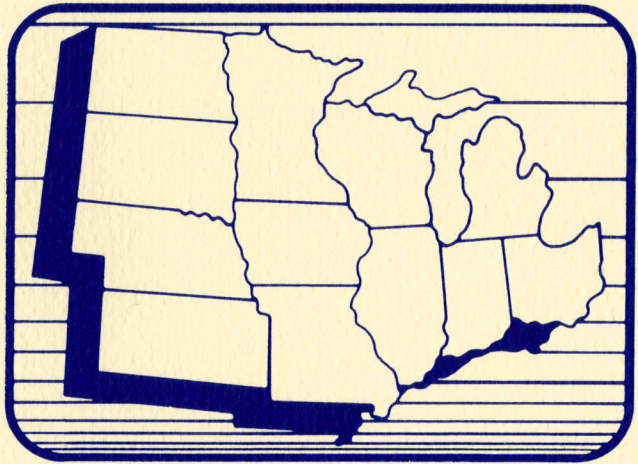


The Midwestern Archivist



Volume XIII, Number 2, 1988

MAC

MIDWEST ARCHIVES CONFERENCE

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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.

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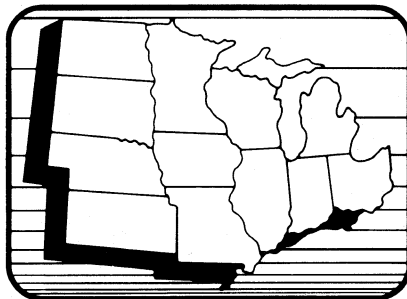
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THE FBI RECORDS APPRAISAL

JAMES GREGORY BRADSHER

ABSTRACT: The appraisal of the headquarters and field office records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation by the National Archives in 1981 was perhaps the most important and certainly the most extensive and expensive appraisal carried out by federal archivists. In this article the author discusses the FBI records appraised; the appraisal methodology, including sampling case files for appraisal; the decision-making process for retaining records; and the records to be retained. The author also provides the background to the appraisal, including the 1979 lawsuit that led to the appraisal, and the judicial process that took place during and subsequent to the appraisal

On 8 September 1986, Judge Harold H. Greene of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia issued an order lifting a ban he had imposed on 10 January 1980, prohibiting the destruction of Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) records. This order marked the culmination of civil action 79-1655 in his court.¹ It also marked the end of one of the most important, and certainly the most extensive, appraisals of public records ever undertaken. Former Archivist of the United States Robert M. Warner called it "the most expensive and elaborate appraisal project" in the history of the National Archives. F. Gerald Ham of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin characterized it as the "most important records appraisal ever undertaken in this country."²

The events leading up to the appraisal and the resulting appraisal report have been discussed in several forums, but nothing substantial has been published about the appraisal itself.³ This is because those most knowledgeable, the appraisers, were requested by their agency not to write anything about it until litigation was concluded. Now this article by one of the appraisers can discuss the records, the methodology, and the disposition decisions that were made.

There are four reasons why the appraisal of the FBI's records was so important and extensive. First was the nature and significance of the records. These records, according to Judge Greene, "perhaps more than those of any other agency, constitute a significant repository of the record of the recent history of this nation, and they represent the work product of an organization that has touched the lives of countless Americans."⁴ Second was the volume of records to be appraised, over 500,000 cubic feet in more than seventy locations. Third was the number of archivists involved. Seventeen archivists, the number normally assigned to appraise the records of the entire federal government, were assigned to the project.⁵ And fourth, and perhaps most important, was the appraisal methodology employed.

The National Archives undertook the exhaustive project because of a lawsuit initiated against the government in 1979 by eleven civil liberties, religious, peace, and historical organizations and forty individuals who believed that the FBI was destroying valuable records with the concurrence of the National Archives.⁶ Specifically, they believed that the National Archives had not previously appraised the FBI's records properly.⁷

Judge Greene concurred in this belief, observing that "the Archivist and those under his supervision have failed for a period of over thirty years adequately to carry out these statutory and regulatory responsibilities with respect to the records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation." On 10 January 1980, Greene issued a preliminary injunction prohibiting the FBI from destroying any records until the National Archives had appraised them fully and developed a new record disposition schedule.⁸

Shortly after Greene's injunction, the National Archives informed the FBI it intended to have nine archivists appraise the Bureau's records between 31 March and 22 August 1980.⁹ However, difficulties arose over access. Access to the records was required to appraise them fully. The FBI was not particularly eager to comply. For over five decades the records of the FBI had been closed to all outsiders, even to judicial and Department of Justice officials.¹⁰ Previous efforts by the National Archives to appraise the FBI records had not been as thorough as they might have been, due to the lack of access.¹¹ The Bureau did not want National Archives employees to have access to Internal Revenue Service taxpayer returns and grand jury and Title III (1968 Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act) wiretap materials contained in the FBI files, or to informant names.¹² Thus, the appraisal did not take place during 1980 as the two agencies sparred over access questions.¹³

While FBI officials had concerns about National Archives appraisers having total access to their records, they certainly welcomed an appraisal if it would result in their being allowed again to destroy large quantities of records without sufficient value to warrant retention. They did so for the same reasons other federal officials desire to rid themselves of temporary (nonpermanent) records: to save space, filing equipment, and time in finding records that are really needed.¹⁴

Believing the National Archives and the FBI were not moving expeditiously enough in resolving the access question the plaintiffs late in 1980 complained to the court. Greene held hearings early in January 1981 to determine what was delaying the appraisal and what could be done to speed up the process. As a result of the hearings, Greene ordered the FBI and National Archives to report to him regularly on their progress, since "close and constant supervision by the court is necessary because the agencies have not complied with an earlier order."¹⁵

Robert M. Warner, Archivist of the United States, realizing the archival and judicial importance of the pending appraisal, appointed James E. O'Neill, Assistant Archivist for Presidential Libraries, to direct the project. Warner agreed to O'Neill's request for whatever resources might be needed to meet Warner's goals of having an appraisal that would be as thorough and as free of criticism as possible.¹⁶ O'Neill named as his deputy project director Charles M. Dollar, then the director of the Technology Assessment Division.

On 5 February 1981, Dollar called Robert W. Scherrer, chief of the records section of the FBI's Records Management Division, to inform him that the Archivist desired a new plan for the disposition of the FBI headquarters and field records for submission to the judge, and asked to meet with him. When they met the next day Dollar informed Scherrer "that the Archivist considered that an impartial, professional NARS [National Archives and Records Service] appraisal of FBI records was one of the most important tasks ever undertaken by NARS, in that the credibility and authority of NARS were at stake." Scherrer informed Dollar that the FBI was "extremely desirous of assisting NARS in any way possible in their appraisal."¹⁷

O'Neill and Dollar had already, in late January, formed a small team of archivists to develop a method of appraising the millions of FBI case files.¹⁸ On February 5, this team visited the FBI to discuss the project. The team learned that the two major challenges of the appraisal project were the volume of records and their physical locations. FBI records were maintained in three types of offices: FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C., where policies and procedures are established and from which oversight is maintained over the operations of the Bureau; fifty-nine field offices which conduct the bulk of the FBI's investigative work; and liaison offices, termed legats, in a dozen embassies, including Paris, London, and Mexico City.¹⁹

In the Washington, D.C., headquarters there were over six million criminal, civil, security, applicant, and administrative case files dating back sixty years and nearly one hundred indexes to the files, including a general index consisting of 65 million 3" x 5" cards.²⁰ In the FBI field operations there were at least 5 million case files and over 100 million index cards. Altogether, there were over 500,000 cubic feet of records, 260,000 cubic feet of which were in the headquarters and the remainder in the field operations. For security reasons the volume of records maintained in the legats was kept to a minimum.²¹

The Bureau's current record-keeping system was created in October 1921. It is a classified filing system in which each classification (or category of records) relates to a specific violation of law or specific administrative activity. In 1981 there were 214 classifications.²² Under this system each case file carries a classification number plus a sequential number. For example, a kidnapping case file might carry the number 7-10, indicating it was the tenth case opened in classification 7-kidnapping. Each document in the case file has its own numerical designation, referred to as serials. Hence 7-10-8 would refer to the eighth document in the tenth kidnapping case. This process of serialization, providing a unique numeric identifier for each document, gives the Bureau control of its records at the item level. Bureau investigations involving more than one violation are normally classified under the more serious crime. If an individual had been involved in several violations over a period of time, separate case files would have been initiated for each violation. However, in security cases only one file is used for the individual or organization. When a case has been opened for an individual or organization under a particular security classification, all subsequent documentation relating to security matters is filed in that case, regardless of the nature of the investigation. Although most of the files maintenance procedures adopted in the Bureau headquarters are duplicated in field offices and overseas legats, some variations do exist. Because the files are num-

bered consecutively, the same case will not have the same number at headquarters and in the field offices.

Each classification begins with a zero (0) file and a double zero (00) file, which are used for documents relating to the individual classification but which do not warrant an individual file. Most 00 files include material relating to the administrative history of the classification and document why the classification was initiated, changes in legislation modifying the Bureau's investigative responsibilities, investigative policy, unique investigative procedures, and jurisdictional disputes between the Bureau and other federal agencies. Before the 00 files were established, 0 files were sometimes used for policy documentation relating to the classification. But for the most part the 0 files now consist of citizen complaints, routine requests for information, general reference material, and newspaper clippings. In 1977, the FBI began using the 0 files for one-serial (single document) cases that would previously have been separate case files.

Within each classification the individual case files follow the 0 and 00 files. The number of case files in each classification ranges from less than one hundred to hundreds of thousands. For example, among the larger classifications at FBI headquarters in 1981 were classifications 100 (Domestic Security) and 105 (Foreign Counterintelligence), together consisting of over 800,000 case files (13,000 cubic feet). The case files contain a variety of documentation, including FBI agent reports; teletype messages; prosecutive summaries; accounts of interviews and physical surveillance; letters; memorandums; lab reports; informant reports; photographs; newspaper clippings and other public record material; and logs, transcripts, and summaries of electronic surveillance.²³

Although most records are maintained in central file rooms in headquarters and in the field offices, some are kept separately from the related case file or as a separate series outside the main file room. The latter include records in special file rooms, electronic surveillance (ELSUR) materials, personnel and budget records, FBI National Academy records, public inquiries, automated and audiovisual materials, and sensitive and confidential materials maintained under the personal control of the special agents in charge (SACs) of the field offices.

At the outset O'Neill and Dollar realized that National Archives appraisers could not review all of the millions of case files in the central records system, nor could they appraise the FBI's records in the traditional manner. They could not just look at the first, last, and various randomly selected case files and form an initial opinion about the value of each series (classification) of case files because each series of case files contained a broad mixture of individual case files of varying values. The National Archives had to develop a new methodology to sample files for evaluation from each classification in order to make judgments as to their values.

In February 1981, Dollar and his small working group decided that the National Archives had to approach the records systematically and "scientifically," if logistical, judicial, and political problems were to be overcome. Otherwise the National Archives could not identify the specific case files that needed to be retained. Moreover, the plaintiffs would argue that the National Archives had not properly identified records warranting continued preservation—not only for historical reasons, but also to protect the legal rights of those who may have been harmed by some FBI action. The critical problem for the National Archives was to devise a selection process that could accurately identi-

fy a relatively small sample of case files that was representative of the FBI central records system. Accurate representation of the total number of records in the sample was important since the sample would be used to identify aggregate characteristics useful in developing a records retention plan for each classification.

The National Archives used the sampling methodology developed by Michael Hindus to appraise Massachusetts court files as a model.²⁴ In 1978 a team of appraisers headed by Hindus appraised 35,000 cubic feet of Massachusetts Superior Court files dating from 1859 to 1959. The Hindus team examined 3,400 files of the 2.7 million case files and developed an appraisal plan based on their findings. The success of this project suggested that statistical sampling could be used to appraise the much more voluminous case files of the FBI.

By the first week of March, Dollar's team developed a methodology to appraise the FBI's records that involved systematic sampling to identify case files to be inspected. The archivists would examine the selected files and record their characteristics on a data collection sheet. The sheet asked approximately seventy-five questions about a file and its contents, such as the size and date span of the file, the types of documents in the file, the origins and results of the case, the subject of the case, and the presence of data on the use of informants, electronic surveillance, mail intercepts, or other sensitive investigative techniques. It also provided space for general comments that would later be used during the development of appraisal recommendations. A statistical profile of each classification would be developed from these sheets to aid in making appraisal recommendations.²⁵

When the methodology for the appraisal was adopted and an agreement on access was reached with the FBI, O'Neill selected sixteen archivists to undertake the appraisal based upon their education, appraisal experience, knowledge of investigative records, and possession of a top secret security clearance.²⁶

Before they got underway, the appraisal task force was briefed on the FBI records, filing systems and procedures, and security matters by Robert W. Scherrer, section chief of the FBI's Records Systems Section; Thomas B. Dudney, supervisor of the FBI's Records Research Staff; and Clara Glock, the Bureau's specialist on archival matters.²⁷ Understanding the records and filing systems was difficult. David J. Garrow, who made extensive use of the FBI's files for his book about the Bureau's dealings with Martin Luther King, Jr., concluded that "understanding the FBI's extensive and complicated filing system is no easy task. Quite probably no one outside the Bureau fully grasps its intricacies."²⁸

Not only was the filing system a challenge to understand, but so were the contents of the files. On the surface they appeared straightforward. In actuality, they were not so easy to comprehend. "Learning to find one's way through FBI files," according to one researcher, "is no easy chore."²⁹ A Department of Justice senior attorney in the mid-1970s investigating illegal break-ins reported that his staff had been on the case more than a year and "they still didn't know how to read an FBI file."³⁰ Most files contained dozens of abbreviations.³¹ And many files contained euphemisms, such as the use of the terms "special techniques" or "sensitive investigative techniques" when agents reported break-ins.³²

Because of the importance of protecting the legal rights of citizens, the task force met several times before the appraisal began with Department of Justice attorneys experienced in legal rights issues to discuss the legal rights implications of the records to be appraised. The task force wanted to ensure either the permanent retention of, or the establishment of lengthy disposal dates for, those records that protected the legal rights of citizens, including records relating to alleged victims of improper FBI actions who claimed or might claim they had suffered legal wrongs.³³

The appraisal team read all the policy files in the 00 files on each type of investigative activity, i.e., series or classification, before appraising the records. Using these files, the task force produced a synopsis, which provided a historical statement for each classification for use during the appraisal process.

The actual systematic appraisal, i.e., selecting and reviewing files, began late in March 1981. At the end of each day the task force produced a computer printout of the file numbers of cases in the classifications that they would appraise the next day. Each morning the printout was used by an appraiser, accompanied by an FBI clerk, to pull the case files to be reviewed. Thus the Bureau had no advance knowledge of which files would be examined. This procedure was followed both in headquarters and in the field.

Once the files were pulled, FBI staff, in the presence of task force members, masked information that the latter were not allowed to see. This included grand jury testimony, Internal Revenue Service taxpayer information, Title III wiretap material, and the names of FBI informants. Generally such material occurred in large blocks, and was covered with an envelope. The FBI personnel noted the type of record being covered on the outside of the envelope and both FBI and task force members initialed the envelope. Only the names of FBI informants were covered with small pieces of masking tape. The symbol numbers assigned informants, the information provided by informants, and, generally, biographical information about the informants were not covered.

Then the case files were ready to be reviewed. To prevent one person's judgment from having a preponderance of weight several appraisers reviewed different case files in the same classification. This assured that each classification of records would receive an unbiased evaluation.

The review of the case files, almost 20,000 in all, began with each appraiser reading the classification synopsis that provided the general background about why certain investigations were undertaken and the FBI's policies and procedures relating to the investigations. Then the appraiser evaluated each case file and completed a data collection sheet.³⁴

The most important piece of information on the data collection sheet was the reviewer's rating of the case file. The rating scale included no, low, medium, or high research potential. These four ratings were carefully defined so that the aggregate data could be standardized and comparable. A "high rating" was defined as evidence or information that was unique and of such substantive detail and richness that the case file could stand alone as a primary historical source. A "medium rating" was defined as evidence or information that was sufficiently rich that the case file significantly complemented other historical sources. A "low rating" was defined as evidence or information so lacking in detail and richness that it was only a modest supplement to other historical sources and the case file had significance only in the context of other case files

in the same classification. A rating of "none" was defined as evidence or information so ordinary and routine that the case file had no significance as a historical source even in the context of other case files in the same classification.³⁵ After the selected case files in a classification were reviewed, the appraisers wrote up their general impressions about the classification. These would later be used in the appraisal process as well as in drafting the appraisal report.

By mid-May 1981, the review of 5,832 headquarters case files was completed. Of these 4,165, or 71 percent, were identified as having no research potential. Of the 29 percent with research potential 1,328 were rated low (22 percent), 301 were rated medium (5 percent) and only 38 were rated high (less than 1 percent). These low percentages reflect the fact that much of the FBI's work is routine.³⁶ The files, the task force found, were not bulging "dossiers" as many people believed. Most case files (73 percent) were one-quarter of an inch or less thick.³⁷

Before beginning its review of field office files, the task force reviewed 267 Mexico City and Hong Kong legal attache files at headquarters. For security reasons FBI files accumulated in the legal attaches are only maintained abroad for a year before being retired to headquarters. Since the legal attaches simply provided information to the FBI office, either headquarters or field office, conducting an investigation, their files were found to have almost no research potential, especially when compared to the files of the office conducting the investigation, or in Bureau terms, the "office of origin."

It was impossible to visit all fifty-nine field offices. The task force decided to review files in the three largest offices, Washington, D. C., New York, and Los Angeles, and four representative offices, Chicago, Atlanta, Miami, and Dallas. The three largest offices were selected for their size, their geographic distribution, and because they were also major centers for many of the FBI's most sensitive and important investigative programs. The other four offices were selected because they tended to demonstrate the varied investigative emphases in different regions of the nation.³⁸

The task force began its review with the Washington field office (WFO) case files. In pulling files for review, it was learned that in many classifications the pre-1968 case files had been destroyed under National Archives schedules as no longer having an administrative value to the Bureau.³⁹ Therefore, the computer-generated sample had to be discarded. Because FBI statistics on the number of case files in each classification in each field office only identified the number of the last case opened and the last case file destroyed, the only ways to identify the amount of destruction were to physically check the storage area to determine numerical gaps or to review the destruction list for each classification. Both steps were taken and a new sample with a random start was generated for each classification in which substantial destruction had occurred. Sampling could begin only where there was a substantial number of extant case files (otherwise referred to as a run), since a sample would omit those case files preceding the run. So the task force decided to pull an "extra sample" of three case files (at the beginning, middle, and end) from extant case files preceding the run. Because many of these case files tended to be multi-section, and because older, multi-sectioned field office case files were found to have some research potential, they were not incorporated into the field office data base in

order to avoid distortions of the statistical profiles. Instead, the "extra sample" constituted a separate data base.

Altogether 2,452 cases were reviewed in the statistical sample of the Washington field office. This was supplemented by 111 "extras" (case files selected from the period of extensive destruction), and 37 "specials" (comparisons of headquarters and field office case files for the same investigation). The latter was done to test the hypothesis that headquarters files tended to have greater value than their field counterparts, in part because the headquarters version of the case contained or captured the important documentation from each field office participating in an investigation. The question of field files, it should be noted, had played the critical role in the plaintiffs' arguments to the court. They charged that the National Archives had authorized the destruction of the field files without thoroughly evaluating their value, and had simply accepted representations by the FBI that all pertinent information in the headquarters file was duplicated in the field file. Therefore, great attention was given to the review of the field files.

At the Washington field office the task force also examined the 0 file for fifty-six classifications, the electronic surveillance indices and tapes, and various files in classifications 62 (Administrative Inquiries) and 66 (Administrative Matters.).⁴⁰ During the headquarters review they found that these two administrative classifications did not lend themselves to the sampling methodology because of their heterogeneous nature. Nevertheless, they examined them and made notes about their value, so that when appraisal recommendations were developed for the administrative classifications based on a file-by-file appraisal judgement, the appraisers would have a general idea of their contents.

Next, teams of ten task force members each visited the New York and Los Angeles field offices, while teams of five task force members visited the Dallas, Miami, Chicago, and Atlanta field offices. At each office they examined various records in addition to the files in the samples. These generally included the special agent in charge's (SAC) safe, all special indices, the extant personal and confidential files, bulky exhibits (i.e., things too large to be maintained in with the case files), the main index to the central records system, and electronic surveillance indices and tapes. They also reviewed numerous 0 and 00 files, "control files," and files in classifications 62, 66, and 80 (latter classification dealing with the SAC's "contacts").⁴¹ The Los Angeles field office's holdings relating to Japanese-Americans and Japanese nationals in the U.S. during World War II, the Dallas field office's holdings relating to the Kennedy assassination, and the New York field office's machine-readable racketeer profile were examined. When time permitted, task force members visited resident agencies (suboffices of field offices) to see how they operated and to what extent they maintained records.⁴²

In the seven field offices task force members reviewed about 11,000 case files, including those in the basic sample, extras, and specials. Three-fourths of the field office case files were rated as having no research potential. That as many as one-fourth did have some research potential was, in part, because the files remaining before 1970 had been deliberately retained because of their continuing importance.⁴³

Besides the review of case files identified by sampling, the task force also reviewed multi-sectioned case files to test the "fat file" hypothesis put forth in

the Massachusetts Superior Court cases appraisal. This hypothesis suggested that the likelihood of case files having archival value increased with their size.⁴⁴ To test it, some task force members reviewed three multi-sectioned files in 92 classifications at headquarters. Over 70 percent of the 276 multi-sectioned case files in this special sample were found to have some research value. Of the 653 multi-sectioned case files reviewed as part of the regular sampling, over 80 percent were found to have research potential. The task force concluded that in most classifications case files having two or more sections should be retained permanently.⁴⁵

When the review process was completed the task force began a month-long process of evaluating the material it had accumulated and making appraisal recommendations. For each of about two hundred classifications a task force member reviewed the administrative history, comments, data collection sheets, and statistical profiles (over seven thousand pages of cross-tabulations with indications between different variables, such as size and research potential), and then drafted an appraisal recommendation. The recommendation included an analysis of the classification and a proposed disposition for all of the record categories within it. That included headquarters and field office files—their correlates (headquarters/field office versions of cases) when applicable, “fat files” (i.e., multi-sectioned), and samples.

After each appraisal package had been reviewed by the other task force members, the preparer presented an oral analysis of the classification and the proposed disposition recommendation. The task force members deliberated and then voted on each type of record in a classification, with the majority holding sway.⁴⁶ The task force agreed that all headquarters 00 files would be retained to document policies and procedures. Although the headquarters 0 files frequently contained only public correspondence and “nut mail,” the task force found that these files sometimes contained substantive material, and thus, in some classifications the 0 files were recommended for permanent retention as well.

The next decision was whether to keep all case files in a particular classification. All case files in fifty-one headquarters classifications were recommended for permanent retention.⁴⁷ In those classifications where all case files were not going to be retained, various disposition recommendations were made for the specific case files to be retained. In some instances the task force recommended retaining multi-sectioned cases, case files with a specific number of serials (individual documents), case files containing certain information (such as cases with an institution or organization as the subject of the case) or resulting in certain actions (e.g., prosecution), and case files for certain time periods (e.g., all pre-1940 case files).⁴⁸ These recommendations were made for headquarters as well as the field files. In some classifications, it was decided that both the headquarters and field office version of a case (or correlates) would be retained.

In about half of the headquarters classifications the task force recommended retaining case files based on one of two sampling plans, often in conjunction with other retention criteria. These were small systematic evidential samples to illustrate the nature of the Bureau's investigations in the classifications and larger systematic informational samples to capture an aggregate of information useful for sociologists, criminologists, and social historians who employ statistical techniques to discern significant patterns in the activities of the publics they are studying.⁴⁹ The size of the sample depended upon the

research potential and the volume of records in the classification. The sampling will result in 99,000 headquarters and 37,500 field case files being retained permanently, or about 10 percent of the total number of case files being retained.⁵⁰

The recommendations were often quite complex. For example, in classification 100 (Domestic Security), where there were 487,113 case files in 1981 at headquarters, multi-sectioned cases were to be retained as well as all cases with eighteen or more serials, all informant cases, all cases with an institution or organization as subject, and a systematic informational sample of 2,500 case files per decade beginning in 1939.

In a few classifications it was decided that there were not enough case files to make an informed appraisal judgment. In such instances the task force recommended that the classification (or part of it) not be authorized for any disposition until such time as enough case files had accumulated. Nor was disposition recommended for several administrative classifications that were too heterogeneous for anything other than a file-by-file appraisal.

After the task force agreed upon its recommendations, preparers of the appraisal packages revised their analyses and disposition recommendations to conform with the group discussions and votes. This material was forwarded to O'Neill for approval, which he gave with very few exceptions.

To ensure that valuable case files would not be destroyed if the appraisal recommendations for individual classifications failed to capture them, two "safety nets" were adopted to identify such files for retention. The first was a set of over a dozen specific criteria to identify case files for retention regardless of their not being identified by the general retention recommendations.⁵¹ Examples of these criteria are cases mentioned in Bureau annual reports, cases mentioned in FBI testimony before or submitted in evidence to a committee of Congress, cases involving organizations named in the attorney general's list of subversive organizations, and cases accepted by the Supreme Court that involved FBI investigative activities.⁵²

The second safety net was developed early in the project to address the concern that disposition decisions based on a sampling technique might miss some important events, organizations, and persons. Thus, five hundred letters were sent out to university and college history departments, presidents of every major historical organization, and many individual scholars and journalists, soliciting suggestions for the names of persons, organizations, and events the FBI might have investigated, that the respondents believed were important enough to warrant retention if any case files had been created. Approximately two hundred responses were received. In addition, task force members and National Archives staff submitted lists of names. After the duplicates were removed, some three thousand names remained. These names were checked in the FBI indexes to determine whether a case had been opened on the named individual or subject. In most instances they were, and 9,300 case files were identified as "named exceptional cases." Later, to test the appraisal recommendations, a sample of these cases was selected and the case file numbers were checked against the files recommended for retention. The review showed that in most instances, the case file would have been saved using only the general retention criteria. This is because most of the named exceptional cases were found in the security and criminal classifications, where most case files were recommended for retention.⁵³

In all, over 300,000 cubic feet of case files were appraised. The task force recommended retaining at least 50,000 cubic feet, with over half to come from the field offices.⁵⁴ Looking at it another way, of the 11 million case files appraised, at an absolute minimum 800,000 headquarters and 350,000 field office case files were to be retained. Many records not contained in the FBI's central file system were also recommended for permanent retention.⁵⁵

The task force consulted with three groups when finalizing the disposition recommendations: a five-member subcommittee of the National Archives Advisory Committee; seven academics and a journalist who had special knowledge of the FBI, the Bureau's records, or fields in which the Bureau was active; and ten senior National Archives archivists. Each group of consultants was briefed about the project, its background, methodology, relevant legal issues, and specific findings and recommendations.⁵⁶ Similar presentations were made to three members of the National Archives Advisory Council and Michael Hindus, director of the Massachusetts Superior Court appraisal project. All of these individuals were given an opportunity to express their concerns and desires and to suggest changes to the proposed retention and disposal recommendations. Some of these suggestions were subsequently incorporated in the final report.⁵⁷

During the latter part of October and the beginning of November 1981, the task force prepared its report to the court. This included a records disposition schedule; chapters on various FBI files, such as J. Edgar Hoover's "personal" and "official and confidential" files; implementation instructions for the schedule; and an explanation of the appraisal's methodology, procedures, and results.

The first week of November the task force addressed the issue of when permanent case files would be transferred to the National Archives. The FBI, concerned about protecting national security, informants, and privacy, desired long periods of time between the closing of a case and its transfer to the National Archives. An agreement was reached whereby the case files to be retained in seventeen obsolete classifications and several selected case files would be transferred when the litigation involving the appraisal was concluded; permanent case files in six classifications would be transferred when they were thirty years old; and those in most other classifications would be transferred when they were fifty years old.⁵⁸

On November 9, the date established by the court for delivering the report to the court, the task force and many of the National Archives staff members who had helped on the project met with the Archivist, who praised their effort and signed the appraisal report. The two-volume, 1,400-page report was then delivered to Judge Greene.⁵⁹

As expected, initial responses to the appraisal results were mixed. Marshall Perlin, attorney for the plaintiffs, told the Society of American Archivists' *Newsletter* editor that "NARS had labored mightily and hard and came forth with a mouse—a large mouse." F. Gerald Ham, of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, reviewing the retention plan, wrote that "the task force has given archivists an important appraisal methodology for the selective retention of voluminous records." History professor Athan Theoharis, who had written extensively about the FBI and its files, wrote that with few exceptions "the National Archives' proposed FBI records retention plan reflects the high quality

of the Archives' professionalism" and that the plan "can serve as a model for future records retention plans."⁶⁰

It was assumed that Judge Greene would act expeditiously on the case because of the public interest in it. However, he had more pressing business, playing a pivotal role in the breakup of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.⁶¹ So, a five-year judicial process began during which time the two parties produced reams of paper attacking and defending the appraisal report.⁶² When the judge eventually reviewed the report late in 1985, he found that the National Archives had carried out its responsibility and, with a few minor exceptions, agreed with the appraisal recommendations.⁶³ During the summer of 1986, the National Archives reluctantly agreed to change a few of its recommendations so the judge would approve the plan, thereby lifting his injunction and allowing the FBI to destroy eligible records.⁶⁴ Once the National Archives modified its appraisal plan on 1 July 1986, and the plaintiffs were given a final opportunity to express their views on the revised recommendations, Judge Greene approved the plan on 8 September 1986.⁶⁵

Leonard Rapport has observed that when appraising records there is "one immutable law: there are no perfect appraisals and the best appraisal is the one that does the least harm."⁶⁶ The 1981 appraisal of the FBI's records meets Rapport's definition. Undoubtedly some people will maintain that valuable files will be destroyed as a result of the appraisal. And indeed that may happen, though the chances are small. What will be destroyed are those records that lack sufficient values for the taxpayer to bear the burden of indefinite preservation. Some of these files may be of interest to someone, for "any scholar with a little intellectual ingenuity can find a plausible justification for keeping almost every record that was ever produced."⁶⁷ There are also those who believe that in an attempt to ensure that no valuable records will be destroyed, too many files with insufficient values will be retained permanently. In any event, the National Archives, with the help of the FBI, produced, in the words of Judge Greene, "a reasonable plan which will permit researchers and others to attain access to those FBI records which may be of historical and other legitimate interest."⁶⁸

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NOTES

1. *American Friends Service Committee v. Webster* (D.D.C.).
2. Robert M. Warner, "The National Archives: A Memoir, 1980-1985," *Guardian of Heritage: Essays on the History of the National Archives*, ed. Timothy Walch (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1985), 84; "FBI Appraisal Submitted," *SAA Newsletter* (January 1982): 2.
3. Review of the appraisal report by F. Gerald Ham, *American Archivist* 45 (Fall 1982): 475-77. James E. O'Neill, "FBI Appraisal," *Organization of American Historians Newsletter* 9 (October 1981): 19-20; Athan G. Theoharis, "The National Archives and FBI Records," *Government Publications Review* 10 (1983): 251-55; Susan D. Steinwall, "Appraisal and the FBI Files Case: For Whom Do Archivists Retain Records?" *American Archivist* 49 (Winter 1986): 52-63; John Anthony Scott, "The FBI Files: A Challenge for Historians," *American Historical Association Newsletter* 18 (March 1980): 1-2.
4. *American Friends Service Committee v. Webster*, 485 F. Supp. 222 (D.D.C. 1980).
5. "FBI Field Files: NARS Appraises a Mountain," *SAA Newsletter* (May 1981): 4. For background information on appraisal in the National Archives see these articles by James Gregory Bradsher: "An Administrative History of the Disposal of Federal Records, 1789-1949," *Providence: Journal of the Society of Georgia Archivists* 3 (Fall 1985): 1-21; "An Administrative History of the Disposal of Federal Records, 1950-1985," *ibid.* 4 (Fall 1986): 49-73; "When One Percent Means a Lot: The Percentage of Permanent Records in the National Archives," *Organization of American Historians Newsletter* 13 (May 1985): 20-21; "Archivists, Historians, and Records Disposition," *The Federalist: Newsletter of the Society for History in the Federal Government* 2 (Spring 1981): 5-6, 8.
6. Among the plaintiffs were the American Friends Service Committee, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, American Indian Movement, Victor Navasky, Paul Robeson, Jr., Morton Sobell, Robert and Michael Meeropol, William Appleman Williams, Angela Davis, Frank J. Donner, and Harry Bridges.
7. For background on the case see Steinwall, "Appraisal and the FBI Files Case," 52-63; Scott, "The FBI Files," 1-2; Opinion, 30 September 1983, *American Friends Service Committee v. Webster* (U.S. Court of Appeals for District of Columbia Circuit), 1-96.
8. Opinion, 10 January 1980, *American Friends Service Committee v. Webster* (D.D.C.), 8; Order, 10 January 1980, *ibid.*, 1; "Court Rules in FBI Case," *SAA Newsletter* (March 1980): 4; Kenneth Bredemeier, "Judge Blocks FBI From Destroying 30 Years of Documents in Archives," *Washington Post*, 11 January 1980, A13.
9. W.L. Bailey to Mr. Boynton, 20 March 1980, FBI File 66-3286-1346.
10. For the difficulties Congress and the General Accounting Office had during the mid-1970s to gain access to the FBI records, see *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives on FBI Oversight, Preliminary and Final Report by the GAO on FBI Domestic Intelligence Operations*, 94th Cong., 1st and 2nd sess., 24 September 1975 and 24 February 1976, 240-48.
11. James B. Rhoads to James Gregory Bradsher, 1 July 1986, copy of letter in possession of author; Opinion, 10 January 1980, *American Friends Service Committee v. Webster* (D.D.C.), 9-10.
12. William L. Bailey to T.W. Wadlow, 9 April 1980, FBI File 66-19087-159; Affidavit, Robert W. Scherrer, 23 March 1981, *American Friends Service Committee v. Webster* (D.D.C.), 2-4.
13. James E. O'Neill to William L. Bailey, 23 June 1980, FBI File 66-19087-160; "FBI Field Files: NARS Appraises a Mountain," *SAA Newsletter* (May 1981): 4.
14. Many people believed the only reason the FBI wanted to get rid of records was so it would not have to respond to Freedom of Information Act and Privacy Act requests. Scott, "The FBI Files," 1-2; testimony by Harold Fruchtbaum, 16 July 1981, before the House Subcommittee on Government Information and Individual Rights and reprinted in "Historians Defend FOIA," *Organization of American Historians Newsletter* 9 (October 1981): 3, 13-14. Although believing this may have played some part in the FBI's records disposition program, Judge Greene did not accept this belief as a compelling argument for retaining all records. Opinion, 10 January 1980, *American Friends Service Committee v. Webster* (D.D.C.), 18.
15. "FBI Field Files," 4.
16. Interview with Robert M. Warner, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 5 August 1986.
17. R.W. Scherrer to Mr. Finzel, 10 February 1981, FBI File 66-19249-2.

18. This team, led by Charles Dollar, consisted of Bruce Ambacher, Sharon Gibbs, Henry Wolfinger, Trudy Peterson, and Susan Falb.
19. For general information about the FBI see Steven A. Stinson, "The Federal Bureau of Investigation: Its History, Organization, Functions and Publications," *Government Publications Review* 6 (1979):213-39; Sanford J. Ungar, *FBI* (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1976).
20. Two types of entries are prepared for the general index. "Main cards" are prepared for individuals, organizations and general subjects that are the primary focus of an investigation, while cross reference or "see" cards are prepared for secondary subjects. For more information on the general and special indexes see Ann Mari Buitrago and Leon Andrew Immerman, *Are You Now or Have You Ever Been in the FBI Files: How to Secure and Interpret Your FBI Files* (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1981), 11-13; National Archives and Records Service, "Appraisal of the Records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation: A Report to Hon. Harold H. Greene, United States District Court for the District of Columbia, submitted by the National Archives and Records Service and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, November 9, 1981, Amended, January 8, 1982," vol. 2, Appendix A. Hereafter cited as NARS, "FBI Appraisal Report". The FBI, beginning in 1921, also prepared abstracts or summaries of individual documents. Each abstract was made in duplicate on 3" x 5" slips. One set was arranged alphabetically by the source or originator of the document (field office, federal agency, or private individual), while a second set was arranged by file number. A third set of abstract slips was prepared for foreign material relating to the Bureau's Special Intelligence Program (SIS) during the 1940-48 period. Adoption of the Automation of Incoming Mail Serialization (AIMS) system in 1976 eliminated the need for abstracting, although the practice was not stopped completely until 1979. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 2-2.
21. Legats generally maintain case files on hand for a year before they are forwarded to headquarters for safekeeping and eventual disposition. Ungar, *FBI*, 239.
22. Classification of investigations is idiosyncratic, in both the field office and headquarters, so that the same cases may be in different classifications in the field office and headquarters. For discussions on the FBI filing systems see NARS, "FBI Appraisal Report," vol. 1, pp. 2-1 to 2-9; Buitrago and Immerman, *Are You Now or Have You Ever Been in the FBI Files*, 1-32.
23. For information on file contents see Buitrago and Immerman, *Are You Now or Have You Ever Been in the FBI Files*, 103-58.
24. Michael Stephen Hindus, Theodore M. Hammett, and Barbara M. Hobson, *The Files of the Massachusetts Superior Court, 1859-1959: An Analysis and A Plan for Action; A Report of the Massachusetts Judicial Records Committee of the Supreme Court, Boston, 1979* (Boston: G.K. Hall and Company, 1980). Hereafter cited as Hindus, *Report*.
25. For more detailed information about the methodology employed, see NARS, "FBI Appraisal Report," vol. 1, pp. 3-1, 3-4 to 3-8.
26. Charles Dollar served as task force deputy. The other task force members were Bruce Ambacher, Ed Barresse, Greg Bradsher, George Chalou, Gerry Haines, Sue Falb, Sharon Gibbs, Mike Goldman, Don Harrison, Edie Hedlin, Mike McReynolds, Jerry Nashorn, Tim Nenninger, Trudy Peterson, and Henry Wolfinger.
27. Dudley and Glock started their FBI careers in records management in 1954 and 1951 respectively. Scherrer began his career with the Bureau in 1953 as a file clerk. After obtaining a law degree he became a special agent. In 1980 he assumed his records management position.
28. *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.: From 'Solo' to Memphis* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1981), 10.
29. Anthony Marro, "FBI Break-in Policy," in Athan G. Theoharis, ed., *Beyond the Hiss Case: The FBI, Congress, and the Cold War* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), 84.
30. *Ibid.*, 84.
31. Abbreviations discussed in Buitrago and Immerman, *Are You Now or Have You Ever Been in the FBI Files*, 159-215.
32. For discussions of FBI euphemisms, see James Gregory Bradsher, "Researchers, Archivists, and the Access Challenge of the FBI Records in the National Archives," *Midwestern Archivist* 11 (1986): 103-4.
33. For information about the legal rights problems see NARS, "FBI Appraisal Report," vol. 1, pp. 3-2 to 3-3.
34. While the front page of the sheet was the same for all cases, the back page was designed in four versions to accommodate the different types of FBI cases in the central records system: administrative, applicant, criminal, and security.

35. NARS, "FBI Appraisal Report," vol. 1, p. 3-8.
36. There is a real myth about the activities of the FBI. Although some of its work is of the "glamorous" nature, much of it involves investigations of routine crimes, e.g., stolen cars, theft of government property, and false entries in records of interstate carriers. For an interesting account explaining how the myth was developed and nurtured, see Richard Gid Powers, *G-Men: Hoover's FBI in American Popular Culture* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983).
37. NARS, "FBI Appraisal Report," vol. 1, p. 4-21. Table 4-11.
38. NARS, "FBI Appraisal Report," vol. 1, p. 3-7.
39. Although there were at least twenty-five million FBI case files created, including over eighteen million in the field offices, there were probably fewer than twelve million case files existing in 1981. It would appear, based on the data contained in volume 2 of the "FBI Appraisal Report," that at least half and possibly as many as 75 percent of the field files had been destroyed. A five million figure, cited in the May 1981 *SAA Newsletter*, is probably very close to the number of field files existing at that time; "FBI Field Files," 4. For a brief discussion of the FBI's records disposition program before 1981 see NARS, "FBI Appraisal Report," vol. 1, pp. 2-7 to 2-9.
40. These two classifications were established in 1921 as repositories for miscellaneous administrative files. The documentation is voluminous and varied, and thus the classifications are very heterogeneous in topics and significance.
41. The FBI establishes control files as another means of maintaining control of information and activities on specific subjects. They usually are set up in connection with various investigative activities such as gambling investigations, organized crime programs, political organizations under investigation, protection of the President, and any other topic needing control between the individual case files. Such control files often contain lists of other files, names of organizations, and correspondence files on a specific case that has drawn public attention.
42. There are about five hundred resident agencies. They do not normally maintain case files, but only serials relating to current cases.
43. NARS, "FBI Appraisal Report," vol. 1, pp. 4-6; 4-17, Table 4-6.
44. Hindus, Report, 62, 70-71, 80-81; NARS, "FBI Appraisal Report," vol. 1, pp. 3-9, 4-7.
45. NARS, "FBI Appraisal Report, vol. 1, pp. 4-7, 4-21.
46. Fourteen staff members voted on each appraisal recommendation. O'Neill and Dollar did not participate in the voting, and one task force member had left the project before the voting began.
47. In twenty-nine of the fifty-one classifications there were fewer than 1,000 case files. In sixteen there were between 1,000 and 10,000 case files, and in six, there were more than 10,000 case files.
48. In most instances when multi-sectioned cases were recommended for retention, the number of sections was defined as two sections (folders). In several instances, however, such as classifications 26 (Interstate Transportation of Stolen Motor Vehicles) and 91 (Bank Robbery), it took four or more sections to make a headquarters case permanent. With respect to the number of serials it took to make a headquarters case permanent, the range is between six and thirty. Some examples are six in classification 65 (Espionage); eight in classification 175 (Assaulting the President); and twenty in classification 200 (Foreign counterintelligence-[rest of series title classified]).
49. For a discussion of the evidential and informational samples see NARS, "FBI Appraisal Report," vol. 1, pp. 4-8 to 4-9, 5-1.
50. National Archives and Records Administration, "Final Plan for the Records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, July 1, 1986," pp. 297-300.
51. Initially the task force prepared a list of forty-five criteria to capture "unnamed exceptional cases." That list was reduced to criteria that were quite specific, ones that an FBI employee could implement without exercising judgment. The court had criticized the criteria the National Archives had developed in 1977 for permanent retention as "excessively and unnecessarily vague." *American Friends Service Committee v. Webster*, 485 F.Supp. 231 (D.D.C. 1980). Subsequently, a three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit ruled that although there were some problems with the 1977 FBI headquarters schedule, "we do not find the schedule's criteria to be so vague as to be 'arbitrary and capricious.' The criteria provide sensible guidance to agency personnel who are supposed to be sensitive to archival and historical values." Opinion, 30 September 1983, *American Friends Service Committee v. Webster* (D.C. Cir.), 75.

52. The other specific criteria included: Bureau specials, major cases, Bureau-identified test cases and field office designated historical files; all control files other than 0 files; code name or code word captioned cases; all cases retained in whole in the headquarters special file room; all cases in headquarters that have one or more files of clippings; the main file of the ten most wanted criminals; subjects (principals) of FBI electronic surveillance as identified in ELSUR index; all files in headquarters containing twenty or more sections; in the "office of origin," all files containing thirty-five or more sections and their headquarters correlates; and in auxiliary offices, all files containing fifty or more sections and their correlates in the "office of origin" and headquarters. NARS, "FBI Appraisal Report," vol. 1, pp. 5-3 to 5-4.
53. NARS, "FBI Appraisal Report," vol. 1, p. 3-2; vol. 2, Appendix D.
54. NARS, "FBI Appraisal Report," vol. 1, p. 4-9. Besides the 300,000 cubic feet of case files, over 200,000 cubic feet of other records were appraised.
55. NARS, "FBI Appraisal Report," vol. 2, Appendix A. In August the task force reviewed headquarters personnel, budget, machine-readable, and nontextual records.
56. One group of consultants was taken over to the FBI building and given the opportunity, with the permission of the attorney general, of looking at eleven FBI case files. With the exception of security classified material, they saw the same material reviewed by the task force. They also observed how a data collection sheet was filled out and why a case file received the research value rating it did. Files were selected to demonstrate high, medium, low, and no research potential.
57. For a discussion of the role the consultants played in the appraisal see NARS, "FBI Appraisal Report," vol. 2, Appendix D.
58. In cases involving informants it was decided to postpone making a decision. For a detailed discussion of when FBI records will be accessioned by the National Archives see NARS, "FBI Appraisal Report," vol. 1, p. 5-5.
59. Order, 9 June 1981, *American Friends Service Committee v. Webster* (D.D.C.), 4. Because of some minor errors, a revised report was submitted to the court on 8 January 1982.
60. "FBI Appraisal Submitted," *SAA Newsletter* (January 1982): 2; F. Gerald Ham, review of the FBI appraisal report, in *American Archivist* 45 (Fall 1982): 476; Athan G. Theoharis, "The National Archives and FBI Records," 255.
61. Robert E. Taylor, "Activist Jurist: Judge Harold Greene Finds Reputation Tied Closely to AT&T Case," *Wall Street Journal*, 8 December 1983, 1, 21; Caroline E. Mayer, "Some Seek Ouster of Phone Industry's 'Reluctant Czar'" *Washington Post*, 2 December 1984, F3.
62. In 1983 the federal government appealed the case to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit in hopes of having, among other things, the question of standing resolved. A three-judge panel of that court ruled that the plaintiffs had the right to standing and ordered the case back to the U.S. District Court. In doing so, the panel stated that it did not believe the court was "called upon to second-guess NARS' reasoned judgment" but that it could "and should . . . review records disposal plans to determine if there is a rational basis for the . . . decisions on how to deal with files of such obvious interest." Opinion, 30 September 1983, *American Friends Service Committee v. Webster* (D.C. Cir.), 26.
63. Judge Harold Greene's Memorandum, 20 December 1985, *American Friends Service Committee v. Webster* (D.D.C.), 1-4.
64. The court was informed that the National Archives was amending its plan, but it "has not revised or otherwise amended its prior determination that there is no archival basis for these amendments. However, in the interests of bringing this protracted litigation to a close and relieving the FBI from its enormous administrative burden in warehousing records which otherwise should be destroyed pursuant to the plan, defendants have decided not to seek further review of the amendments ordered by the Court." Department of Justice Memorandum in Support of Defendants' Motion for Clarification or, in the Alternative, Modification, 1 July 1986, *American Friends Service Committee v. Webster* (D.C.C.), 1, n. 1.
65. Order, 8 September 1986, *American Friends Service Committee v. Webster* (D.D.C.).
66. Leonard Rapport, "In the Valley of Decision: What to do about the Multitude of Files of Quasi Cases," *American Archivist* 48 (Spring 1985): 189.
67. T.R. Schellenberg, *Modern Archives: Principles and Techniques* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956), 152.
68. Judge Harold Greene's Memorandum, 8 September 1986, *American Friends Service Committee v. Webster* (D.D.C.), 3.

MANAGING TOMORROW'S RECORDS TODAY: AN EXPERIMENT IN ARCHIVAL PRESERVATION OF ELECTRONIC MAIL

CAROLE ELIZABETH NOWICKE

ABSTRACT: Encouraged by the speed of transmission and ease of use, many organizations are relying heavily on electronic mail for internal and external communications. What are the implications of electronic mail for the archivist? An experiment was undertaken by the Navy Laboratories History Program to examine use of electronic mail within the Navy Laboratory community and attempt to preserve and archivally manage this evanescent form of communication.

The Report of the Committee on the Records of Government stated in 1985 that the United States was in danger of losing its memory. That conclusion has been frequently quoted in conjunction with archival concerns over the fate of information stored in computerized records. The fear simply put is that the records' custodians are "erasing tomorrow's records today."¹ While the first archival concern should be the quality of the information contained within electronic formats, most studies of electronic records have focused on the physical structure of data on magnetic tape or disks, conservation practices, or the difficulty of retaining hardware, rather than on the value of the information recorded.

This article focuses on the quality of information within an electronic communications system. It will describe an in-house study of the use and archival management of an electronic mail (E-Mail) system used in the office of the Director of Navy Laboratories (DNL), report on results of the study, and draw a few tentative conclusions.

What is electronic mail? Electronic mail is a system whereby people who share a computer system, or have access to an electronic data link, are able to send each other messages. The fundamental advantage of E-Mail is that it is fast. Messages are received within minutes, whereas surface mail can take over a week to go across the country. Electronic mail systems are also easy to use. Most are menu-driven, leading the user through a step-by-step set of instruc-

tions. Figure 1 is a representation of a menu from an IBM PROFS communication system.² Many systems have override capacities that allow more experienced users to bypass the menus and move directly to commands (such as "talk" or "snd" typed at a prompt sign), saving the user time and providing him or her a greater sense of power and control. Local computers are linked together through national computer networks similar to telephone long distance lines.

In the Navy research and development community, scientists and engineers can communicate with their peers in the same facility, Department of Defense agencies, government-owned laboratories, or university laboratories working on government contracts, through the Navy Laboratory Computer Network (NALCON), the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency Network (ARPANET), or other services.³

Why study electronic mail? The Navy Laboratories History Program had three specific reasons for undertaking the project. First, the history program was interested in the impact of E-Mail on the historical records of naval research and development. What was being communicated over the electronic mail network that was not documented any other way? Use of computer resources by history program staff itself, and paper copies of electronic mail messages sent to the Navy Laboratory Archives as "historic" items, made it obvious that some substantive information was being transmitted this way. Second, electronic mail messages met the criteria for Title 44 U.S. Code definition of official government records, "regardless of physical form or characteristics."⁴ Therefore, an obligation existed to establish some controls over information in the E-Mail system. Finally, DNL headquarters was concerned about the lack of management

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**** CORPORATE PROFS MENU ****

Press one of the following PF keys

PF1  Process calendars
PF2  Open the mail
PF3  Search for documents
PF4  Process notes and messages
PF5  Prepare documents
PF6  Mail and Users Directories
PF7  Departmental Applications
PF8  PROFS Utilities
PF10 Add an automatic reminder
PF11 Look at main menu number 2

Time: 3:51 PM
1989 January 1989
S M T W T F S
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
8 9 10 11 12 13 14
15 16 17 18 19 20 21
22 23 24 25 26 27 28
29 30 31
Day of Year: 026
PF9 Help PF12 End

====> Mail Waiting

```

Figure 1

control or accountability for E-Mail. This interest by top level management provided a third reason to devote staff time and resources to the experiment.

The data collected were the incoming and outgoing electronic mail messages of a group of volunteers from the offices of the Director of Navy Laboratories from February 1985 through December 1985. The number of participants varied from nine to fourteen through the course of the experiment.

The methodology employed in the experiment was fairly simple. The history program staff inserted commands in the "log in" files of DNL personnel instructing the host computer to copy the person's incoming and outgoing messages and send them to the history program mail box at the end of the business day.⁵ The methodology thus exploited the system's automated data processing capabilities to copy and transfer messages without rekeyboarding information. The methodology was invisible to participants and did not impede the information flow.

When a user logs in and looks into an electronic mailbox, he or she sees a list of messages received, as in Figure 2.

A single Navy laboratory electronic mail message would appear on a user's screen as shown in Figure 3.

The "headers" of the message ("date," "from," "subject," "to") perform the same function as the structured format of official Navy correspondence and provide the same points of entry for access and file management. These subject headings are not thesaurus controlled, but neither are they standardized in official correspondence. In theory, Navy correspondence is filed according to the Navy Standard Subject Identification Code (SSIC), but most offices disregard

1	25 Apr 89	19:22	mann	USS EMORY LAND
2	26 APR 89	08:25	hunnicut	CNM Monthly Highlights
3	26 Apr 89	09:15	mailer	undeliverable mail
4	26 Apr 89	10:03	webern	VIP visit
5	26 Apr 89	11:25	grogg	Fraud, Waste & Abuse
6	26 Apr 89	13:42	dreyfus	DNL oral history
7	26 Apr 89	16:30	burke	let's have lunch
8	26 Apr 89	17:15	mcgovern	CONGRESSIONAL INQ.
9	26 Apr 89	17:32	hiestand	Zupko memo

Figure 2

instructions and arrange records by chronological, alphabetic, or case file method.

When the history program staff received the messages, they were examined, and those that were determined to have permanent value were retained, while the remainder were deleted.⁶ Total mail received each day would average 100-150 messages; of this number ten percent or less would be retained. The entire processing procedure would generally take under one hour per day, dependent on number of messages, length of messages, and whether any format editing needed to be performed.⁷

The headers of the messages selected for retention were then read into a database that allowed Boolean searching and retrieval. A predefined command took the existing headers, standardized the format, and added three more elements, "actor," "action," and "action date."⁸ If a message required some type of response, these three additional data elements were altered to indicate this.

The database was made of unit entries with the following data fields:

actor:	[Who is assigned action (when appropriate)]
action:	[Brief statement of what is required]
act_date:	[Deadline for action (when appropriate)]
m_date:	[Date message was sent (when appropriate)]
fr:	[Author of the message]
subj:	[Subject statement assigned message by author]
for:	[Who received the message, including both the original "to" line and the original carbon copy ("cc") line. For forwarding messages, includes the original and new distribution list]

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Date:      26 Apr 89 15:43 EDT
From:      J. Carr@NOTS.ARPA
Subj:      National Register Nomination
To:        M. Grogg <grogg@DTMB.ARPA>
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Michael--

Please send a copy of the package you prepared for the Ft. Nonsense nomination ASAP. I have to do much the same for two of the structures here.

Thanks!

Jim

Figure 3

Only the headers and not the entire message were entered into the database due to storage limitations. Some hand-editing of the file was occasionally necessary due to differences in formats, computers, software, and operating systems. The entire electronic mail record was retained, and filed by year and month.

Three products were created from the data collected for the experiment. The first was a paper print-out of the electronic mail, totaling 2596 pages. The paper copy was generated to discover the physical volume of the correspondence, and also because the system was not failsafe; in point of fact, it "lost" the mail for March 1985.⁹ The second product was fourteen cards of Computer Output Microfiche (COM), comprising three indices created from a sorted file of the database and the messages for each month printed on a separate card. The indices were sorted by "from" and date, by "subject" and date, and by date alone. The COM was generated to see if it was a practical method for access to the record in the archives. The last item produced was the complete file of the mail, plus the indices, on one roll of nine-track 1600 bpi ASCII tape.

During the first few months of the experiment, two classes of E-Mail were defined; "Routine Mail" which was anything sent, and "Executive Mail" which required some type of action, generally a response by electronic mail. "Executive Mail" status was assigned by the person sending the message, in this case, the DNL or his designee. "Executive Mail" involved statements of official policy, official assignments, major commitments of personnel or funds, significant changes, etc. It was correspondence that required action or close attention by top management, and carried a special marking to designate its status (**EM**). When there was a question of validity, the authenticity of the message could be confirmed by telephone (no electronic signature or other verification system being extant).¹⁰

The electronic mail messages retained, including both Executive Mail and Routine Mail, were analyzed for subject content. Only 12.6% of these messages had been designated Executive Mail by their creators, but the definition had not been applied for the entire year of the study. Executive Mail messages were also examined to ascertain "turn-around" time.

The subject categories shown in Table 1 were generalized from the subject headings selected by the senders of the messages. In this example only one subject was counted per letter. "Inspections and investigation" letters concerned scheduled inspections, investigations of waste, fraud, and abuse, and investigations by military and civilian law enforcement agencies. "Personnel matters" E-Mail dealt with general or specific personnel management issues, awards to employees, or monthly employment statistic reports. "Research and program management" messages were statements of research policy, concerns about specific programs, or discussions of so-called "technology base issues." "Corporate planning" was a narrowly defined area concerning the Navy Laboratories' corporate planning process and "mission and function" statements for each of the laboratories. "Meetings and conference" messages, as the category suggests, were agendas, attendance lists, speeches, and other information relating to meetings within the Navy laboratory community. "Financial management" E-Mail concerned military construction monies (MILCON), general funding, procurement, commercial activities (i.e., contracting out), and so on. The category of "routine office support" consisted of messages with too many subjects to be

TABLE 1
MESSAGE SUBJECT CATEGORIES

Category	Number	Percentage of total (rounded)
Inspections and Investigation:	153	11 %
Personnel Matters:	150	11 %
Research and Program Management:	380	29 %
Corporate Planning:	102	8 %
Meetings and Conferences:	120	9 %
Financial Management:	107	8 %
Routine Office Support:	324	24 %
Total	1336	100 %

accounted for (such as those designated "miscellaneous" or "several items" by their creator), or topics occurring in only a few messages.

Time constraints placed on the laboratories to answer inquiries were in many cases impossible to meet when sending the reply by surface mail. The time limits on replies in the sample shown in Table 2 were from a smaller group of messages than the total retained, as the "Executive Mail" status was not devised until well into the experiment, and because the status was only applied to outgoing headquarters messages.

Subjects discussed in the messages retained in the experiment were to some extent indicative of the positions of the individuals participating in the experiment. Because most of the participants were in the DNL division concerned with general laboratory management rather than facilities management, long-range planning, or financial resources management, there are a lower number of communiques regarding finance and infrastructure than would be expected.

The history program found the retained electronic mail to be extremely valuable in documenting the evolution of Navy laboratory management policy. During the course of the experiment, management oversight of the laboratory changed three times—from the Naval Material Command (NAVMAT), to the Chief of Naval Research (CNR), and finally under the cognizance of the Space and Naval Warfare Systems Command (SPAWAR). Because of the rapidity of the reorganizations and the nature of communications between the parties involved, the electronic mail record will be one of the primary sources of documentation for the history program.

TABLE 2
RESPONSE REQUIRED TIMES
FOR 169 "EXECUTIVE MAIL" MESSAGES

Reply Time	Number	Percentage of total (rounded)
1-6 Days	103	61 %
7-21 Days	41	24 %
22-59 Days	25	15 %
Over 60 Days	0	0 %
	169	100 %

Electronic mail is the nearest written equivalent to the correspondence of the pre-World War II era, when decision makers committed their thoughts, feelings and judgments to discursive prose in official letters.¹¹ The letters conveyed information for an immediate purpose; they were not written with an eye to history, nor did they serve the purpose of most official letters today—after-the-fact confirmation of decisions already reached.¹²

In this study, some of the most active users of the electronic mail system were the laboratory technical directors and commanding officers. As trained scientists and engineers, these officials had no qualms about personal use of computers. Their electronic mail records retained some of the spontaneity and directness of their nineteenth century predecessors' handwritten notes, representing an improvement over official Navy correspondence which is written in "a characteristic Navy style which conveys every personal action as an abstract state of mind."¹³

Electronic mail in the Navy laboratory community also replaces, in part, information "lost" in telephone calls. Because the laboratories are located in four time zones, electronic mail is a popular medium for communication—avoiding "telephone tag" and waiting because all the AUTOVON circuits to Washington are busy.¹⁴ Electronic mail gives the illusion of privacy with none of the constraints of official correspondence. While any business conducted over an official government electronic mail network is in fact official, the feeling about E-Mail is that it provides the "weight of official pronouncement with the deniability of a telephone call."¹⁵

During this study the archivist could witness the rampant proliferation of records as letters with multiple addressees would be copied and passed on. With the aid of the computer, multiple copies without additional significant comments could be identified and deleted quickly. The archivists' processing time could have been pared down further with more sophisticated computer programming that would, for example, automatically remove duplicate messages and reformat messages to conform to the E-Mail configuration of the host system.

Having determined that important information was flowing through the electronic mail system, the history program attempted to develop a way to capture it for the archives. Of the three methods tried—paper, computer output microfiche, and a data tape—in the best of all possible worlds and with a larger universe of information (for example, the electronic mail of all of the Navy laboratories) the nine-track tape would be the preferred form for the retention of electronic mail. The problems that this can create, however, were made apparent by a decision to change the host computer system's DBMS (Database Management System), requiring all databases to be moved to a new DBMS. This particular change represented an inconvenience rather than a loss of records, but it was a reminder that both software and hardware change. A change like this entails defining the data fields in a new database management system, usually stripping the existing data files of control characters into another file, inserting control characters used by the new system, and then reading the file up into the new database.¹⁶ The nine-track tape, stripped of control characters to make it software independent can, however, be run on a variety of machines using many different DBMS.

For a small number of records, as in this experiment, the most cost effective storage format would be the COM version. With only fourteen cards, a manual inspection for an item is faster than loading a tape and implementing a Boolean search. For the records of an entire laboratory, obviously the magnetic tape or disk version would be more useful.

The experiment was regarded as successful by management and the history program, proving that electronic mail was valuable, could be captured, managed, archivally processed, and stored easily and economically. The program was simple and straightforward, and initial limitations were accepted. The system was developed in-house taking advantage of technical expertise of staff members. In-house development also allowed low cost and low risk experimentation, and quick implementation of the system. Since the electronic mail system was already in operation, the only costs for the experiment were labor and storage. The personnel costs consisted of the labor of the historian in creating the command files and defining the database, the daily processing time for the archivist, and the time of a computer programmer to produce the COM and ASCII tape. Storage costs were for both active memory and off-line storage of the host computer.

One facet of electronic mail this study did not address was how use of the system affected communications between departments. The lack of a formal structure for routing allows for crossing of departmental boundaries, and the lack of hierarchical distinctions allows any user to contact any other user directly. Some unlikely "pen pals" developed on the host system as proficient users would become interested in the programs, or in the use personnel in other departments were making of the computer. Some of this is directly attributable to the "friendliness" of the Unix operating system, where certain commands tell who is using the system, what they are doing, how long they have been doing it, and where they belong in the organization.¹⁷

This study helped to document a time of drastic changes for Navy laboratory management. Many of the messages would have been printed out and saved by the senders, some would have been deleted, but never would the collective information have been gathered and organized.

The author suspects that the Navy laboratory community is not unique in its use of electronic mail, and hopes that others will examine electronic network communication within their organizations.

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NOTES

1. *Report of the Committee on the Records of Government* (Washington, D.C.: The Committee, 1985), 1. Also, Thomas E. Brown, "Erasing Tomorrow's Archives Today" (Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Society of American Archivists, Chicago, Illinois, 28 August 1986).
2. PROFS (Professional Office System) 5664309 © Copyright IBM Corp., 1983, 1987.
3. Anthony V. Cinotta, Larry Avarunin, and Petro Matula, *Naval Electronic Mail Service Users Guide* (Bethesda, Md.: David W. Taylor Naval Ship R&D Center, 1982), passim.
4. 44, United States Code, 3301.
5. The host computers were DEC VAX 11/780 machines using the Unix operating system. David K. Allison, then Historian of Navy Laboratories, devised and programmed the electronic mail management system.
6. Theodore Scheilenberg, *The Appraisal of Modern Public Records*, National Archives Bulletin no. 8 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1956), 6-8, 22-7.
 Many of the deleted records were duplicates, with all personnel receiving copies listed on the distribution line, or in an electronic "forwarding" message. This pattern of multiple copies was common in the paper correspondence records of this office, as it is in many organizations. Other records deleted included copies of printed Navy or Department of Defense instructions not originated in the laboratories, military personnel fitness reports, notices from the host computer about system shut-downs, "fortune cookie" or "message of the day" or "word of the day" messages, notices of social activities, blood drives, fire drills, etc., on the grounds of the Navy laboratory where the host computers were located, and "undeliverable mail," messages from the E-Mail system with copies of letters sent with incorrect E-Mail addresses or when the receiver's system was down.
7. This included printing out the retained messages to determine the physical volume.
8. These three elements were used for the management portion of the experiment to create daily "tickler files" to keep track of staff assignments.
9. The database entries were of course saved, and the text was still available in the paper print-out.
10. David K. Allison, Director of Navy Laboratories, Guidance Letter #4, "Communication Using Electronic Mail," 1985. Records of the Director of Navy Laboratories, Navy Laboratory Archives.
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12. David K. Allison, letter, 12 July 1985. David Garraty, *The Nature of Biography* (New York: Knopf, 1957), 199.
13. Rodney Carlisle, unpublished draft for *Center of Excellence: A History of the David W. Taylor Naval Ship Research and Development Center*, 41. Navy Laboratory Archives.
14. Automated Voice Network, a military "Watts line." Clark A. Elliott, "Communications and Events in History: Toward a Theory for Documenting the Past," *American Archivist* 47 (Fall 1985):361.
15. Colin Cherry, *On Human Communication* (Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1957), 21. Jerry S. Kidd, conversation with author, College Park, Md., 26 July 1986.
16. An entry in a file with control characters would look something like this: ^GDate: 21 Sep 85: 14:30 EDT^GFrom: c.hiestand@Ft.Custer.ARPA^GSubj: Command History^GTo: t.mann@china.lake@ARPA^G.
17. This ability to cross boundaries is not seen as positive in all quarters. In "Office Automation at the White House" (*Computers and People*, January-February 1984, p.19), Craig Fuller reports on this viewpoint:
 We have had a spirited debate at times over the question of just who should be allowed to use an electronic mail system. Some fear the worst—all sorts of "back channel" communication coming through the electronic mail system. Well, I can see little reason to restrict the use of an important management tool because of fear that several people will start to communicate with me electronically.

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ARCHIVES AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION: THE CASE OF THE CCC

BONNIE STEPENOFF

ABSTRACT: After 1942 when the federal government dismantled New Deal programs such as the Civilian Conservation Corps and retreated from involvement in the activities of state park systems, it left the states with an impressive legacy of rustic park architecture impossible to duplicate and difficult to maintain. In the 1980s, the Missouri Department of Natural Resources, custodian of the state's system of parks and historic sites, engaged in a patient effort to document and preserve hundreds of buildings and structures erected by Depression era relief workers on Missouri's park lands. Records held by the National Archives and the department itself played an important and continuing role in determining the future of this great New Deal legacy. This paper discusses how archival materials were used in the preservation effort and suggests, through this discussion, how they might be used in other historic preservation projects.

In much the same way that archivists appraise documents and collections, preservationists evaluate individual buildings and historic districts. Preservation decision-makers ask two fundamental questions: what to save and how to save it. A valid answer to the first question depends upon the application to particular cultural properties of the abstract, and somewhat nebulous, concept of historical (or archaeological) significance. A satisfactory answer to the second question requires a detailed knowledge of the characteristics and qualities of a property in its original or historical form. Archival research is one of the keys to answering each of these questions.

During the past six years, the Missouri Department of Natural Resources (DNR) has studied the rustic structures designed by National Park Service (NPS) architects and built during the Great Depression by workers in the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and Works Projects Administration (WPA) in Missouri's state parks. After conducting both documentary and field research, DNR staff members have assessed the significance of hundreds of such structures and made difficult decisions concerning their preservation, restoration, rehabilitation, and adaptive reuse. In many instances, archival source material has been a central factor in decision making. For instance, the evidence found in 1930s building plans prompted removal of a nonoriginal porch that completely

obscured the primary facade of the old combination bathhouse and concession building at Roaring River State Park. Lack of such evidence forced staff members to guess whether or not there was originally a fireplace in the old honeymoon cabin in the same park.

Missouri's state park program had its inception in 1917 when legislation establishing a fund to purchase land for state parks was passed. The State Game and Fish Commission, which administered the fund, purchased no actual park lands until 1923, when they acquired the old tavern at Arrow Rock on the Santa Fe Trail (now designated as Arrow Rock State Historic Site). But following this, the state park network grew steadily. In 1924 alone, the commission added seven new tracts, and by 1933, there were a total of eighteen facilities in the system.¹

The onset of the Great Depression brought park development in Missouri, as in the rest of the nation, nearly to a halt. The situation changed dramatically, however, with the establishment of the Civilian Conservation Corps in 1933. This veritable army of young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five was dispatched to the woods and fields of the nation to save soil, plant trees, and develop parks and recreation areas. By July of the first year, 275,000 enrollees were at work in all areas of the United States, combatting soil erosion, planting trees, fighting forest fires, and constructing roads, trails, and recreational facilities in the nation's parks.²

State park buildings and structures, constructed by relief workers, were an important expression of the National Park Service's rustic architecture movement, which peaked in the decade preceding World War II. The Park Service supervised all federally-funded construction projects, which were designated under the umbrella label of Emergency Conservation Work (ECW). These projects benefitted from a Park Service commitment to creating park structures that fit gracefully into their natural settings—a philosophy rooted in late nineteenth century landscape architecture and the early twentieth century craftsman movement.³

In Missouri as in other states between 1933 and 1942, thousands of federal relief workers moved into either tent cities or hastily-built barracks in various parks and forests. CCC enrollees made structural improvements in a total of fourteen areas that are now Missouri state parks. WPA laborers erected many structures in the present-day Knob Noster State Park and Arrow Rock State Historic Site, in addition to assisting in or completing many CCC projects. CCC and WPA improvements on state park lands included entrance gates, signs, wells and well houses, retaining walls, trail steps, bridges, curbing, dams and spillways, outdoor fireplaces, concession buildings, administration buildings, shelters and recreation buildings, lookout towers, bathhouses and swimming pools, rest rooms, cabins, residences, service buildings, and stables.⁴

With America's entry into the war, the federal government dismantled many New Deal programs, including the CCC, and discontinued its involvement in the development of state parks. The widow of a former park superintendent at Crowder State Park in north central Missouri has a vivid memory of bulldozers mowing down the CCC barracks with all their contents, including dishes, silverware, and furniture. Other projects, such as the superintendent's residence at Crowder, remained unfinished and would not be completed until after the war.⁵

The Missouri State Park Board, established in the late 1930s, was suddenly confronted with the problem of maintaining a greatly expanded state park system without the help of federal funding and cheap CCC and WPA labor. Then in 1946, the federal government deeded to the Park Board three huge tracts of land that had been developed as recreational demonstration areas.⁶ One of these became Lake of the Ozarks State Park, which is by far the largest park in the state system. Clearly, the new Park Board had inherited a great treasure and an equally great headache.

The passage of time, the realities of funding, and day to day decision making took their toll on this Depression era legacy. Hundreds of buildings and structures erected by relief workers in Missouri's state parks deteriorated through overuse, inadequate maintenance, or neglect due to changing priorities in park development. Others underwent modernization because of public pressure for less rustic and more commodious facilities, such as air conditioned sleeping cabins. Limited funds for repair and maintenance led to replacement of expensive wood shingles with modern asphalt roofs. In some cases, a lack of appreciation for the rustic school of park architecture resulted in well-intentioned but misguided "improvements" on simple, intentionally primitive-looking, structures. Vandalism took its toll, especially on trail shelters in out of the way locations.

Forty years after the disbanding of the CCC, Missouri state park officials took steps to recapture the treasure they knew was disintegrating. Governmental reorganization in the 1970s eliminated the State Park Board and vested responsibility for a rapidly growing system of state parks and state historic sites in the Department of Natural Resources. In 1982, the director of DNR's Division of Parks and Historic Preservation asked the staff of the Historic Preservation Program to conduct a comprehensive survey of CCC construction in Missouri's state parks.

The survey began with a search through documents held in parks division offices. Since the mid-1970s, the division had maintained a combination library and archives in its central office. By 1984, the library had grown to include approximately one thousand reference books, with heavy concentrations in the fields of Missouri history, park and museum management, and architectural preservation. Documentary collections included a huge and valuable file of material on historic properties in the state as well as manuscripts, files, photographs, negatives, and films relating to the state's system of parks and historic sites.

Many of these books and documents proved valuable to researchers studying the accomplishments of Depression era relief workers in the state parks. For instance, a 1935 National Park Service publication entitled *Park and Recreation Structures* described the philosophy of rustic park architecture and provided sample plans for picnic shelters, lodges, cabins, restrooms, bridges, culverts, and other park facilities. Other published sources such as annual reports and the Missouri Official Manual provided summaries of work completed between 1934 and 1942. An unpublished 1939 master plan prepared by WPA workers listed all the parks in the system at that time and summarized park development projects that had been completed or were underway. This important document provided a guide to those parks in which CCC and WPA workers had been active in the 1930s.⁷ Most important, the division's archival

files contained correspondence and memos from the 1930s and early 1940s, offering clues to the daily functioning of the Depression era work programs in state parks.

Because the division's archival function had never had a high profile or a full time professional archivist, many items of interest to the researchers remained in the offices of various administrators and officials. For example, maps and drawings in the files of the division's drafting section often provided very detailed specifications on trails, roads, utilities, buildings, and structures constructed, or at least planned, under the ECW program. The park office at Knob Noster State Park contained five cubic feet of manuscripts and hundreds of large-format blueprints of tremendous value in documenting the work of the WPA. In 1987 and 1988, these significant collections were finally moved to the division's central archives.

After determining those parks in which ECW projects had occurred, staff archaeologists undertook an exhaustive field survey of buildings known or believed to have been constructed by CCC or WPA workers. During the two-year survey, staff members identified and photographed more than five hundred examples of ECW architecture in Missouri state parks.⁸ In many cases, archival records confirmed CCC or WPA construction of particular buildings or structures. Extensive documentation existed for work done in Knob Noster State Park, Sam A. Baker State Park, and Washington State Park. Copies of monthly progress reports, maps, plans, drawings, and photographs provided positive identification of numerous structures in these and other facilities. In other cases, circumstantial factors such as location, type and method of construction, probable age, and proximity to other Depression era structures complemented scanty or inconclusive documentary evidence.

Archival sources were also important when, in 1984, Missouri became the first state to produce a thematic nomination of ECW resources to the National Register of Historic Places.⁹ To be eligible for the National Register, cultural properties must possess architectural, archaeological, or historical significance, which must be clearly argued and documented on the nomination form. Properties less than fifty years old must be shown to have exceptional significance, and this too must be clearly established in the nomination.¹⁰ In the case of ECW architecture, many buildings and structures were less than fifty years old at the time nominations were prepared. Additionally, many structures were quite humble in nature, including rest rooms, service buildings, culverts, and small stone bridges. Their significance derived not from an imposing presence, but from association with historical events. Physical integrity was often a troubling issue. Preservation staff members had to decide whether or not particular properties retained sufficient original fabric to convey an unmistakable sense of history. The writers of the CCC nomination had to deal with all these issues and problems in presenting their case to the keeper of the National Register.

During the summer of 1984, two staff historians visited the National Archives in Washington, D.C., and sifted through monthly reports, photographs, letters, memos, and other bureaucratic files relating to the ECW program in Missouri. Documentation of CCC projects proved to be quite extensive. Geographical arrangement under states and names of particular parks facilitated the search for relevant material. Of greatest use in this project were the periodic progress reports, which included narrative descriptions and photographs of many struc-

tures during various stages of construction. Documentation was more complete for some parks than others, possibly because some project managers were more conscientious record keepers than their colleagues. In summary, however, the records on file at the National Archives provided detailed descriptions and photographic records seldom available to preservationists in pursuit of their goals.

Armed with knowledge gained from field investigations, bolstered by unusually strong documentary support, the staff of the Historic Preservation Program nominated 42 historic districts and 32 individual properties (totalling 342 buildings and structures) to the National Register in a thematic nomination.¹¹ The federal government approved this nomination in 1985 and listed all these districts and individual sites on the National Register of Historic Places.

No specific and enforceable federal regulations govern the treatment of National Register properties by public agencies or private individuals. However, National Register status confirmed the importance of the ECW properties, and in the case of the parks division, conferred on them a special, protected position among park facilities. Any plans for demolishing, renovating, repairing, or altering buildings, structures, trails, or landscapes from the CCC era must now be reviewed by historians and archaeologists within the division, and in some cases plans that predated the thematic nomination have been changed.

Historical records continued to play an important role in decisions relating to the treatment of Depression era buildings in the parks. For instance, parks officials cancelled a plan to dismantle, move, and rebuild a stone picnic shelter at Meramec State Park, because of the shelter's documented significance as an early project of the CCC. Original master planning documents showed the shelter in place before 1939. In some cases, proven association with CCC or WPA workers has saved buildings from demolition. Even when such structures have not received National Register listing, historic photographs, plans, or other records proving Depression era origins confer on them a protected status. When repairs or physical renovation is undertaken, historic photographs, architectural plans, and drawings often guide parks employees and contractors in accurately rehabilitating and restoring Depression era structures.

Rehabilitation of Camp Sherwood Forest in Cuivre River State Park near Troy, Missouri, tested the commitment of the parks division to its CCC resources.¹² Planned improvements to the camp, which opened in 1937, included thermal windows for the small rustic cabins in each of four sleeping units. A study of historic photographs and original plans, however, confirmed that these cabins had never had windows, only screens and awning-type shutters that had been lost through nearly fifty years of use by vigorous youngsters. The division director changed the plans and ordered reconstruction of the original screens and shutters. Since the old awning-type shutters had not been durable and, in fact, had been somewhat dangerous, the director instructed in-house planners and outside contractors to design a stronger and safer shutter that would replicate the original appearance of the cabins as revealed in old photographs.

Successful rehabilitation of Camp Sherwood Forest demonstrated the ability of historians, architects, planners, and construction crews to work together toward a preservation goal. But they needed documentary information to guide them toward this goal. Their reliance on the evidence provided by historic drawings, photographs, and other records confirmed the important role that archivists also played in the common cause.

Conclusion

Historians and archivists have a crucial part to play in the field of historic preservation.¹³ It was necessary for professionals in several fields to work together to evaluate ECW resources in the Missouri state park system and prepare a thematic nomination of these resources to the National Register. Inclusion on the Register, however, was only the beginning of the story about the appreciation and protection of these cultural treasures. Historians and archivists have now continued to participate in an ongoing process of decision making with respect to maintaining these historical properties.

Growing appreciation of historical structures in the park system gave rise, quite appropriately, to a greater awareness of important historical documents in the division's files. In 1985 the parks division budgeted funds for a full time divisional archivist. Those documents that had been identified as historically significant included minutes of Missouri State Park Board meetings, annual reports, correspondence files dating from the 1920s through the 1960s, scrapbooks, photographs, slides, original maps and plans, and blueprints.

Numerous preservation problems demanded attention. Many large-format records, including hundreds of blueprints (still legible after fifty years) had been folded and inserted in legal-size folders. Photographs were stored in manila folders or glassine envelopes. Park officials cooperated with the archivist in efforts to obtain large-sized map cabinets for safe storage of maps, plans, and blueprints, as well as acid-free boxes, folders, envelopes, and archival quality photographic sleeves. Nitrate negatives were copied and placed in cold storage. The task of identifying, arranging, and describing all of the park system's historically valuable records has just begun.

When they appraise records, archivists should be aware of the problems and challenges of historic preservation and the need for documenting the past and present physical environment. Historical photographs, architectural maps and drawings, site plans, landscape plans, and project records containing specific information about building details such as windows, doors, fixtures, moldings, paint colors, wall paper, and so on, are immensely valuable to preservation professionals as they endeavor to evaluate, protect, preserve, and restore our architectural heritage. In the case of federal projects, such as the ECW work, these materials are likely to remain on file in government offices, eventually becoming accessible to scholars through the National Archives system. For state government projects, the eventual fate of detailed planning documents is more uncertain, with the outcome dependent upon the statutory arrangements and circumstances of records maintenance in each state. When projects are undertaken by private corporations and architectural firms, the future availability of records, plans, and photographs is questionable, to say the least.

As they attempt to collect records that document our physical environment, archivists face some interesting challenges. Records creators such as architects, builders, planners, and others may possess such materials, but they are likely to be unaware of their historical value. Locating and collecting such documentation requires vigorous action by archival professionals, whose primary mission may be to document other topical areas.

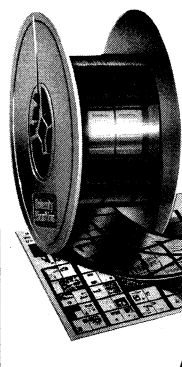
Finally, there are a host of problems associated with preserving oversize, fragile materials, such as blueprints, and large-format plans and drawings. In

addition to the difficulty of providing adequate storage for such records, archivists must contend with the reality that many exist on inherently unstable media. Despite these problems, archivists have a vital and exciting role to play, and they can make an important contribution to the preservation of our architectural heritage.

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9. Carol Ann Alhgren, *A Human and Landscape Architectural Legacy: The Influence of the Civilian Conservation Corps on Wisconsin State Park Development* (master's thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1987), 31.
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11. Denny and Wright, Item 7, p.7.
12. Bonnie Stepenoff, "Reviving the New Deal Spirit," *Preservation News* (June 1987):1.
13. For a discussion of how public historians have learned to work within a system designed by archaeologists, see Theodore J. Karamanski, "Logging, History, and the National Forests: A Case Study of Cultural Resource Management," *Public Historian* 7 (Spring 1985):27-40.



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BOOK REVIEWS

Records Management Handbook for United States Senate Committees. By Karen Dawley Paul. Washington, DC: Senate Historical Office, 1988. 170 pp. Appendixes, glossary. Available free of charge from the Senate Historical Office, U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510.

This important work is a continuation of the U.S. Senate Bicentennial Series, a set that included Paul's similar work, *Records Management Handbook for United States Senators and Their Repositories*, which previously was reviewed in *Midwestern Archivist* (vol. II, no. 2, pp. 155-56). It contains exhaustive information useful for both legislative archivists and records managers.

Like the earlier publication, the new handbook has chapters on the general topics of file management techniques, micrographics, management and disposition of automated records, suggested disposition schedules, a permanent record titles list, and large and detailed appendixes. It also contains information which directly relates to Senate committees, such as definition and description of committee records, committee organization and function, management and disposition of sensitive and classified information, records transfer procedures, and public access.

Possibly due to time and finances, a few aspects of this book could be improved should there be a second edition. The chapters on file management techniques and micrographics are largely copied from the earlier handbook. Although identical wording sometimes does suffice, in at least one case it adds irrelevant material. On page 115 a reference is made to "constituent mail." However, committees, unlike individual Senators' offices, seldom receive correspondence from constituents. With revision, these portions of the text would be more pertinent to Senate committee records. In a second edition an index would provide better and more rapid access to information, and would enhance the organization of the material in the manual.

Regardless of the suggestions for improvement, this publication is well worth reading and using. As in the first work, the text is in an easy-to-read, non-technical style, so that nonarchivists and non-records managers, those for whom the book was written, can understand the manual and use it.

The information on access and legal ownership of records received from other agencies and entities is useful for all legislative archivists, especially since these facts can help them reduce unnecessary restrictions on access to records. The chapter on sensitive and classified information collected and produced in oversight, investigative, and research functions is vital for the committee staff and useful for archivists. Karen Paul recommends that the Senate committee records officer consult the Senate archivist for all important matters and all stages of document creation.

The exhibits appended to the chapters and the appendixes give many illustrations to guide the records manager. The Senate committee staff is given much practical advice.

Even though this excellent work can be improved upon, the handbook serves its purpose, which is to aid the Senate committee records staff. If the staff follows the suggestions the records will be preserved and the legislative archivists at the National Archives shall better be able to service the records and the public. Also, now all legislative archivists have a valuable work to assist them with their duties.

Kim Efird
Illinois State Archives

Newspapers in the Library: New Approaches to Management and Reference Work. Edited by Lois Upham. New York: Haworth Press, 1988. 167 pp. Index. Hardcover. \$29.25.

Archivists and librarians alike are painfully aware that newspapers present special problems. From the late nineteenth century to the present, newspapers have been printed on highly acidic paper that quickly turns yellow and flakes at the touch. Catalogers themselves may age prematurely when coping with the special problems posed by newspapers—changes of title, appearance, frequency, and place of publication. Even the definition of “newspaper” is a matter of dispute among librarians, some of whom do not regard newspaper-like publications of special interest groups as newspapers. Pity further the genealogists or social historians who dig (sometimes literally) through unindexed newspapers in quest of obituaries, vital statistics, or local history and find at least as much “dross” as “gold”.

In the last twenty years or so, information managers have done much to preserve newspapers and make them more available for research. This book of sixteen original papers, edited by Lois N. Upham, is not so much a work of revelation to experienced archivists or librarians as it is a useful description of modern practices in the collecting, cataloging, microfilming, and indexing of newspapers. One unusually suggestive, rather than descriptive, article, “Uniform Titles for Newspapers: A Proposal” by Lois N. Upham, presents a format for uniform titling in the cataloging of newspapers which is based on choosing consistently recurring keywords. All of the articles are preceded by very helpful abstracts.

Fundamental to current practices, as discussed in this book, were the advent of computers, AACR2, and the United States Newspaper Project. The project provided for a state-by-state survey of holdings of newspapers, for bibliographic control, and finally for preservation microfilming. Meanwhile, AACR2 established rules for commonly identifying what a newspaper is and for appropriate cataloging even as computers and the development of OCLC enabled the Library of Congress and others to share information about holdings. Several articles concern the dynamics of cataloging, microfilming, and bibliographic construction, with references to the U.S. Newspaper Project and the Indiana Newspaper Project.

Indexing of newspapers continues to be a significant problem. Judging from the articles in this book, decisions about what to index and how to structure the index depend upon the judgment and resources of the repository. Particularly revealing was the article by Sandra E. Fitzgerald, which described the practices of the library of Indianapolis Newspapers Inc. Unfortunately, Fitzgerald wrote much about manual procedures but little of automation within the newspaper library. More helpful was "The Effects of Emerging Technologies on Newspaper Storage and Retrieval" by J.J. Hayden III, which provides commentary on hardware, software, and the potential uses of optical disc.

This collection was assembled in order to bring the literature of newspaper librarianship up to date. It is intended for librarians and is, in fact, monographic supplement #4 to the journal *The Serials Librarian*. Unfortunately, the work does not include any bibliography, aside from the footnotes following each article, which could have served as a guide to and review of the existing literature.

Raimund E. Goerler
The Ohio State University Archives

A Guide to Special Collections in Kansas. Edited and compiled by Gene DeGruson et al. Topeka, Kans.: Kansas Library Network, 1986. 403 pp. Indexes. Paper.

The Kansas Library Network, with LSCA Title III funds, sought to compile a guide to the special research resources in Kansas libraries so scholars and other researchers could more easily gain access to these materials.

The first section of the volume includes guide entries for the University of Kansas, Kansas State University, Wichita State University, and the other institutions of higher education in Kansas. The second section deals with public and school libraries, museums, and other organizations. The volume concludes with a subject index and an index by type of material represented.

The production is uneven in its coverage of the different collections in the state. Clearly the responses from the various institutions dictated the depth of response in the guide. The Kansas Collection at the University of Kansas, for example, with its considerable manuscript holdings (about 5,800 feet), over a million photographs, and nearly 95,000 volumes has a guide entry of about one and one-quarter pages. The Department of Special Collections in the University of Kansas Libraries, with about 1,500 feet of manuscripts, 1,000 photographs, 12 oral history tapes, and about 185,000 volumes has guide entries of twenty-seven pages.

In the second section of the guide a wide range of institutions is represented. Entries for such important collections as those of the Kansas State Historical Society, the Wichita-Sedgwick County Historical Museum, the Menninger Foundation, and other institutions are included, along with entries for smaller county historical and genealogical societies and public and school libraries. The amount of space given to entries for high school yearbook collections in school and public libraries is unusually high for a guide of this nature.

The indexes are only as useful as the guide entries to which they refer. The indexes cannot lead researchers to individual collections in the various institutions if the institutions' entries do not provide the necessary detail.

The goal of the project, to provide a researcher guide to special collections in Kansas, is commendable. This effort is not as successful as anticipated, in large part due to the uneven entries various institutions submitted. While some entries give detail about individual manuscript collections in an institution, other entries provide only general descriptions of the entire holdings of the institutions. Had the editors been able to develop guide entries which provided either more uniform statements of individual institutions, collection strengths or more even descriptions of the specific collections which the many institutions hold, the guide would have been more useful than it is.

Gordon O. Hendrickson
State Historical Society of Iowa

3480 Class Tape Cartridge Drives and Archival Data Storage: Technology Assessment Report. By Thomas E. Weir. National Archives Technical Information Paper No. 4. Washington, DC: Department of Commerce, 1988. 28 pp. Bibliography. Microfiche, \$6.95. Paper, \$12.95. Add \$3 for handling. Available from Document Sales, National Technical Information Service, Springfield, VA 22161.

The NARA Technical Information Paper No. 4, "3480 Class Tape Cartridge Drives and Archival Data Storage: Technology Assessment Report," is not something most archivists would read, even if they had heard of it. However, for those who are interested in the storage of information in machine-readable format, and how changing technologies may affect them, it will be useful for future reference. The information is presented in nontechnical language, includes diagrams, and is readily understandable.

The basis for this report is the switch in the computer industry from the 3420 reel-to-reel tapes to the 3480 cartridge for storage. This new medium was developed and supported by IBM for its mainframe computers, which are now all designed for the 3480 tape drive. The implications of this should be obvious for users of mainframe computers, as well as for archivists concerned about future preservation and access to information stored on 3480 cartridges.

The brief (twenty-eight pages) report is organized by subheadings, and includes a good bibliography on the topic. A table of contents, however, would have been useful for ease of access. Well-organized and documented, the report discusses the subject in a logical and straightforward manner. After noting the assumptions this report is based on, the author discusses the current environment, the technology, advantages, market prospects, emerging standards, and a summary of the development and use of 3480 cartridge tape drives.

Advantages of the 3480 include more data storage per inch and a smaller size, meaning that significantly less space is required for information storage than on 3420 reels. In reliability tests the 3480 tape cartridge system has proved more reliable than the 3420 tapes. One reason for this is that the 3480 cartridge

tape system uses an automatic tape loading mechanism, which also means less handling and easier loading for the operator.

The report also discusses several concerns archivists should be aware of in the use of the 3480 tapes. The current lack of standardization, the question of certification of tapes (i.e., checking tapes before use to determine they meet specifications), and the compatibility of drives from one manufacturer to another are some of the issues raised regarding the use of 3480 cartridge tapes. Another problem is the lack of standardization from one manufacturer to another in the chemical composition of the tape, and the variation from one batch to another. The 3480 tapes use a chromium dioxide medium as opposed to ferric oxide, the medium used on 3420 reels. The chromium dioxide medium will hold more information per inch, the rationale for using it. Initially there were problems with the breakdown of the binder and loss of information, but manufacturers believe they have been solved. The longterm stability of the medium remains a concern for archivists.

While the main purpose of this report is to analyze how the 3480 cartridge system is going to affect the National Archives, it has meaning for any archivist or repository which has or expects to have contact with machine-readable records stored on 3480 tape cartridges. For such archivists or repositories this report is a good reference document on the topic and is recommended reading.

Frederick L. Honhart
Michigan State University

A Guide to Civil War Maps in the National Archives. 2nd. ed. Edited by Shelby G. Bale and Constance Potter. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1986. 140 pp. Illustrations, index. Hardcover. \$30. Available from the National Archives Trust Fund, P.O. Box 100793, Atlanta, GA 30384.

Like a picture, a map is worth a thousand words—or more. No military historian can hope to reduce the chaos of battle to some kind of order that will give readers a glimmer of understanding without the visual aid of maps. Yet these maps do not spring full-blown from the mind of the historian; they must be based on accurate renderings of the terrain and features of the land where military operations took place *as they existed at the time*. For that, historians must go to original sources as they do with other kinds of records from the past. For the American Civil War, these are maps drawn by topographical engineers and other army officers or government officials during the war. Some eight thousand such maps are available to scholars in the National Archives; the volume under review is a guide to their use.

The first edition of this guide was published in 1964 during the centennial of the Civil War. This new edition appears during a significant revival of interest in the war, especially its military aspects, associated in part with reenactments of Civil War battles on the 125th anniversary dates of those battles from 1986 to 1990. Three important additions are incorporated into this edition. The first is inclusion of descriptions of Confederate maps (a small share of the total) captured by Union forces. Second is the addition of file numbers for maps to enable the National Archives staff to locate them more quickly. And third is the

addition of more illustrations to give users of the guide a fuller idea of the type and variety of maps available.

This guide makes it possible for historians to obtain access to maps relevant to their research without setting foot in the National Archives. The exhaustive index lists places, battles, and commanders. Users consulting the index are directed to a description of all maps that include material germane to their interests. That description in turn contains a file number that enables the user to order photocopies of desired maps from the National Archives.

This volume will be of most value to historians of military and naval campaigns and battles. But nonmilitary historians should not overlook its possibilities. For example, during the war, agents of the U.S. Treasury Department had control over captured and abandoned property in the Confederacy. This included hundreds of plantations and farms in the lower Mississippi Valley, Virginia, and North and South Carolina. Some of these lands were farmed by freed slaves under government and army auspices; some were leased to north-ern entrepreneurs; some continued to be farmed by planters who took an oath of allegiance and employed their former slaves, now free. Included in this guide are references to nearly a hundred maps and survey plats of these plantations and farms drawn up by agents of the Treasury Department and the Internal Revenue Bureau. They constitute an invaluable source for historians of slavery and emancipation. Historians of southern agriculture and cities will also find important nuggets here. This is a volume that should be in every library used by historians.

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