a designated chief records officer; none had a full-time person. Only two campuses had a full-time archivist." It would seem that the lobbying of two archivists would have limited impact, unless, perhaps, one was the brother-in-law of the governor.

In addition to problems either getting their assertions to reflect their facts or, more likely, giving a full explanation of the situation, the authors demonstrate an intellectually unjustified intolerance towards alternative archival traditions. For example, on page 7 the authors discuss "three reasons for their [archivists] lack of initiative in the area of electronic records." Among these reasons, archivists cite "an inherent fear of change accompanied by a perception of the profession as keepers of data rather than active participants in setting policy."

Leaving aside comments regarding the lack of demonstrable evidence supporting claims of "inherent fears" and flip remarks about the possibility of offering group therapy sessions at MAC meetings to address such fears, should they in fact exist, one is at pains to point out that the "perception" the authors criticize is founded on Hilary Jenkinson's clearly argued rationale justifying the archivist's role as "keeper." One need not agree with Jenkinson [I don't] to point out that dismissing his arguments as mere

"perception" is an unsatisfactory way to discuss a fundamental question about character of the archival profession. Rigorous case studies should avoid using language that goes beyond the parameters of the study to paint professional images with too broad a brush. Objective case studies should also acknowledge the legitimacy of alternative archival traditions, even if the study takes issue with them, in this case by raising pertinent questions in the Teaching Notes.

Unique among the four case studies is that of Anne J. Gilliland-Swetland. Her contribution is not cast, as are the other three in the series, but, rather is a scenario with a proposed course of action. Gilliland-Swetland describes digital communications within the context of the University of Michigan, ascertains the thoughts and opinions of various actors within the campus community, and suggests a strategy through which the Bentley Historical Library's University Archives and Records Program might move forward to achieve specific goals. Although the scenario is an interesting one to read, the fact that there is no "case" to study, no actual events to evaluate, leaves the reader in a quandary over how to evaluate properly Gilliland-Swetland's strategy. Perhaps her ideas would work, but since it is unlikely that they will ever be fully implemented this will always remain a matter of conjecture. In many ways, one wonders if what Gilliland-Swetland is drawing upon is the agenda she might have set for herself had circumstances led her to remain at the University of Michigan rather than to relocate to the UCLA campus in California.

Clearly, the quality of each individual case study varies in terms of usefulness. However, regardless of the merits of individual authors' work, the basic shortcomings in these four case studies stem more in the conceptualization of the series than in the inadequacies of the individual authors. A case study series that offered archivists complete case studies, including the outcomes and thoughtful analyses that could be discussed by educators, students, and archivists, would be an important addition to the archival literature. Perhaps in the next iteration of this idea the archival community will be fortunate enough to receive such works.

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Universal Access to E-mail: Feasibility and Societal Implications. By Robert H. Anderson, Tora K. Bikson, et al. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1995. 267 pp. Softcover. Appendixes. Bibliography. $20.00.

Universal Access to E-mail, subtitled "feasibility and societal implications," is a report prepared by Robert Anderson, Tora Bikson, and a number of other scholars from the Rand Corporation with support from the Markle Foundation. It appeared in late 1995, and, at that time, received some attention in the nation's press for its analysis of the new phenomenon of electronic mail (email is the short-hand form used in the report

although I'm willing to bet everything that, before much longer, we'll all be using the form email).

The report includes a review of current trends in computers and connectivity (naturally somewhat dated), chapters on technical and financial issues related to email, and a lengthy review of research related to the use of email by grassroots/neighborhood organizations. There is at the heart of the report a simple recommendation. Email, the report states, as the ability to exchange and store electronic messages is a rapidly spreading technology. It is used in practically every corner of the United States. Huge numbers in American society have access to email. But the more widespread the use of email, the more it becomes obvious that some Americans do not and may perhaps never have access to email. These are identified in the report as primarily the "inner city minorities and the rural poor."

The result is that there will be information haves and information have-nots. Those groups that cannot afford email or lack the skills or experience will be "disenfranchised," victims of the Information Revolution (and this study appears under the rubric of what is labeled the Center for Information Revolution Analysis). American democracy will suffer.

The authors argue that universal access to email is both possible and necessary. There are a number of complex technological issues involved in judging universal access to email as possible. These include the issues of how to standardize interconnections between email systems, how to design a relatively simply email interface, how to assign individuals with a permanent or semi-permanent email address, where to station terminals for those who will not have same in their homes, and the grand question of who is going to pay for such universal access? The authors compile a mass of data for each question and conclude that none of these problems is insurmountable.

The authors further argue that universal access to email is necessary. At its base, their argument is a classic liberal one that in a political democracy, where a free economic market in goods and services is key, all players must have more or less equal access to information. The authors of the Rand study phrase their argument a little less philosophically. Citizen participation in our democracy has been flagging and continues to do so. But, there are some grassroots organizations which have utilized new technologies such as email. Their use yields seemingly positive results as far as encouraging a rise in participation in government. These studies are discussed. The conclusion is that there is data indicating that universal access to email will result in a net increase in the level of citizen participation in government.

All of this makes for fascinating reading. Rand studies are rarely other than thorough. If you are interested in the state of the art on these issues then certainly this study serves as a fine literature review.

But, at the same time, there is very little in *Universal Access to E-mail* that speaks to the concerns of archivists. Ask an archivist what email is, and he or she will likely blanch, then respond that it's a real problem, one of the most difficult and pressing issues facing the profession. They will explain that there is an immense and ever-growing accumulation of email, hard enough, in and of itself, to store and manage. They will continue that this is coupled with a plethora of thorny and unsettled issues, such as privacy or criminal and civil liability, arising from the ubiquity of email.

But this isn't the email the authors of *Universal Access to E-mail* have in mind. Their email is just a form of 'pure' communication, like the telephone or traditional paper mail. In the future, the authors of *Universal Access to E-mail* have in mind, there will be terminals everywhere. It's suggested that video game devices may be outfitted with email. Certainly there are email terminals practically at every corner, like phone booths or mail boxes. There will be a simple, standardized email interface, which is capable of being quickly learned by all. Everybody will have an address, and all addresses will be standardized, once again along the lines of the telephone system. There's the suggestion that there could be a universal storage system, and that although email is the main topic under consideration, there is no reason, the authors suggest, why we should not seriously contemplate providing universal access to 'chat' groups and news groups. There is the vague suggestion here of Speaker Newt Gingrich's one-time proposal that laptops should be issued to the poor.

Which is the real email? The two ideas of email need not necessarily be exclusive. But from an archival perspective, it does seem that email is not simply a kind of modern telephone, although certainly, at some times and to some people, it may look and act like a telephone. While at times it may look and act like traditional mail, it is really something very different. Email, archivists may feel, is impossible to contemplate apart from the specific contexts in which it appears, and in which it creates a myriad of problems. The Rand report, as admirable as it may be in its aims, and as estimable as it may be in its execution, seems curiously out of touch with that reality.

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RLG Digital Image Access Project, Patricia A. McClung, editor. Mountain View, CA, The Research Libraries Group, 1995. 104 pp. $20 plus shipping and handling.

As archivists have considered or undertaken projects to digitize images in their collections and make them available in a networked environment, there has been a frequently expressed need for guidelines and case studies on both technical and practical matters. The Research Libraries Group's Digital Image Access Project (DIAP) was an early effort to define the issues related to description and access to digitized photographs in a collaborative, "virtual collection." This volume is the proceedings of a symposium held at the end of the project in March 1995. It consists of six prepared papers and summaries of audience discussion.

DIAP, which was sponsored by RLG's Task Force on Photographic Preservation, included nine RLG repositories which each submitted 1000 photographs on the broad theme of "the Urban Landscape" for digitization by project participant Stokes Imaging Services, Inc. These 9000 images and the accompanying cataloging records served as the project test bed. They were intended to reflect archival "reality": a wide range of collection sizes and structures, image formats and levels of cataloging. The

participants met twice to discuss approaches to cataloging and indexing the images and their relationship to the development of image collections. The project goals, conceived in very broad terms, were: 1) to explore access and indexing issues related to making photographic collections available in digital format; 2) to explore intellectual control issues, as well as related collection and resource management issues in the context of shared image collections; and 3) to provide guidelines and models that will assist in decision-making at research institutions developing online image access systems.

As symposium moderator, Anne Kenney frankly acknowledges, the project was "less than successful" in meeting its ambitious goals. Conceptual and technical problems forced adjustments, and then the world moved under its feet. The explosive emergence of the world wide web radically changed the environment for distribution of image collections. Nevertheless, the conclusions reached in the DIAP should prove valuable for the profession.

The volume opens with a paper by Hinda F. Sklar presenting rationales for making images available online from both user and collection manager points of view. Ricky L. Erway's paper, "Options for Digitizing Visual Materials," focuses on technical issues such as image resolution, pixel depth, file formats, and file naming conventions, but opens with the important question "Why are we digitizing?" The answer to that question, be it for preservation or for new or improved access, will affect a range of technical choices. The papers by Jackie Dooley and Stephen Davis get to DIAP's core questions of description and retrieval. Dooley briefly describes Stokes Imaging's Visual Photologue used by DIAP and the difficulties in adapting a "one-image, one record" software package to one capable of preserving archival context and maintaining links between collection level descriptions and the specific items described. Dooley also reports on DIAP's experience in practical areas such as the degree to which existing local cataloging information can be migrated to a shared catalog. While Dooley's paper focuses on description in a MARC or MARC-like environment, Davis examines the limitations imposed by MARC's essentially flat structure and proposes a "SGML catalog record" that can better accommodate the hierarchical structure of archival collections and multiple versions of items. Davis goes on to offer a model for networked storage and distribution of digital image collections. He posits a continuing role (at least in the near term) for RLIN/OCLC union catalogs with USMARC records for collection level descriptions. These would include URLs to locally based SGML catalog records which in turn link to the locally stored digital images. Jack von Euw provides a case study of the Bancroft Library's experience in the DIAP. The volume ends with a report by James Reilly on the related Technical Images Test Project which discusses image capture and image quality options and issues.

Several themes run through all of the papers and comments. Any system developed must be able to accommodate description at multiple levels—collection , series, and item—and preserve the archival context. It must also be able to accommodate multiple versions of a single image—original image, intermediate reproductions, and one or more digital copies. The system must be flexible enough to accommodate the wide range of archival descriptive practice and to adapt to inevitable technological change. DIAP was an explicitly collaborative project while many archival imaging projects

"stand alone." The future, however, is clearly networked and the DIAP experience suggests that even local projects will need to conform to a slowly emerging set of standards and common practices if the potential of the networked world is to be realized.

This volume is not in any sense a "how to" manual. Given the format of the volume, the discussion of technical issues is sometimes superficial or presumes a level of knowledge among symposium participants that may not hold true for archivists at large. As a number of the symposium participants remarked, DIAP did not solve any of the problems associated with digital imaging projects, and its treatment of some, e.g. copyright, is inadequate, but in its exploration of those problems it provides a useful starting point for any archivist considering a digital imaging project.

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Debates & Discourses: Selected Australian Writings on Archival Theory, 1951–1990. Edited by Peter Biskup, Kathryn Dan, Colleen McEwen, Greg O'Shea, and Graeme Powell. Canberra: Australian Society of Archivists, 1995. 230 pp. Index. Softcover. Available from the Society of American Archivists, $25.00 members/$30.00 nonmembers.

Debates & Discourses brings together, in chronological order, sixteen essays written by Australian archivists, which were previously published in the professional literature between 1951 and 1990. Prior to 1983, when the Federal Government of the Commonwealth of Australia passed the Archives Act establishing the Australian Archives, the Commonwealth's archives had operated according to various acts or instructions passed by the six states, mainly under the auspices of the state libraries. Such acts were passed in South Australia (1925), Queensland (1943), New South Wales (1960), Tasmania and Victoria (1965), and in Western Australia (1974), and all were repealed or amended by the 1983 law. The present volume is welcome, as it calls our attention to issues of central importance to archivists who labored largely before passage of federal archival legislation. Government archivists, in particular, have grappled with what appears to have been an endless process of meiosis and mitosis in the various departments, branches, offices, and agencies of the Commonwealth. Their solutions for dealing with the attendant arrangement and description nightmare illustrate the ways in which archivists may ingeniously borrow from, sift through, and finally adapt foreign methods to local requirements. The Australians have made selective use of Sir Hilary Jenkinson's *A Manual of Archive Administration* (1937), as Ian Maclean describes in his article reprinted here from the 1953 festschrift for Jenkinson. Recall that T.R. Schellenberg's landmark text, *Modern Archives: Principles and Techniques* (1956), was begun during the author's Fulbright year (1954–55) in Australia.

The main interest of *Debates & Discourses*, however, lies in overhearing the conversations among the Australians themselves. Contributors include eleven (mainly government) archivists, a former Governor-General of the Commonwealth, and one

manuscript librarian. The "discourses" are perhaps less interesting than the "debates." The "discourses" treat the nature of history and methods of historical research; the nature of the archival profession; and the archivist's role compared to that of the manuscript librarian. Averil Condren's 1985 essay, "The Finding Aid as Duke of Omnium," must be read if only to discover what the connection could possibly be between "Planty Pall" and the decidedly non-fiction finding aid. Sir Paul Hasluck's 1951 paper, "Problems of Research on Contemporary Official Records," deserves to be singled out for its detailed account of the practical difficulties encountered by a veteran historian and government minister in conducting research in the Commonwealth Government records just after World War II. Hasluck was instrumental in the establishment of the Australian Archives and took equal interest in the historical and the nitty-gritty aspects of archival work.

Of considerable intellectual appeal are the nine essays or "debates" promised by the book's title. Together, these offer a fine teaching tool for those seeking to convey the relationships between theory and practice, physical and intellectual control, or invite discussion of the definition of "order," original or otherwise. The debates concern two areas of archival enterprise: the application of the principle of original order to government records versus personal papers and the usefulness of the record group concept in gaining physical and intellectual control over the Commonwealth Archives (could such a thing be imagined!). Six essays are devoted to the record group debate, while three are devoted to the original order debate. Unfortunately, the chronological arrangement of the contributions diminishes the lively and often heated interchanges between writers. Debate upon the divisive record group question begins with Peter J. Scott's modest proposal in 1966 to abandon the record group concept altogether and use the series as the basis for physical arrangement. Scott's essay is followed by support from K.A. Green (1967) and a principled rebuttal from Kenneth A. Polden (1968). The argument is interrupted by Robert Sharman's "Causation in Historical Study" (1971). For Colin Smith's final volley, "A Case for Abandonment of 'Respect,'" (1986–87) one must take a side road through the debate on original order and a sally into Gerald Fischer's meditation on the archival profession. Perhaps I wouldn't be an archivist if I didn't think that the contents might have been more effectively arranged, with chronology sacrificed to thematic continuity. Sharman's introduction partially compensates for this minor complaint by relating individual essays to one another. The whole volume is gracefully prefaced by a joint note of thanks from the editorial committee of the ACT Branch of the Australian Society of Archivists, which conceived of this project and carried it out.

The advent of the computer's "spell-check" function does not mean copy-editors are out of work; they still have to be vigilant for typos that the computer brain doesn't discern. In this volume, I found "contented" for "contended," "unit" for "unity," "provides" for "proves," and the expected "or" for "of," and "at" for "as." These may be quibbles, but they do detract from an intellectually demanding text.

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Conversion of Microfilm to Digital Imagery: A Demonstration Project. By Paul Conway. New Haven, CT: Yale University Library, [1996]. 22 pp. Introduction. Illustrations. Appendices. Bibliography. Softcover. $15.00.

As archivists struggle with the application of emerging information technologies to the various collections in the repositories we staff, the published literature directly relevant to this issue for this profession sometimes seems sadly inadequate. Paul Conway's *Conversion of Microfilm to Digital Imagery: A Demonstration Project*—providing a detailed "report on the production-conversion phase of Project Open Book, a program at Yale University Library exploring the feasibility and costs of converting preservation microfilm to digital image files"—is a welcome addition to this literature.

This slim volume, containing numerous appendices, presents meticulously collected and analyzed research data on the costs and staffing efforts that could be expected for a library or archival repository choosing to undertake production-level digitization from preservation microfilm. To some extent, the findings presented here should be broadly generalizable for repositories contemplating other approaches to production-level digitization.

Indications in this report are that excellent third-generation images in digital format can be obtained from high-quality preservation microfilm. Conway provides, as examples in Appendix 4, nearly a dozen 600 dots-per-inch (dpi) printouts from images captured at an effective resolution of 600 dpi so that the reader can corroborate this finding. He argues, furthermore, that based on the quality of the digital images produced, Project Open Book "reaffirms the general accuracy of the technical standards that govern preservation microfilm and the value of the guidelines that interpret these standards." This conclusion highlights, for this reviewer at least, the urgent need for the cooperative development by all concerned professions of clear standards for preservation-acceptable digital imaging and guidelines for their implementation.

The bulk of the text in this book details the findings and recommendations gleaned by its author, the principal investigator, from Project Open Book. These helpful and interesting observations are broken down into the following six categories: selection, quality, indexing, staffing, vendor relations, and cost. Although all of Conway's findings and recommendations are enlightening, he is much better at the analysis and presentation of statistical data than at a frank discussion of how choices were made during the various phases of the project and how the state of technological developments at various stages influenced those choices. Such a discussion would have made this report more generally useful to managers of archival and manuscript collections.

One example of this problem is in the author's discussion of the drawbacks of the decision to use proprietary software for the storage, indexing, and provision of access to the project data. The development of the World Wide Web—and its accompanying explosion of software supportive of non-proprietary, system- and platform-independent storage and delivery of digital information—did not really begin in earnest until the fall 1993 release of Mosaic, the first freely available browser software package for the World Wide Web. According to the bibliography provided here in Appendix 1, the first phase of Project Open Book was completed and the second well underway by early 1994. It appears by that time that choices were made and Xerox Corporation was

already hard at work customizing the hardware and software specifically for the project. From Conway's calculations of per-book and per-page annual equipment costs, it appears that a hefty portion of the project budget went to Xerox for hardware, software, and support, which makes one wonder just how unbiased a technology advisor that corporation might have been for the project staff at Yale during this critical time period. I am only speculating, based on some of the evidence and recommendations presented in this book, but I think a consideration of how things might have been done differently—if the technological aspects of the project were under development now—would have been extremely beneficial for readers who are practitioners in the archival and library professions.

As another example, it would seem that for digital files containing an average of 216 page images per book of previously printed text the indexing would be the most promising approach to improving intellectual access to the contents of these books. This is especially true in the absence of a searchable ASCII text file corresponding to each page image. While in his summary of the project's background the author stresses the goals of improving physical and intellectual access to the digitized books, it is not clear, from the information presented here, exactly how the latter goal was realized. In his explanation of the indexing, Conway cites three levels: the MARC record, a structural indexing level, and a pagination indexing level. It appears from several examples of the indexing presented in Appendix 5 that the text transcribed into the indexing files was largely taken from the tables of contents in the printed books. It also appears that structural section labels, such as "chapter" and "part," were the preferred transcription for the structural indexing and that substantive, content-based section titles or headings were only transcribed when these section labels were not present. If this were the case, it seems an unfortunate wasted opportunity for the capture of a small amount of information that might have been useful to the end user for searching and that would have truly enhanced intellectual access to this material.

As outlined above, the MARC record is the only searchable vehicle for connecting potential users, via the insertion of hypertext links, to this digital resource. From the documentation provided, it appears that the information capture phase of the project was finishing at exactly the time when discussions regarding cataloging were starting. Conway states in this report that "the design and implementation of a comprehensive evaluation of ... the usability of the system for research and teaching, and the usefulness of the content from the perspective of the faculty and students" is an important next step for Project Open Book. It seem that some prototyping and evaluation at an earlier stage in the project might have contributed valuable input from targeted end user groups into decisions about enhancing intellectual access. It is not clear to this reviewer that relying solely on MARC records, which already existed for the paper and microfilm formats of all the books digitized in this project, has in any way contributed to this goal. This prompts a broader question about the adequacy of a solely MARC-based approach to providing access for such remotely available digital information resources. A fuller discussion of the factors influencing Yale's decisions regarding indexing content and the provision of search capability, especially of constraints imposed by early technological choices, would have been helpful.

This volume, in the end, is a report on only one portion of a multi-phased project; however, Conway's title does lead the reader to hope for a broader, more analytical approach to decisions made and lessons learned. Despite all the yearnings of this reviewer for more information and discussion along those lines—which would have enhanced the general applicability of this information—*Conversion of Microfilm to Digital Imagery: A Demonstration Project* does provide an excellent summary of the various factors that need to be considered by anyone hoping to undertake production-level digitization of existing collections. Many of the author's recommendations would also be useful to any archivist thinking about embarking on digitization projects of any scale.

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Guide to Architectural Records in the Oberlin College Archives. Edited by Roland M. Baumann and compiled by Roland M. Baumann, Jessica G. Broadwell, and Michael Morgenstern. Oberlin, OH: Oberlin College Archives, 1996. 128 pp. Illustrations. Index. Softcover. Available from Oberlin College Archives. $18.95 plus postage and handling.

This guide is not what I expected. Instead of a dry, folder by folder, index to architectural records subjects in the Oberlin College Archives, it provides an overview, an hors d'oeuvre of this subject in each record group. This is a practical approach, since a comprehensive folder by folder listing of the more than 2000 linear feet of record groups at Oberlin College Archives containing architectural records would take much longer to compile and would not give the researcher the benefit of Oberlin College archivists' experience on this topic.

This approach also makes very entertaining reading, and the monograph almost functions as an architectural history of the college. There is a lot of architectural commentary woven throughout such as "[President] Fairchild saw the beginning of Oberlin's 'Stone Age' of architectural design with the erection of the Conservatory of Music, the first Warner Hall, 1884; as well as Peter Hall, 1885; Baldwin College, 1886; and Talcott Hall, 1887."

The records described in this guide document the history of the college and reflect the development of the campus building by building, decade by decade. This is important because the buildings at Oberlin College are a microcosm of the development of American architectural history. The college has a long history of hiring some of the most renowned architects of each era. A.B. Jennings, Cass Gilbert, Walker & Weekes, Richard Kimball, Minoru Yamasaki, Robert Venturi, and Gunnar Birkerts have been among their architects and campus designers.

The guide accomplishes its goal of assisting researchers in accessing, identifying, and locating records in the archives by providing information on both university administrative records and the papers of private individuals, that could easily have been

overlooked by researchers. It would make sense for researchers to look for architectural records subjects in, for example, the records of the Buildings and Grounds Department. But, as with most universities, the administrative records at Oberlin College also contain a wealth of architectural material spread throughout. This is especially true of the college's earlier days when the president's and treasurer's offices had a greater role in building construction and campus planning.

For each record group there is an entry # (for organizational purposes), collection title, record group number, inclusive dates, quantity in linear feet, an administrative history or biographical note and sometimes an historical note. This historical note puts the record group into context, gives researchers a sense of how comprehensive the record is, gives the peculiarities of the record group, and explains the vagaries of record-keeping over time with changes of collegiate administration and secretaries.

The guide's main focus is to give suggestions of where to look within each record group for architectural records. For example, they comment that, "Researchers should comb the annual reports of the first forty years to find sections with headings like 'State of the Buildings,' 'Boarding Hall,' 'Purchases of Lots,' 'Buildings and Grounds,' and 'New Buildings.'" In a sense, the monograph provides the researcher with similar information you might receive in an interview with the reference archivist, one on one. This is particularly significant for neophyte researchers and students who need to learn that historical research using primary resources is rarely laid out in a clear path of discovery.

The guide also makes it clear that architectural records are quite diverse and do not consist of only drawings. They include correspondence, job files, specifications, contracts, change orders, surveys, proposals, etc. The records must be looked at altogether to tell the full story of a building, structure, or design philosophy.

The monograph includes a scope and content note to each record group summarizing the value, extent and depth of the architectural records in that record group. It also mentions additional record group indices and the fact that many indices are available on the World Wide Web via the Internet.

Other useful guide contents are a list of the main campus buildings with their architect and date of construction; a map with building names and locations; a table of contents, an index, and illustrations. The illustrations include building photos or people important to the college's history.

The index, laborious to compile and offering people and building names, and events, gives access to specific architectural subjects within the monograph. Unless you go to the index's explanatory "Note," the index is somewhat confusing since it uses the entry number as the access point instead of a page number. Unfortunately, illustrations are not included in the index.

Although the guide does not generally contain specific locations of architectural records within a record group, it does highlight especially important material like the correspondence with Cass Gilbert in the Henry Churchill King papers and in the records of many other Oberlin College presidents.

Several record groups are quite intriguing such as an artificially created group: the "Records of Buildings and Dedications, 1834–1993." This contains an array of architectural drawings, real estate appraisal drawings, dedication programs, and related

documentation. The amount of architectural research material in the records of the presidential assistants was also a nice surprise. Both of these are just two examples of what could be a gold mine for researchers.

There are also tantalizing leads to the origin of the college's architectural design such as in the papers of President Henry Churchill King. He comments that, "[i]t is in no small part of the obligation which the college owes to its students to make their environment, as well as their courses, minister to a discriminating taste. In its architecture and grounds, as well as in its courses in literature and music and art."

This monograph is a valuable resource for researchers and a model for other repositories to use for this and other subjects. The compilers not only fulfilled their goal to make information available to researchers, they did it in an engaging manner.

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Research Guide to the Turner Movement in the United States. Compiled by Eric Pumroy and Katja Rampelmann. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996. 392 pp. Indexed. Appendices. Hardcover. $85.00.

As a medical historian interested in physical fitness, I have long been fascinated by the Turner movement's system of physical education. It was conceived by Frederich Jahn in the early nineteenth century to foster German nationalism and pride through physical training and gymnastics. The system was brought to America in the 1820s. Turners might have remained a historical curiosity were it not for the boost given by the German exiles from the failed revolution of 1848. These men revived the movement and broadened its focus to include wider social and cultural reforms. From the 1850s through the end of the century, local turnverein bloomed across the American landscape, numbering 300 local chapters and over 45,000 members by 1900 (compared to YMCA's 500 clubs and 80,000 members). World War I's virulent anti-German sentiment dealt a blow to the Turner movement, ending years of growth. The Depression and World War II marked the beginning of a long decline, which accelerated after the war. Today only a few local Turner societies maintain steady memberships and solid finances.

The Turner societies filled significant social, educational, and cultural functions in German-American communities. Given the German bent toward record-keeping, hierarchy, and organization, it is not surprising that the Turners left a paper trail. As the movement waned, however, this trail faded. The publication of the *Research Guide to the Turner Movement in the United States* ensures that the records of this important movement do not pass into oblivion. In 1989, the University Archives of Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI) finished processing the records of the Normal College of the American Gymnastic Union, the Turners' private college for physical training. To their surprise, IUPUI archivists discovered that few Turner materials were described in NUCMC or in online catalogs. To their chagrin, they learned that some Turner records were in danger of being deaccessioned by other libraries and

archives due to limited use. With a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, IUPUI archivists set out to identify and locate Turner materials. They reviewed the published bibliographies and online catalogs and databases, and surveyed historical societies, archives, and Turner societies. *Research Guide to the Turner Movement in the United States* is the product of their efforts. Were it not for these efforts, the most visible remains of the movement might be the Turner halls.

Beginning with a brief, well-written historical overview of the Turner movement, this ambitious guide lists over 2,000 publications and archival collections created by the Turner movement. It provides an annotated bibliography of these publications, descriptions of the archival collections, and historical sketches of local societies. Three chapters form the bulk of the book. Each chapter reflects the level of creating office: the national office of the American Turners, district offices (listed alphabetically by district), and local societies (listed alphabetically by state, then city). A short chapter describes the thirty-two collections and publications created by the Normal College of the American Gymnastics Union (the bulk of which are held by IUPUI). Next comes a brief chapter listing Turner publications on physical education, followed by a chapter detailing historical publications on the movement. Listings of all Turner societies which have been active in the United States, addresses of all current Turner societies, and an index round out the guide.

The vast majority of the 2,000 entries in the guide are publications. This is not surprising given the nature of the sources, the search, and the structure of the guide. The materials at the national and district levels tend to be publications, with only fifteen archival collections noted among over 350 entries. At the local society level far more archival collections exist, though the bulk of the sources are publications. For each serial publication listed, the guide provides a history of the publication, with notes on editors, frequent contributors, and topics. When the publication title is obscure (or in German, as is the case for 80% of the historical writings before 1920), the guide provides a note of explanation. Throughout, the authors note that many works are "available at large public and academic libraries." The chapter on historical writings demonstrates amazing breadth, often identifying unpublished sources.

One of the hidden strengths of this guide is the work done by IUPUI to identify Turner materials not held by libraries or archives. Among the publications and archival collections created by the Turner movement are many which would not be known save for the efforts of this project. Surprisingly, this is given little emphasis by the authors. By my rough count, more than twenty archival collections held by private collectors and still-active Turner societies are listed by this guide. For many of these, the archives at IUPUI has created finding aids. Such service merits fuller note in the guide.

Research Guide to the Turner Movement in the United States faces the limitations of any such bound text. It is static, hence it will be outdated soon. This is a trifling concern since the authors recognize that the guide "is far from being definitive." [p. ix]. They fully hope that this work prompts identification of other Turner materials, thus hastening outdating. A more vexing problem derives from the layout of the book. The arrangement of the publications and collections by scope of generating organization (national, district, and society) virtually forces the reader to go through each section in search of materials. The researcher must either bring to this guide some knowledge of

the Turner organizational structure (difficult to imagine given the periodic shuffling of districts) or a tolerance for turning pages. Surprisingly, there is no listing of materials by repository. This is odd, considering that many researchers plan their work in this way.

Despite these reservations, I find *Research Guide to the Turner Movement in the United States* a valuable reference tool. Having identified and located so many sources on the Turners is a boon to researchers in many fields: labor, cultural, social, and immigration history, as well as the history of medicine and physical education. The guide is all the more remarkable considering the starting point: Turner materials scattered, poorly described, and largely uncataloged. By locating and indexing many collections not in archives or libraries, the authors provide a great service.

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Historical Consciousness in the Early Republic: The Origins of State Historical Societies, Museums, and Collections, 1791–1861. By H.G. Jones, editor, North Carolina Society Imprints Number 25 (Chapel Hill: North Caroliniana Society, Inc. and North Carolina Collections, 1995). 262 pp. Illustrations. Indexed. Paperback.

Edited by H.G. Jones, former curator and now part-time Thomas Whitmell Davis research historian for the North Carolina Collection and secretary-treasurer of the North Caroliniana Society, this collection of essays represents the proceedings of the national conference "For History's Sake: State Historical Collections in the Early Republic," held at Chapel Hill, North Carolina in May, 1994 to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the founding of the Historical Society of the University of North Carolina, the origin of the North Carolina Collection. The purpose of the conference was to bring together archivists and historians to explore the development of historical societies and collecting efforts in the various states over a 70 year period measured, "from the founding of the first state historical society in Boston in 1791 to the temporary dissolution of the Union in 1861" (preface). States such as Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, and Wisconsin, which saw a great deal of collecting activity in the ante-bellum period, are considered in individual essays; states which saw less activity prior to 1861 are treated regionally (i.e., the New England States, the Atlantic States, the Trans-Mountain States, and the Trans-Mississippi States). In addition to the ten historical essays, the volume includes the proceedings of North Caroliniana Society Awards Banquet held at the end of the national conference, and several pages of photographs documenting both the conference and the awards ceremony.

As Jones indicates in his preface, the essays are presented "with one simple objective: To bring together in one place a skeletal survey of the origins of historical institutions in the United States" (preface). The reader of this volume will find each essay to be a wonderfully descriptive account of the development of historical documentation efforts in each state or region. The essays tend to follow a similar structure, each providing a chronological account of the uneven and often frustrated attempts, by a few

far-sighted individuals, to secure collections, funding, appropriate quarters, and the interest of others in their state to insure that the history of the state and nation would be adequately preserved for generations to come. In telling their stories, each of the authors has extensively relied upon primary sources and provided lengthy quotes from those sources in a successful effort to let the early movers and shakers in historical preservation efforts speak to us in their own words. The authors also provide a wealth of citations to a wide variety of secondary literature, both major monographic works and numerous essays and volumes which have been published by state and local societies over the last several decades. While we may agree with the authors who consistently lament "the scarcity of studies of the beginning of historical activities in the United States," (preface) this volume of essays serves, in fact, as a relatively complete and highly useful introduction to the literature that has been produced. Indeed, this reader might add further to the lament that good literature on the subject is difficult to find by noting that this particular volume of essays will itself be difficult to obtain since only 600 copies were produced.

If the essays comprising this volume each provide a welcome, detailed, chronicle of the state by state efforts to establish and maintain historical societies and collections, they provide less in the way of comparative analysis between the states and regions. Because the collection lacks an introductory synthesizing essay which posits a national and international historical and cultural framework for understanding local variations in collecting efforts, the reader is left with more tantalizing questions than satisfactory answers. For example, in his work on Virginia, Charles F. Bryan, Jr., explores the psychological effects of economic decline and out-migration from the Old Dominion in the pre-war decades as a catalyst for the founding of the Virginia Historical Society. This approach could be usefully applied to other states, such as Massachusetts, which also saw significant population decline during the same period. Similarly, the reader will sorely miss the lack of comparative analysis between collecting efforts in the Northern and Southern states, and how those efforts might have helped to strengthen each region's fabrication of its own unique historical myths. These myths, in turn, helped to legitimatize the regionally based political cultures which led to national disunion in 1861. Unfortunately, the same analytics do not apply to each essay and thus the reader is forced to draw his or her own conclusions as to the relationship between the various state and regional efforts.

Looking beyond the borders of the United States, readers conversant in European developments in the collecting and keeping of manuscripts and public records in this period might discern an "isolationist" tendency in these essays. There is a conspicuous absence of any Trans-Atlantic perspective in the consideration of state-level activities. One can not help but wonder if the French Revolution and Napoleanic era, with the accompanying flowering of the notion of public archives as a method for insuring accountability in government, could have so little impact on Jacksonian America, itself struggling to define the meaning and methods of democratic government. Again, one can not completely fault the authors for failing to provide a larger cultural context for each state's efforts in preserving, and therefore defining, its past — this was not their assignment. Yet, the reader should pay heed to the lack of depth in these pieces even as they enjoy the breadth of coverage in this collection.

In one final way, the readers of these enlightening essays should be forewarned. For those of us in the latter twentieth century who are too comfortable in our own belief that particular social institutions—museums, libraries, and archives—are the legitimate keepers of history, it is easy to bring a certain "presentiveness" to our reading of these essays. It is dangerously easy for us to decontextualize particular social institutions, such as those being considered in this volume, from the entire fabric of ante-bellum American culture and to feel, as we close the book on the last essay, that, given the almost universal difficulty of establishing and maintaining historical societies and collections, there was actually small progress made in the preservation and passing down of history during this period. Ante-bellum America was in fact a culture and country alive with a sense of its own history and an almost obsessive awareness of its ongoing role in making that history. Witness, for example, the ideologies of manifest destiny and young America—powerful mixtures of evangelical millenialism and democratic political thinking that legitimated national action in the name of historical necessity. The reader will find little discussion of the cultural-historical cacophony that was ante-bellum America and how it shaped the development of early historical societies in any of these essays. Yet, if we read the subtle clues we can see evidence of a robust and diverse set of cultural activities that were intimately engaged, and much more successful, in the process of transmitting culture.

Repeatedly in their essays, for example, the authors mention the importance that was attached by the founders of these early societies to the collection of a cabinet of specimens and curiosities, or to the hosting of a popular lecture series. For these early keepers of history, these activities were not intended merely to generate membership in, or financial support for, these struggling societies; they were themselves important ways to preserve and to transmit history. It is particularly unfortunate that the essayists spend so little time considering manuscript collecting efforts within the context of these other activities. The compelling historical research completed on the popular lecture and lyceum phenomenon demonstrates the importance of this highly vernacular, and much more popular, cultural form in defining and transmitting the young nation's sense of itself and its history. It seems as if the authors of these essays, finding it necessary to detect the historical antecedents of current institutions that keep history, have found it necessary to ignore the fuller palette of ante-bellum cultural forms that kept history, transmitted history, and, therefore, made history. This narrow focus is particularly disheartening given the fact that so much of the original evidence cited by many of the essayists suggests the value of a much broader consideration of the work carried out by these early historical societies.

Anyone with an interest in the development of our profession and our cultural institutions would be well served to have this invaluable collection of essays on their shelf. These same readers will be best served, however, if this volume finds a home with others that can supply the answers it can only raise.

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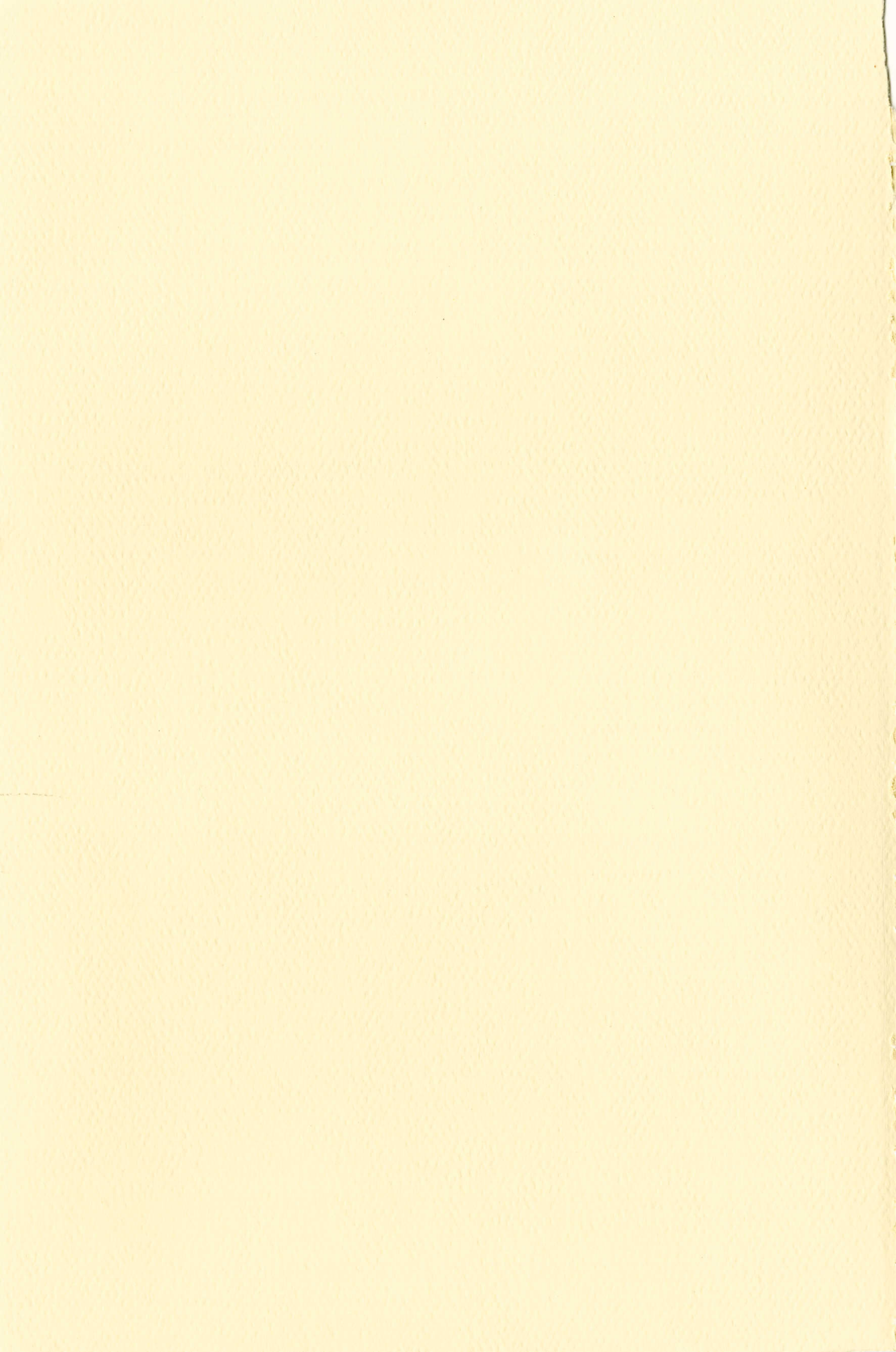

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