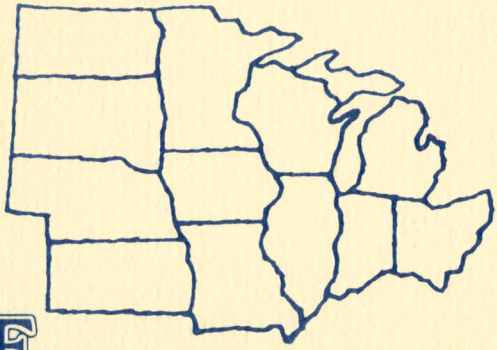


THE MIDWESTERN ARCHIVIST

VOLUME VII, NUMBER 2, 1982

VOLUME VII, NUMBER 2, 1982

THE MIDWESTERN ARCHIVIST

CONTENTS

THE IMPACT OF FEDERAL FUNDING ON ARCHIVAL MANAGEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES
Jeffrey Field 77

THE ORIGINS OF MODERN EUROPEAN ARCHIVAL THEORY
Maynard Brichford 87

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ARCHIVAL THEORY AND PRACTICES IN THE UNITED STATES
Richard C. Berner 103

BOOK REVIEWS

Archives & Manuscripts: An Introduction to Automated Access
(Karen J. Baumann) 119

J. Franklin Jameson and the Birth of the National Archives, 1906–26
(Mary Boccaccio) 121

Directory of Illinois Oral History Resources
(Robert A. McCown) 123

The Museum Forms Book
(Timothy B. Murray) 124

Religious Archives: An Introduction
(Thomas T. Spencer) 127

Slovenes in the United States and Canada
(Joseph G. Svoboda) 129

CONTRIBUTORS 132

EDITORIAL POLICY

The Midwestern Archivist, a semi-annual journal published by the Midwest Archives Conference, is concerned with the issues and problems confronting the contemporary archivist. Articles relating to archival theory and current practice are solicited. Diversity among topics and points of view is encouraged, and material in a wide range of formats—including articles and essays, proceedings of seminars and workshops, review essays, and progress reports on special archival projects—will be considered for publication. Ideas and opinions expressed by contributors are not necessarily those of the Midwest Archives Conference or its Editorial Board.

Manuscripts should be sent to Anne P. Diffendal, Nebraska State Historical Society, 1500 R Street, Lincoln, NE 68508. Decisions on manuscripts will be rendered within ten weeks of submission. Offers to review books or suggested books to review should be sent to Warner Pflug, Book Review Editor, Walter Reuther Library, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI 48202.

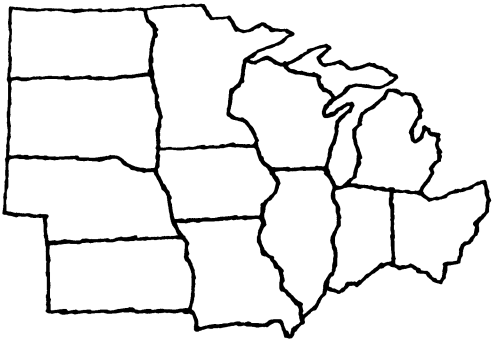
MAC members receive *The Midwestern Archivist* and the MAC *Newsletter* upon payment of annual dues of $7.50; institutional memberships are $15.00. Single copies of the journal are available at $3.50 ($4.75 for Vol. VI, No. 2) plus fifty cents for postage and handling. Inquiries regarding membership or purchase of the journal should be directed to William J. Maher, MAC Secretary-Treasurer, University of Illinois Library — Room 19, 1408 W. Gregory, Urbana, IL 61801. *The Midwestern Archivist* is also available in microform from University Microfilms International.

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life.*

THE EDITORIAL BOARD

Anne P. Diffendal, chairperson (1980–83)
Nebraska State Historical Society
Charles B. Elston (1981–84) Marquette University
David J. Klaassen (1980–83) University of Minnesota
Lydia Lucas (1981–84) Minnesota Historical Society
Frank H. Mackaman (1982–85)
Dirksen Congressional Research Center
Warner Pflug (1982–85) Wayne State University

The Midwest Archives Conference



© The Midwest Archives Conference, 1982

Cover Design by Paul Hass

THE IMPACT OF FEDERAL FUNDING ON ARCHIVAL MANAGEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

JEFFREY FIELD

I have misgivings about this title. It begs at least two questions: it assumes that we all know what we're talking about when we use the term "archival management" and it presupposes that federal funds have made a difference to whatever it is we mean by "archival management." Additionally, it may suggest that federal funding has been, on the whole, a good thing.

There is by no means universal agreement that federal grants to archives—or to anything else, these days—are entirely beneficial. There are some who have argued just the opposite. In the Fall 1980 issue of *The American Archivist,* H. G. Jones made the following comments:

> ...for years I have been reading grant applications for the National Endowment for the Humanities, and I have been puzzled by the success of applications for make-work projects on faddish subjects and the difficulty of obtaining grants for substantive programs that could, with the incentive of matching funds, soon become fully funded by their sponsoring institutions. Without for a moment implying that no good has come to archival programs through... federal programs, I am suspicious that they have weakened the major influences that will eventually result in strong archival programs: leadership, incentive, and pride in self-reliance.[1]

Writing in the context of a perhaps justifiably frustrated critique of ineffective state and local records programs, Jones's comments are cause for concern. I am not bothered by his complaint about "faddish subjects" and "make-work" projects. If Jones wants to overlook the fact that for the past twenty years historical re-

searchers have shifted their focus from institutional histories to social history, so be it. What concerns me more is Mr. Jones's underlying critique of the scatter-shot grant-making that for the most part characterizes the funding activities of both the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Historical Publication and Records Commission during the past eight years.

The facts clearly support the observation that we make our grants piecemeal. From 1976 through 1981, the NHPRC Records Program disbursed about $9 million dollars for the support of 424 projects throughout the country and its territories. The average size of an NHPRC grant was $20,500. Fifteen percent of its overall funding supported regional and national projects. Eighty-five percent of its money supported the arrangement and description of discrete collections or other types of projects occurring at a single repository or organization.

The Endowment's Research Resources Program spent about $22 million between 1975 and 1981 with each project receiving an average of $45,000. This figure and the overall program statistics that follow are not, of course, entirely comparable with NHPRC figures. The two programs have different mandates and, therefore, provide funding for different kinds of projects. Research Resources makes grants to create access to source materials for advanced humanities researchers. In subject matter we encompass the entire set of disciplines classified as the humanities, which means a time frame spanning all recorded history throughout the world. The institutions that comprise our constituency include research and public libraries, bibliographic networks such as OCLC and RLIN, and library organizations, as well as archives. The resources within these diverse institutions consist of all types of materials, including 15th century Tibetan religious manuscripts, Babylonian cuneiform tablets, 19th century American sheet music, film, tape and video materials, and of course, books.

The total range of our grant-making activity from 1975 through 1981 follows: the Research Resources Program made 573 grants in support of 451 discrete projects. (Approximately 20 percent of our grants are renewals or supplements to continue or extend current project activities.) Problem solving and professional enhancement grants, including the Society of American Archivists Archival Workshops Program, the SAA Archival Security Program, and the

National Information Systems Task Force (NISTF), accounted for 5 percent of our projects. Consultant grants for small institutions without sufficient in-house expertise to assess problems accounted for another 6 percent. Ten percent of the projects provided access to secondary literature, via bibliographies of both retrospective and current print materials. Another 5 percent of our funding went for projects that have now been absorbed by other Endowment programs, for example, experimental operational support grants to independent research libraries. This kind of support is now provided by the Challenge Grant Program. The vast majority of funding, some 372 distinct projects, or 73 percent of our total grant-making activity, supported the creation of access to primary source materials. Nearly all of this funding went for archival projects.

In all these numbers it is easy to lose sight of the forest for the trees. The main observation is the similarity in what NEH and NHPRC have done with their money. Eighty-five percent of NHPRC's Records Program grants supported discrete arrangement and description projects, or records management projects at single institutions. Seventy-three percent of Research Resources support was for comparable project activity. Similarly we have made grants through no overall plan, but according to what comes in during a given review cycle: peace history materials at Swarthmore College, a survey of agricultural records in Colorado, photographs of Coeur D'Alene at the University of Idaho, a local records program in Grand Rapids, and a 19th century German-American newspaper in Ann Arbor. It may be piecemeal, but it *is* what archival institutions have decided they want to use grant money for.

Looking at the number of collections processed, the number of finding aids produced, surveys accomplished, or records management programs started tells only part of the "impact" story. Grants have created job opportunities, particularly for entry level professionals. If each Research Resources grant provides jobs for one or two professionals per project, then grants have provided between 350 to 400 jobs during the past seven years; NHPRC can probably produce comparable figures. These jobs are not permanent, and it has been argued that we've only succeeded in creating a rootless and wandering band of archival gypsies. But I wonder

whether having no job opportunities is ever better than having some job opportunities. And in the best of cases, though these are admittedly rare, temporary jobs have turned into permanent jobs.

In addition to aiding an institution in clearing up its backlog, grants have enabled new programs to get underway, such as the Ohio Historical Society's labor history collection development program. NHPRC's City of Portland project has created a continuing records management program guided by a full-time permanent archivist for the city.

In some instances, grants have laid the foundation for entirely new institutions, such as the Houston Metropolitan Research Center. A recent and happy example of this is the newly-opened Martin Luther King, Jr. Library and Archives. Prior to an infusion of Endowment grant funds, valuable documentation of the civil rights struggle, including the records of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the Congress of Racial Equality and the National Lawyer's Guild, sat in disarray in a warehouse. Mrs. King's basement housed her husband's papers. Access to the material was privileged, if it existed at all. There is now a brand-new building with an entire floor devoted to the collections, and two full-time professionals to manage the collections. The Microfilming Corporation of America has microfilmed the SNCC and CORE collections together with records of those groups held at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

In all of these activities Research Resources grants have reflected the growing professionalization of the archival community, the development of technical standards to guide archival work, and a desire to insure that archival competence passes from stronger to weaker institutions. Federal funds have underwritten, for example, the SAA Manual Series and SAA Basic Archival and Conservation Workshops. Consultant grants allow on-site examinations of programs.

The Endowment's peer review process acts as a mechanism for insuring that archival standards are adhered to and technical expertise is passed along when needed. Archival and library professionals play a major role in assessing the feasibility of a project's plan of work and its adherence to national standards. Often reviewers' lengthy critiques are summarized by program staff and passed along to rejected applicants to encourage stronger

projects. The success rate of applicants who follow the suggestions of panelists and reviewers is about 75 percent.

Now clearly there has been an impact in all this. But it is an impact that remains primarily at the individual institutional level. The effect of federal grants on archival institutions considered as a whole has been considerably less. And yet it is perhaps on the inter-institutional scale that federal grants have the potential for their greatest impact.

We have made a small number of such grants. The Chicago Historical Society is using sampling techniques to formulate appraisal guidelines for collections of architectural records. Indiana University is devising a computer program based on the record series concept to provide control over folklore materials. The NHPRC-funded Joint Committee on the Archives of Science and Technology project is addressing problems in the management of records of scientific research institutions. NHPRC's Midwest State Archives Guide Project is demonstrating the feasibility of regional cooperation in the use of computer technology, and the development of coherent, compatible descriptive systems. The National Information Systems Task Force (NISTF) is developing a prerequisite for a national archival data base, or for regional data bases, through the generation of a standard format for the description of archival and manuscript materials.

Except for the last two, the projects that are producing results that might be transferrable to many repositories remain projects generated by a single institution facing a problem with one type of record or another. Whether or not the results of such "model" projects will be transferred is open to question. NEH and the archival profession lack any enforcement mechanism. But there is clearly a need for larger ideas, for broader approaches to archival work.

Consider an example of a problem that raises such broader issues and their implications for effective grant-making. Recently a Research Resources Panel discussed a proposal for a statewide survey of labor union records. Although generally confident that the project would work, the panelists debated the need to collect local union records in that state when similar collections existed elsewhere. The majority of panelists argued for the importance of the project, as did all but one reviewer. The minority opinion

argued that there are enough union records already collected, and that we need to collect other types of documentation for the vast majority of workers who are not in unions. Another dissenting voice commented: "This is basically a sound proposal but the last thing we need in order to build a national archival program is another state survey of labor records."

There is no national archival program, and there may never be one. But without some kind of larger plan, can any of us be fully satisfied that we are really working effectively? With respect to labor history, there was a recent effort to address some of the questions. NHPRC described its initial grant for this activity as a project to "develop a systematic approach to the preservation and use of labor records in the United States." However, for a number of reasons the Conference on the Records of American Labor held at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies in November 1980 was not considered a success. The Conference failed to provide a clear-sighted approach to a key question raised by our panelists and reviewers in the state labor records survey case concerning appraisal, which encompasses the selective retention of materials that document entire segments of our lives and histories.

Appraisal in this broad sense is crucial to effective archival work and effective grant-making. As Maynard Brichford characterizes it: "Appraisal is the area of greatest professional challenge to the archivist. ... the archivist bears responsibility for deciding what aspects of society and which specific activities shall be documented in the records retained for future research. Research may be paralyzed either by unwitting destruction or by preserving too much."[2] The question is how much is too much? And how best can that question be decided? What mechanisms exist for pursuing such questions? Or is it merely utopian to ask for guidelines to direct work on a national scope?

I raise the question about what mechanisms are appropriate for pursuing the large questions partly because I think this is an area where federal funding ought to be more effective than it has been. Perhaps it's the case that conferences are, in the main, poor mechanisms for addressing the big issues. Perhaps what is needed is more individual research and the development of archival theory. There is an excitement today about the possibilities of exploring and formulating theory, and beginning in the summer

of 1983, the Bentley Historical Library, with support from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, will serve as the locus of two summers' worth of archival research.

But what is archival theory? And why archival theory now? One obvious answer to this second question is the need to devise ways of handling new types of records and the concomitant need to change old ways of handling historically familiar types of records. The post World War II universe of actual and potential documentation is both exceedingly large and exceedingly diverse, calling for new approaches supplied by archival theory. Robert Warner and Francis Blouin express this common conception of archival theory in their summary of the 1979 Ann Arbor Conference on Archival Management of Machine-Readable Records: "Archival theory as discussed over the years essentially provides abstract principles of organization which can, in turn, be applied to a specific collection or record group."[3]

I call this conception the Collection Specific View (CSV) of archival theory. If collections are the basic building blocks of the archival universe, then the CSV is a kind of archival atomic theory. Archivists, like the great chemist Mendeleev, are producing a chart of the elements of the archival universe. Paper records constitute the natural elements. New man-made elements like machine-readable records, oral history tapes, and video recordings are the californium, einsteinium, and berkelium of the archival chart of the elements. The task of collection specific archival theory is to describe the atomic structure of the archival universe.

In contrast to the Collection Specific View, there is the Ultimate Question View (UQV) of archival theory. If the CSV calls upon archivists to pursue atomic chemistry, the UQV demands the pursuit of cosmology. The main proponent of the UQV is Frank Burke, who argues that archival theory must answer such black-hole questions as why a society produces the records it does and what is an historical fact. To address such questions, Burke urges certain archivists to forsake the workplace for the academy in order to devote their lives to archival meditations.[4] As I have described it, the UQV is obviously subject to the charge of idle speculation. It asks us, perhaps, to think too big, and in so doing it falls off the archival edge.

The CSV, on the other hand, can be accused of intellectual

atomism. It remains within the familiar archival territory of the single collection or the single repository. It keeps our thinking too small. Such an approach to archival theory cannot effectively deal with such extra-collection types of questions as how much do we need to save? Or what do we need to collect next? If local union records exist in Ohio, do we need to have them in Missouri, or Iowa? If there's a collection of architectural records documenting the output of a medium-sized firm in Minneapolis in the 1950s, do we need a similar collection in Boston?

We should pursue, I think, some middle way between the Collection Specific View and the Ultimate Question View. If the CSV is like atomic theory, and the UQV is like cosmology, the alternative resembles ecology. Ecology posits a whole system, whose parts interact in a multitude of ways. The archival universe comprises, in the ecological view, not merely bodies of records and the institutions that house them, but the organizations and individuals that generate them, and the persons who use them. These constituents are not like discrete elements, but are closer to mutually interactive systems. To develop archival theory adequately, we must account for systems and their interactions. An archivist must pursue such Burkean questions as how a particular organization functions and use that knowledge in order to address such collection specific issues as how to apply sampling techniques to architectural records. Beyond that archivists must determine how researchers want to use the records.

There have been efforts to pursue the ecological view of archival theory in an isolated fashion. But we have failed to pursue the large questions such as appraisal in a national or regional context. Nor is there sufficient consultation among archivists and user groups. I do not see how broad scale acquisition strategies, for example, can be devised without the participation of users or at the very least a sophisticated view of the users' interests.[5] Nor are there, finally, any permanent institutional mechanisms to stimulate national coordination among the many diverse systems of the archivists' ecology. Federal programs may be an exception, but we are all too aware of their fragility today. Nonetheless, we remain a part of the archival ecological system.

We are entering a period of diminishing resources at the federal, state, and local levels. There is going to be much greater pressure on all of us to make less money do more work. But when I say

"us," I really mean "you." Someone said recently that one of the enduring lessons of American history is that the government never innovates, it merely provides what it thinks the people want.

I spent the first part of this talk documenting how NEH makes grants piecemeal. But NEH doesn't really make these grants. You do. You write the proposals; you help review the proposals; you manage the projects; and you set the standards that we promulgate in our program guidelines. You staffed NHPRC and two of you have been on the staff of Research Resources. I deeply regret that NHPRC may disappear. That leaves precious little money. But the real issue is not money. It is really a question of leadership. If, in Jerry Ham's words, the archivist's most important and intellectually demanding task is "to make an informed selection of information that will provide the future with a representative record of human experience in our time,"[6] then the accomplishment of the task requires an assertion of archival will-power. Institutions must replace the 19th century notion of self-reliance with that of inter-institutional cooperation. This demand calls for a fundamental change of attitudes and a search for viable mechanisms to cultivate cooperation.

Large issues are being raised today not only because the universe of post World War II documentation demands new approaches, but also because the consciousness of archivists as members of a profession has grown so fast during the past decade. Professional identity is a larger conception than the consciousness of oneself as merely the employee of a particular institution. So it is fitting to raise the question: What commitments do I have as a member of a profession that I do not have as a worker in an organization? And if those new commitments demand a concerted approach to current archival issues by all institutions, through what mechanisms are approaches turned into practices?

There is at the Endowment a potential that is yet to be fully tapped. We've been responsive to archival needs and we've been flexible in how we can service those needs. It's not simply the Research Resources Program that has provided funding, but the Education Division, which launched the New York University Archival Education Program, and the Public Division, which is funding the Native American Tribal Archives Project, the Museums and Historical Organizations Program, which supported self-study projects, and the Research Conferences Program, which

underwrote part of the cost of the Regional Networks Conference held last year in Madison. Finally there are the state programs in the humanities, some of which are providing funding for local archival projects.

The Research Resources Program can serve as a locus of coherent funding to address national archival issues as they affect the potential for substantive research in the humanities. Up to now, we have aided and abetted what Jerry Ham has called the proliferation and decentralization of archival resources.[7] It is time, I am convinced, to support the coalescence of institutions for the common good of our national cultural record, for the benefit of those who provide that record, for those who interpret the record, and finally for the benefit of all of us who profit from the products of historical and cultural studies. Federal funding can be an effective mechanism to help achieve these ends. But you must help to provide direction.

With this conclusion, I want to retitle my remarks. It is not the impact of federal funds on archival management that is important. What counts is the impact of archivists on the management of federal funding.

FOOTNOTES

1. H.G. Jones, "The Pink Elephant Revisited," *The American Archivist* 43 (Fall, 1980) 481.
2. Maynard Brichford, *Archives and Manuscripts: Appraisal and Accessioning* (Chicago, 1977), p. 1.
3. Robert M. Warner and Francis X. Blouin, Jr., "Some Implications of Records in Machine-Readable Form for Traditional Archival Practice," in Carolyn L. Geda, *et. al., Archivists and Machine-Readable Records* (Chicago, 1980), p. 242.
4. Frank Burke, "The Future Course of Archival Theory in the United States," *The American Archivist* 44 (Winter, 1981) 40-46.
5. See, for example, Fred Miller "Social History and Archival Practice," *The American Archivist* 44 (Spring, 1981) 113-124.
6. F. Gerald Ham, "The Archival Edge," *The American Archivist* 38 (January, 1975) 5.
7. F. Gerald Ham, "Archival Strategies for the Post-Custodial Era," *The American Archivist* 44 (summer, 1981) 215.

THE ORIGINS OF MODERN EUROPEAN ARCHIVAL THEORY

MAYNARD BRICHFORD

There has been no systematic international history of modern archives. Both historians and archivists have neglected to apply systematically to their own professions the principles of appraisal, textual criticism of sources, and the examination of the credibility of documents. Archival history and biography should show individual contributions to archival theory and practice, but both are underdeveloped. While bits and pieces of archival history and theory may be found in national manuals and textbooks, both have usually been summoned to support other purposes. Archivists have searched the past for useful evidence rather than studying the development of archival theory and practice in the light of the needs of the past.

Although there were important precursors in Jean Mabillon and the Maurists, and Daniel Papebroch and the Bollandists, modern archival science was developed in the nineteenth century. Influenced by the forces of nationalism and cultural chauvinism arising from the French Revolution, European bureaucrats and academics joined forces to protect and organize their archival patrimony. French, German, and Dutch archivists played important roles in the development of archival theory.

France

When the rising of the disaffected citizens required the formation of a new government, the leading archival figure was Armand-Gaston Camus, a Parisian lawyer and revolutionary. On August 14, 1789, in an existential situation, Camus was named archivist of the Assembly. Though he had no formal archival training, Camus gained valuable experience in property expropriation during a

period of incarceration in Austrian prisons. From 1794 to his death in 1804, he directed the French archives. He saved valuable records from systematic destruction, organized an office for selecting records for the archives, prepared a classification plan, centralized archives in Paris, and presided over the first three moves of the archives.[1]

While other Europeans proceeded to establish their own versions of the Napoleonic state, they denounced the model for the systems they were creating. As in other areas, the French were under attack for archival practices. Soldiers of the French revolutionary army used records for campfires and cartridge papers. Even worse, they fired the cartridges at those whose privileges were documented on the papers. A January 17, 1793, law directed this usage of worthless parchments. On July 17, 1793, another law authorized the destruction of feudal titles wherever they were found. In the same year, the Minister of the Interior was quoted on the burning of feudal documents at Strasbourg, "Medieval trash, into the fire with it." Archives such as the one at Mainz suffered disarrangement when the custodians fled before the revolutionary armies. Between 1804 and 1815, Pierre Claude-François Daunou, a cleric and educator from Boulogne, presided over the archives of the Napoleonic empire. He is alleged to have had library training and has been nominated for eternal obloquy for reorganizing the Archives Nationales and extending a schematic arrangement system on a functional or subject basis.[2]

When Daunou left office in 1815, the French interest in archives remained. Napoleon had approved the idea of an archival training school, but it remained for Louis XVIII to establish the École des Chartes in 1821. M. Pavillet, chief of the Historical Division of the Royal Archives, was the first archival faculty member. The school led a precarious existence. Plans for "great works of erudition" to add to the "glory of our country" were fulfilled in part with the publication of eighteen volumes of sources. In 1830, Jules Michelet began a twenty-one year career as head of the Historical Division of the Royal Archives. His painstaking inquiries into manuscript and printed sources resulted, in 1833, in the publication of the first volume of his monumental *History of France*. Noted for his intuition and romantic style, Michelet sought, from his post in the archives, to "resurrect" history. Edmund Wilson wrote that "his

scientific passion kept him feverishly grubbing in the archives." In the 1830s, Daunou returned as head of the archives and joined historian François Guizot, serving as the Minister of the Interior and Minister of Public Instruction, in presiding over a massive effort to locate, organize, and publish documentary sources. Aime-Louis Champollion-Figeac taught diplomatics and paleography in the École des Chartes and published the first archival manual in 1860. In 1839, the school began publication of its annual journal —*Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes.* While the publication of sources was an accepted archival activity for the École des Chartes, the placement of its graduates was a major issue. In 1840, archivists protested the appointment of unqualified persons. A decade later, a decree reserved archival posts in the French departments to graduates of the school. In 1846, the curriculum was broadened and the school gradually won respect as the leading archival training school.[3]

On April 24, 1841, the French Minister of the Interior issued a circular for the arrangement of departmental and communal archives that contained the basic principle of "respect des fonds." Natalis de Wailly, head of the Administrative Section of the Royal Archives, explained that grouping documents according to origin was the easiest arrangement as "it involves simply the reproduction of the order of the former custodians." From 1835 to 1844, the French ministry also issued a series of administrative regulations governing departmental records disposal. In 1854, they began the publication of a series of archival inventories.[4]

These early efforts culminated in the publication of several major works by French archivists between 1883 and 1895. The first, in 1883, was Gabriel Richou's *Treatise on Archival Theory and Practice.* In 1889, Marcel Prou, later director of the École des Chartes and author of its centennial history, produced a *Manual of Latin and French Paleography.* In 1893, Arthur Giry, a professor at the École des Chartes who had taught Prou, added a *Manual of Diplomatics.* In 1891 and 1895, Charles V. Langlois, educated as an archivist-paleographer at the École des Chartes, wrote *Archives of the History of France* and *Science of Archives.* From 1913 to 1929, Langlois was director of the national archives. In 1897, the French government created the Direction of Archives, with central responsibility for national and departmental archives. In 1921, the

Direction issued regulations for the nationalization of departmental archives. In 1926 and 1928, central archival control was extended over communal and notarial archives. In 1929, the Association of French Archivists was founded. In 1933, the Association began publication of its journal, *La Gazette des Archives.* For two centuries, the highly centralized French archival system has played a leading role in the development and dissemination of archival theory.[5]

Germany

The development of Prussian archives owes as much to the passions of a researcher as to the efforts of any single archivist. Leopold von Ranke, the father of scientific history, authored 63 volumes. A Saxon trained in philology and languages at Leipzig, he published his *History of the Latin and Teuton People, 1494–1514* in 1824 and won a faculty appointment at Berlin. Writing history "wie es eigentlich gewesen," he used "memoirs, diaries, letters, diplomatic reports, and original narratives of eye witnesses." His literary trail went from manuscripts to books, to libraries, to Prussian archives in Berlin, and to Austrian archives in Vienna. Writing about Venetian manuscripts, he said, "The object of my love is a beautiful Italian, and I hope that together we shall produce a Romano-German prodigy." In discussing Ranke's "passion for facts, sources, and archives," Leonard Krieger asserts that Ranke's "visceral impulses [led] a lonely and inhibited man to possess the human other.... The facts of archival history satisfied this desire exactly: they were expressions of other real lives... approachable through documents and they revealed themselves in the intimacy of his exclusive embrace." Ranke wrote of "virgin" archives and his "innocent desire for the data." In his sixties he wrote that he studied archives "with the greatest imaginable pleasure. There is some gleam of youth or rather of youthfulness in these studies, where one always learns something new and important... which makes one forget a little that one is getting old.... From these flowers [old papers] I draw honey." For the archivist who meets a serious Rankean scholar—young or old—forewarned is forearmed.[6]

Between 1827 and 1834 Ranke demonstrated the research value of archives. He spent his days among "endless shelves of weighty

folio volumes" and "somewhat rotting papers" in the company of archivists, copyists, and "vicious small insects." Following his 1828–1831 travel and studies in Italy, he edited the semi-official Prussian *Historisch-Politische Zeitschrift*. While Ranke was at work in Berlin archives, Michelet labored in the Paris archives. Archivist Michelet also arranged and described records, but historian Ranke "found" and copied sources. Among his "discoveries" in 1835 were the official records of the German Reichstag which he found in the municipal archives at Frankfurt. From 1836 to 1866, he successively mined Hessian, Prussian, French, and English archives. Proceeding from historical evidence to historical "truth" Ranke perfected the seminar study of history. The scientific development of historical studies changed concepts of archives from records of value to their custodians to records of value to scholars. This transformation created a demand for archivists and archival buildings.[7]

From 1834 to 1836, three Prussian archival theorists published the *Zeitschrift für Archivkunde, Diplomatik und Geschichte*. They were Friedrich L. von Medem, the Prussian archives director from Stettin; Ludwig F. Hoefer, the Berlin Privy Archives councilor; and Heinrich A. Erhard, an historian-archivist from Munster. The lead article on archival science by von Medem covered archives, diplomatics, archival officials, and the official quality of archives. An article by Erhard discussed the concept and content of archives, the external position of archives, and the use of diplomatics, heraldry, history, languages, law, and political science in archival practice. The second part of Erhard's article related to the internal arrangement and administration of archives and covered documents and records, the preparation of finding aids, and the historical use of records. Hoefer contributed definitions of archives and registers. These articles mark the beginning of the debate over the future of archives newly freed from their former role as private repositories of the rulers. The three editors debated archival independence, the right of disposal, and the extent of archival responsibilities.[8]

A second journal, *Zeitschrift für die Archive Deutschlands*, appeared in 1850, with sections on archival history and administration, research, the retention of court records, paleography, dating, diplomatics, genealogy, and book reviews. At the March 1862 historical meeting in Breslau, Wilhelm Wattenbach, one

of Ranke's students, reviewed archival history, the differences between archivists and librarians, and the research use of archives. Another Ranke student, Max Duncker, became Director of the Prussian Archives. Ernst Posner wrote that from 1875 to 1895, the Prussian State Archives was raised to "the rank of truly scholarly institutions." Under the direction of yet another Ranke student, Heinrich von Sybel, six privy state archivists carried out archival and documentary publications programs. Chief among them was Max Lehmann. As befits an archival theorist, Lehmann was a controversialist characterized as "domineering, highly excitable, and hard to bear for his colleagues." He led in the adoption of the principle of provenance under which the order provided by the "excellent system of recordkeeping developed in German registry offices" was retained or restored. Published in 1881, the Prussian archival regulations cleared the way for arranging records according to provenance. The scheme replaced arrangements based on subject matter under record groups. The Germans were distinguished for their contributions to modern historical scholarship and the organization of record keeping in the registry system.[9]

Southern Germany was not far behind the Prussians in the development of archival theory. In 1876, Franz von Löher began editing *Archivalische Zeitschrift,* the oldest German archival journal. In 1889, Harry Bresslau published a *Handbook of German and Italian Paleography,* and von Löher published *Archivlehre, Principles on the History, Functions and Establishment of our Archives* in 1890. Von Löher traced the history of German archives, archival duties, the preservation and protection of archives, arrangement and organization, and archival administration. A decade later Eduard Heydenreich published *Archival System and Historical Science,* a discourse on modern archival history, the dangers to records, and the idea of bringing historical truth to the world. He quoted Goethe and Leibniz on archives and cited an inscription in Frankfurt: "Archives, the precious treasure of the state, the ornament of the fatherland." In 1900, at the second German Archives Day, Georg Hille laid the basis for German appraisal theory in a paper on the principles of destruction.[10]

Netherlands

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, Samuel Muller and his Dutch colleagues were able to draw on their French and German predecessors and contemporaries in producing a manual for Dutch archivists. A. E. M. Ribberink notes that Muller raised Dutch archival work to great heights. In 1874 there were serious deficiencies in the Dutch archival staff, buildings, methods, and organization. In a quarter century Muller and his colleagues overcame them all. Their success was due to the stabilization of Dutch society and the personal contributions of Victor De Stuers and Samuel Muller. A historical consciousness among the rising middle class led to a search for facts and proof. In the "footsteps of Ranke," the Dutch university community pursued the "critical study of sources based on historical knowledge." Periodicals were founded, histories written, and archivists appointed. On March 8, 1874, the government created a Commission of Advisors for monuments of history and art. Victor De Stuers became secretary of the commission. In the following year he was placed in charge of the Arts and Sciences Division of the Ministry of Interior, where he served until 1901. In this capacity he called upon the Association of Archivists to reform and reinvigorate Dutch archival work. Visibly successful archival programs usually have a friend in the ministry. De Stuers was both literally and figuratively a "Dutch uncle" to Robert Fruin, who in 1912 became Archivist General. On De Stuers's death in 1916, Muller wrote of a friendship that "had known a cloudless sky of more than 40 years."[11]

At the heart of the Dutch archival renaissance was Samuel Muller. Born in Amsterdam on January 22, 1848, Muller was the son of an antiquarian and bookseller. His birth occurred in a revolutionary year in the midst of a European movement for the use of primary sources to proclaim the glories of the nation and the development of scientific historical research methods. Muller studied law in Amsterdam and history at Leiden. Interested in the appointment as municipal archivist in Utrecht, he went to the École des Chartes in Paris, where he audited Anatole de Montaiglon's lectures on paleography and the ordering of archives. On December 10, 1873, Sam Muller was appointed municipal archivist at Utrecht at the age of 25. In 1879 he became provincial archivist. He served in Utrecht until reaching the age of 70 in 1918. The Dutch

archival system before De Stuers and Muller has been described as "a very boring and quiet business." Muller wrote of the personal dangers of "falling asleep or drying up" and the public's perception of the archivist as performing "certain mysterious operations" that never appeared in public. In 1875 he published an inventory to silence a muttering council. When Muller became provincial archivist at Utrecht, he found a disordered maze of archival, library, and museum material. Charters were stored in cigar boxes and the "waters from heaven" ran through the roof. The most frequently used material stood closest to the archivist's office table. Muller started organizing the most recent records as they were most often used by the administration. In 1880 he published his inventory plan. He found some inventories or finding aids in chronological order. Others were in a preconceived library-type subject system. Muller objected to the subjective character of such divisions and the difficulty of putting items of a general nature under specific subjects. Both of these systems considered archives as pieces and did not recognize the organic nature of archives. De Montaiglon, in his lectures on the organization of archives, never tired of preaching about "le respect des fonds." Muller wrote, "I still remember very well how much the man bored me with it: only later did I understand how wise his counsel was and how fortunate it was that he repeated that advice... continuously for the future archivist."[12]

Muller was not a great speaker and declined four professorships. In 1886, he wrote to Robert Fruin, "Never have I been able to find that the job of archivist per se has a lower standing than a professorship. But when I see, how small and miserably many of my colleagues look at their 'aim in life,' it does not surprise me that the job stands in a less high esteem...." Muller was a disagreeable sort of fellow—a small, balding, and bearded man who wore glasses. He was a theorist and a politician. He was also dogmatic, domineering, rude, and iron-willed with "an enormous workpower" and a "dislike for slow and careless people." He inherited bourgeois sensitivity and the intimidating "passionate zeal" of his grandfather, a Mennonite preacher. So much for his qualifications as a theorist. He was also acknowledged as the "renowned, respected leader of the Dutch archivists." His national leadership came despite his provincial position and the antago-

nism between him and Theodore van Riemsdyk, Fruin's predecessor as archivist general. Muller resented van Riemsdyk's ties to nobility and disapproved when the latter was appointed deputy to the 77-year-old archivist general. The two agreed on the fundamental importance of a knowledge of the administrative and legal structure that formed the records and restoration of the original order, but disagreed on the employment of scientific archivists in the analysis and indexing preparatory to producing finding aids. Working closely with De Stuers, Muller "manipulated the posts and organizations" to dominate the Association of Archivists which was founded at Haarlem on June 17, 1891, serving as president from 1893 to 1910. The Association became a force in advancing Dutch archival practice and the production of the famous manual or *Handleiding* of Muller, Feith, and Fruin in 1898.[13]

Muller wanted to involve the Association in the development of registry plans for government offices and inventories of modern archives. Fruin objected and took the position that the archivist has to wait for what he gets from the administration. For the first 25 years of his archival career, Muller held that the archivist's first task was to inventory the archives and make them available for research. He said that archivists should not do historical investigations that historians can do themselves. He later stated that he took this position to convince the authorities that archives were no longer to be the "recreation grounds of amateur historians." He proceeded from inventorying to publishing source documents, which he regarded as a higher archival calling. While rejecting the writing of histories by archivists, Muller maintained that the archivist must be a historian. He wrote inventories and manuals for archivists and compiled, edited, and collaborated in the production of historial works. By 1911, he came to the position that writing history and publishing sources should come before inventories and "service work." Fruin placed description ahead of writing and held that guiding historical research and supervising the selection of sources made the archivist a true historian as much as did writing history. In commenting on Fruin's view, F. C. J. Ketelaar warns that the archivist-turned-historian feels like an epicure who has become a confectioner, or a drunkard who has chosen the trade of liquor merchant, and then discovers "that public service takes precedence over the fulfillment of one's own

desires." He observes that public service means also that the archivist continues to show the possibilities of the archives through doing historical research and publishing himself.[14]

In 1894, in his first speech to the Dutch Archival Association, Muller concentrated on the archivist's image. He said being unknown makes one unloved. The archivist must try to interest the highest authorities in the archives by emphasizing its usefulness for present-day administration and management. Muller also summoned the archivist outside the walls of the archives building to make his knowledge useful, by working as a teacher at a university and by participating elsewhere in society. "Don't hide your light under a bushel," Muller called. "Publish in newspapers and magazines, and let the public hear something." Ketelaar notes that this was typical Muller: "urgency of deed and word, a vital daring to undertake everything, to bring about everything, to finish everything."[15]

In 1910, when Muller gave his peroration at the first international congress of librarians and archivists in Brussels, he urged his colleagues not to confine themselves to their studies, but to enter into full life. The archivist should be the leader and soul of the local organizations, founder of museums, life-giver in the community from within the archives. Muller concluded, "Gentlemen! Let's take care that they know that we are alive, we and the treasures which have been confided to our care. Let's take care that we'll not be forgotten and nobody shall think our treasures as being dusty and mouldy. Let us make those treasures beloved, as we ourselves love them, a living part of the full human life! We don't want to be forgotten, we want to live, share in the fast and strong current of modern communications." In the French manuscript, Muller added the words that formed a cogent statement of his archival theory—"Vivons Messieurs!"[16]

Muller, Feith, and Fruin's *Handleiding*, or manual, codified the principles they had developed. They began the preface to the first edition (1897) with the words, "This is a tedious and meticulous book. The reader is warned." The manual included chapters on the nature of archives, arrangement, description, and inventorying. The authors maintained that "uniformity in the handling of inventories... is extremely useful." The searcher will quickly grasp the meaning of a consistent practice. We do not want "to

place the rules of this manual like a heavy yoke on the shoulders of our colleagues." We "ask... much criticism."[17]

The manual provided the classic statement of the principle of provenance in its sixteenth section: the system of archival arrangement "must be based on the original organization of the archival collection, which in the main corresponds to the organization of the administrative body that produced it." A June 10, 1897, decree of the Netherlands Minister of the Interior mandated the principle of provenance. In applying the principle—"herkomstbeginsel"—and restoring the original order, Muller drew on the work of the man whom he succeeded as Utrecht provincial archivist. Vermeulen, in an 1850 report, had written that "an archive ought to be considered as something more than a simple collection of historical manuscripts" and criticized predecessors who paid "no attention to the origin or source of the collection." He recommended restoring the "arrangement, which it must have had before its order—through one or another fatal cause—was disturbed." He tried "to bring back the original order, which once had been the practical one, and so cannot be replaced advantageously by another." Drawing on Vermeulen's work, de Montaiglon's lectures, and his written and oral arguments with van Riemsdyk, Muller developed his statement of the principle of provenance. Applying his "unsparing assertive power," he improved upon, further defined, organized, and propagated these ideas. He used the pages of the *Nederlands Archievenblad* to urge greater uniformity and propose statements for discussion at annual meetings of the Association. Accepted at the Association's second meeting in 1893, Muller's propositions became the basis for the *Manual*. With "sword in hand," Muller, Feith, and Fruin tried to convince their colleagues. Every new member of the Association was obliged to obtain a copy. The *Manual* became canon law and Fruin tried to impose it. Muller was more liberal in accepting changes, but reacted sharply to criticism. He "wounded many by his sharp derision or his scornful sarcasm; he skirmished eagerly, but sometimes forgot to put a cover on his foil: 'by hardening in his once conceived opinion he often became unfair.' "[18]

When Professor Blok objected that the researcher might find a chronological arrangement more useful, Muller again explained the disadvantages of the chronological ordering. His answer

contained venom towards a non-expert who had dared to criticize. Blok retorted ironically under the title "Touched the holy little house:"

> Full of due respect would I, interested lay person, look humbly up to the archivist *as such*. Although I do not yet go so far as the "patrons" in a certain German archive I visited, where they stood up as one man at the "morning-appearance" of the "Herr Director" and sang to him, in chorus, "Guten Morgen, Herr Director," but I do have respect, true, indeed! But as user of the archive, I think that—in all modesty—I have also some right to join in the conversation with the expert archivist.

Blok also denied the independence of archival science. What archivists called archival science, Blok called professional knowledge. Fruin fulminated that "for professors in the different historical sciences, archival knowledge remains an auxiliary science, a means to extend historical knowledge and thus to better practice history. The development, which the archival system has undergone in this country in recent times tends to... free archival science from history and to make the practice of it an independent profession."[19]

The Dutch manual was an "instant success." Neither French nor German, the *Handleiding*, like the International Court of Justice, was accepted by the major powers. It was translated into German in 1905, into Italian in 1908, and into French in 1910. Eventually, it was translated into English in 1940 and into Portuguese in 1960. Since Muller, Feith, and Fruin, the manual mania has spread throughout the western world. Centerpieces in archival literature, there has been a proliferation of French, German, Dutch, English, Italian, and American national archival manuals.[20]

The manual's effect on American archival practice was substantial. Among those attending the 1910 international congress of libraries and archives in Brussels was Waldo G. Leland. The influence of the Dutch manual was readily apparent in a report he wrote in 1913 on the Illinois State Archives, saying that the first essential was an administrative history for each office and that "the archives must be so classified that the organization and functions that have produced them shall be clearly reflected." Leland and his associates drew upon archivistique, archivwesen, and archivalienkunde in preaching archival theory and practice to a full generation of Americans.[21]

Archival theory and theorists have addressed contemporary needs. In the 1790s, these included security or rescuing endangered records; the appraisal, selection, or evaluation of records for retention; and arrangement and description of archives to meet the needs of the new nations. As the nineteenth century progressed, the demands of magisterial national histories and documentary publications of sources focused archival attention on training in diplomatics and paleography. By the end of the century, experience with the specialized and chronological interests of historical researchers and confrontations with library subject classification schemes prompted archivists to emphasize the organic nature of records and develop theories of arrangement. In the twentieth century, the glut of records and involvement with administrative offices in records management have directed archivists to the theoretical aspects of appraisal for retention and description. The physical deterioration of records and increased public usage of archives have raised theoretical problems concerning conservation and user access.

An arbitrary or authoritarian attitude is essential for one who would organize documentation. Archivists are apostles of orderliness. Narrative excellence and ability as a synthesizer are less likely to establish one as a theorist than dogmatic pronouncements and timely appeals to trends. Historians of archival science should also guard against the affliction among historians of regarding historical development as the successive contributions of great minds. Associations, connections, and cumulative efforts move archival science, not the discovery of great theories, individual revelations, or revolutionary new practices agreed upon by committee or task force. In the words of Samuel Muller, "Vivons!" mesdames et messieurs!

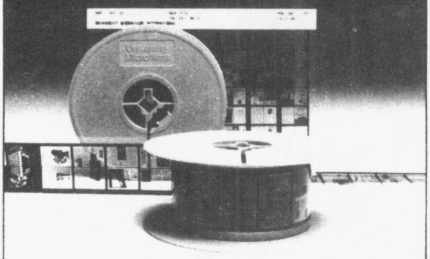
FOOTNOTES

1. Ernst Posner, "Some Aspects of Archival Development Since the French Revolution," *American Archivist* 3 (July 1940): 161–170; Joseph U. Bergkamp, *Dom Jean Mabillon and the Benedictine Historical School of Saint-Maur* (Washington: Catholic University Press, 1928), pp. 15–21; Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Work of the Bollandists through Three Centuries, 1615–1915* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1922), pp. 8–10, 24–173; *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française* (Paris: Latouzey er Ane, 1933–), 7:1010–1011; Pierre Marot, "Les Archivistes Idéologues, La Révolution et l'Empire," (Paris: Stage Technique International d'Archives, Archives Nationales, 1970); Jacques Monicat, "Les Archives Nationales," (Paris: Stage Technique International d'Archives, Archives Nationales, 1971); J. B. Duvergier, *Collection Complète des Lois, Décrets, Ordonnances, Réglemens. Avis du Conseil d'Etat* (Paris: A. Guyot, 1834), pp. 202–205.
2. Marot, "Archivistes Idéologues," p. 2; Eduard Heydenreich, *Archivwesen und Geschichtswissenschaft* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1900), pp. 15–16; Friedrich T. Friedemann, *Zeitschrift für die Archive Deutschlands* (Gotha, 1850), 3:1:109–114; *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, 10:287; Theodore R. Schellenberg, *Modern Archives: Principles and Techniques* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), p. 169.
3. *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* (Paris: Decourchant, 1839–40), 1:i–ii, 2–4, 6–7, 12, 14, 16–21, 581, 2:96; James W. Thompson, *A History of Historical Writing* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1967), 2:232–239; Edmund Wilson, *To the Finland Station* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1940), pp. 8–9, 26; *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, 8:351, 10:287; Ministère des Affaires Culturelles, Direction des Archives de France, *Manuel d'archivistique: théorie et pratique des archives publiques en France* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1970), p. 9.
4. Theodore R. Schellenberg, *European Archival Practices in Arranging Records*, National Archives Staff Information Circular no. 5 (Washington: National Archives, 1939), pp. 1–6; Charles Samaran, comp., *L'Histoire et ses Méthodes* (Paris: Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, 1961), 11:1621; Ministère des Affaires Culturelles, *Manuel d'archivistique*, pp. 162–163.
5. Ministère des Affaires Culturelles, *Manuel d'archivistique*, pp. 9, 46–47; Samaran, *L'Histoire et ses Méthodes*, pp. 1628, 1637, 1639; Thompson, *Historical Writing*, pp. 406–407; Charles V. Langlois and H. Stein, *Les Archives de l'Histoire de France* (Paris: A. Picard, 1891).
6. Leopold von Ranke, *Sämmtliche Werke* (Leipzig: Duncker 2 Humblot, 1885), 3:VII; Theodore H. Von Laue, *Leopold Ranke, The Formative Years* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1950), pp. 10, 24–27, 31, 33, 35; Leonard Krieger, *Ranke: The Meaning of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), pp. 104–105.
7. Von Laue, *Ranke*, pp. 36, 37, 39, 71; Krieger, *Ranke*, p. 161; Heydenreich, *Archivwesen*, pp. 18–19.
8. *Zeitschrift für Arkivkunde, Diplomatik und Geschichte* (Hamburg: 1834–36), pp.I–VI, 1–539; Adolf Brenneke, *Archivkunde* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1953), pp. 52–53, 60.
9. Friedemann, *Zeitschrift für die Archive Deutschlands*, pp. 1–236; Wilhelm Wattenbach, "Über Archive, deren Nutzen und Verwaltung," (Berlin, March 14, 1862), pp. 98–111; Thompson, *History of Historical Writing*, pp. 190, 208; Ernst

Posner, "Max Lehmann and the Genesis of the Principle of Provenance," in *Archives and the Public Interest*, ed. Ken Munden (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1967), pp. 37–44.

10. Franz von Löher, *Archivlehre, Grundzüge des Geschichte, Aufgaben und Einrichtung unserer Archive* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1890); Heydenreich, *Archivwesen*, pp. i–xvi, 1–40; Georg Hille, "Die Grundsätze bei Arktenkassationen" in *Korrespondenzblatt des Gesammtvereins der deutschen Geschichts-und Alterthumsvereine* (Berlin, February/March 1901), pp. 26–31.
11. A.E.M. Ribberink, "De toekomst en het verleden, het phenomeen Muller 1874, 1974," *Nederlandsch Archievenblad* 78:3 (1974): 187–189.
12. F.C.J. Ketelaar, "S. Muller Fz. en het Nederlands archiefwezen," *Nederlandsch Archievenblad* 78:3 (1974): 198–200; Ribberink, "Muller," pp. 190–191, 196–197.
13. Ketelaar, "Muller," pp. 200–203, 208; Ribberink, "Muller," p. 191.
14. Ketelaar, "Muller," pp. 206–207.
15. Ibid., p. 208.
16. Ibid., pp. 208-209.
17. Samuel Muller, Johan A. Feith, and Robert Fruin, *Manual for the Arrangement and Description of Archives*, trans. Arthur H. Leavitt (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1940), pp. 9-11.
18. Muller, Feith, and Fruin, *Manual*, pp. 13–14, 52; Ketelaar, "Muller," pp. 202–205.
19. Ketelaar, "Muller," p. 204.
20. Muller, Feith, and Fruin, *Manual*, p. 7. In France the early manuals were followed by Pierre Fournier, *Conseils pratiques pour le classement et l'inventaire des archives et l'édition des documents historiques écrits* (Paris, 1924); and Ministère des Affairs Culturelles, Direction des Archives de France, *Manuel d'archivistique: théorie et pratique des archives publiques en France* (Paris, 1970), a product of the Association of French Archivists. In Germany comprehensive works include Hans Beschorner's edited *Archivstudien zum siebzigsten Geburtstage von Woldemar Lippert* (Dresden, 1931); Paul Wentzeke and Gerhard Ludtke's edited *Die Archive* (Berlin, 1932); Wolfgang Leesch's edition of Adolf Brenneke's *Archivkunde: Ein Beitrag zur Theorie und Geschichte des europäischen Archivwesens* (Leipzig, 1953); Eberhard Schetelich's edited *Taschenbuch Archivwesen der DDR* (Berlin, 1977); and Johannes Papritz's *Archivwissenschaft* (Marburg, 1976). In Great Britain, Hilary Jenkinson published his *A Manual of Archive Administration* (London, 1922). In Italy, manuals by Pietro Taddei, *L'archivista. Manuale teorico-pratico* (Milan, 1908); Eugenio Casanova, *L'ordinamento delle carte degli Archivi di Stato Italiani: Manuale storico archivistico* (Rome, 1910); and Pio Pecchiai, *Manuale pratico per gli archivisti delle pubbliche amministrazioni* (Milan, 1911) appeared between 1908 and 1911, with revisions of the latter two in the 1920s and eight new manuals in the 1942–1972 period. In Poland, Kasimierz Konarski published *Nowozytna archiwistyka polska i jej zadania* (Warsaw, 1929). In Spain, Rafael Bori Llobet published *Manual práctico de clasificación y archivo* (Barcelona, 1932).
21. Schellenberg, *Modern Archives*, pp. 179–181.

This publication is available in microform.



University Microfilms International

300 North Zeeb Road
Dept. P.R.
Ann Arbor, Mi. 48106
U.S.A.

30-32 Mortimer Street
Dept. P.R.
London W1N 7RA
England

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ARCHIVAL THEORY AND PRACTICES IN THE UNITED STATES

RICHARD C. BERNER

Two distinct archival traditions have developed in the United States, affecting practices in manuscript repositories and public and institutional archives in myriad ways. One is the Historical Manuscripts Tradition, which dominated both collecting practices and intellectual controls from the 18th century until about 1960. The other is the Public Archives Tradition, which gained ascendancy in the 1960s as the nature of collecting changed from a concentration on papers of remote vintage to those of the 20th century.[1]

The Historical Manuscripts Tradition is rooted in librarianship. It began institutionally with the founding of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1791. Many of its practices grew out of Society secretary Jeremy Belknap's eagerness to "multiply copies" by first binding and then publishing them as the Society's *Collections*. Orientation was toward handling the collected materials as discrete items, because each handwritten document was unique and because integral groups of papers and public records were rarely collected or preserved intact. Indeed, the only body of theory and practice for bibliographic control that existed in the 19th century was that of librarianship. Manuscript items were typically classified according to a preconceived subject scheme, as were books, and were chronologically arranged within this scheme. Calendaring and item indexing, in addition to publication by historical editing, were the intended products of this procedure.

This pattern was first codified by Worthington C. Ford of the Library of Congress's Manuscripts Division for Charles A. Cutter's 1904 *Rules for a Dictionary Catalog* (pp. 135–138). In 1913 the

Library of Congress issued the first edition of its manual by John C. Fitzpatrick, *Notes on the Care, Cataloguing, and Arranging of Manuscripts*, which fulfilled the Library's intention of influencing practices nationwide. Fitzpatrick focused attention on "miscellany," dismissing provenance and any discussion of series, and adhering to strict chronological arrangement within subject and form classes.

The Public Archives Tradition, on the other hand, was influenced by European archival developments in the 19th century. It began at a practical level in this country with Dutch-trained archivist Arnold J. F. Van Laer's reorganization in 1899 of the New York State Archives from a subject classification scheme to one based on provenance. More general application of the principle of provenance began with the work of the Public Archives Commission of the American Historical Association. (The commission promoted archival legislation and surveys in many states, and from 1909 to 1936 it sponsored an annual Conference of Archivists, in which archival issues were formally aired.) The principle of provenance was applied in the establishment of the first state archives in Alabama in 1901. However, it was Dunbar Rowland of Mississippi, beginning in 1902, who most systematically elaborated upon provenance for that state's archives. In 1907 Benjamin F. Shambaugh published a classification scheme for Iowa based on provenance. In all of these cases there was respect for the original filing order, if there was one. This implied recognition of the record series as a key element in arrangement.

Beginning with the first meeting in 1909 of the Conference of Archivists, the Public Archives Tradition became more firmly based in archival theory. At that meeting, Waldo Gifford Leland, secretary of the American Historical Association, attacked the practice of applying library principles to public archives. He advocated instead the adoption of the European principle of provenance, coupled with description by progressively refined stages. He was the first person in the United States to enunciate this procedure before a group of his colleagues.

The 1910 Conference of Archivists meeting was especially important because it led to the separation of the two traditions, insulating the Historical Manuscripts Tradition from the influence of developments just occurring in the public archives field.

Rowland gave a paper arguing that state archives must serve their respective administrations primarily, and other users secondarily. Gaillard Hunt, head of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, as commentator for Rowland's paper, agreed, conceding that historical manuscripts and public archives were so utterly different that they must be treated differently. The two streams, thus separated, were not rejoined until Theodore R. Schellenberg led the way in the late 1950s and early 1960s, establishing a clear theoretical basis for applying practices borrowed from the Public Archives Tradition to the management of integral collections of papers having essentially the same organic characteristics as public records.

Between 1910 and the late 1950s, several developments occurred that contributed to Schellenberg's success. Grace Lee Nute, curator of manuscripts at the Minnesota Historical Society, published a manual on the *Care and Cataloguing of Manuscripts* (1936), and contributed a paper at the American Library Association's 1939 annual meeting that reinforced the Historical Manuscripts Tradition, considering the "box" as the "main catalogable unit."[2] During the same decade, however, the establishment of the National Archives (1934) and the Society of American Archivists (1936) and the work of the Historical Records Survey (HRS) strengthened the Public Archives Tradition. Margaret Cross Norton, Illinois state archivist and chair of the SAA's Classification and Cataloging Committee, led the committee in revising the Illinois State Library cataloging code for use in archival cataloging—primarily from only two years of experience derived from the HRS. Her *Catalog Rules: Series for Archives Material* (1938) considered the record series to be the main catalogable unit, and elaborate rules were devised for their proper cataloging.[3]

The work of Nute and Norton encouraged Augustus F. Kuhlman, chair of the American Library Association's Archives and Libraries Committee,[4] to expect the development of a national cataloging code that would cover both historical manuscripts and public archives. What evolved instead was a set of cataloging rules for historical manuscripts only. They were developed under the leadership of the Library of Congress (acting as a surrogate for the American Library Association), beginning with production of the Library's own rules in 1950. They are now represented by the

National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections (NUCMC) rules for descriptive cataloging (1955) and by the *Anglo-American Cataloging Rules* (1967, 1978).

One critical element in this process that merits special attention is the separation of description from arrangement that occurred at the Library of Congress. "Cataloging" was done in a workplace that was administratively separate from the Manuscripts Division, by staff members who were not involved in the total process of intellectual control, which includes accessioning, arrangement, and description of the materials being cataloged. As such, the rules represent a technocratic solution to an organismic problem. It was almost inevitable that a vested interest would develop in the cataloging process itself as well as in the catalog card format. Moreover, an understanding of the relationship of the catalog to other finding aids was impaired by this separation. Practices at the Library of Congress became the model for others. It has taken automation to dethrone the card catalog, but not the traditional cataloging process itself.

Meanwhile, some dramatic changes were occurring within the National Archives. Its divisions of cataloging and classification were abolished in 1941. The record group became the basis of arrangement, while the preliminary inventory became the main finding aid. Cataloging was reserved for final inventories, none of which has ever been produced. (One unfortunate consequence of this situation was that the potentially integrative function of the cataloging process was lost, with the result that the finding aids could not be approached through an integrative tool such as a union catalog or cumulative index.) In the course of implementing this program, a number of internal manuals were produced and made available for general distribution, affecting practice at other major repositories. Schellenberg was their principal author, following Leland's lead of 1909. Essentially, they outlined procedures for establishing progressively refined controls beginning at the record group level and proceeding through the subgroup, series, and item levels—*the basic hierarchy of controls.*[5]

When Solon J. Buck resigned in 1948 from his position as Archivist of the United States, he became chief of the Library of Congress's Manuscripts Division from 1948 to 1951. During this period he radically revised the work of the division, essentially

transferring to the Library of Congress the program he had been instrumental in implementing in the National Archives. The "manuscript group" became the equivalent of the record group in matters of arrangement. The register, derived from the preliminary inventory format of the National Archives, became the principal finding aid for modern manuscript accessions because of the latter's kinship to public records. As at the National Archives, however, the potential integrative function of cataloging was also ignored at the Library of Congress, despite the fact that the concept of a union catalog for books was well established there. But the manuscripts catalog was just one among other finding aids. It did not provide access to the whole array of finding aids in the manner of a union catalog because it did not catalog these other finding aids, in particular the register. Instead, cataloging was done impressionistically from an initial review of the actual manuscripts, and condensed in a scope and contents note that preceded the series listing in the register. All added entries were derived from this limited scope and contents note. The more detailed information in the container list, which contained most of the potential cataloging data, was ignored. Furthermore, in not being used as the source of catalog entries the container list has never been treated as a controlled documentary source, and the potentially integrative function of the catalog—as a union catalog—was never developed. A bifurcated system resulted that remains to this day the model for major manuscript repositories.[6]

Let us turn now to the metamorphosis of Theodore R. Schellenberg, beginning in 1956 with the publication of his *Modern Archives*. He had previously been the principal author of various Staff Information Papers for the National Archives, all relating to arrangement and description. No. 18, "Principles of Arrangement" (1951), represents the fullest exposition, in its day, of the hierarchy of controls: record group, subgroup, series, file unit, and item level. In *Modern Archives* he treated private papers as "historical manuscripts," noting that:

1. They show a more personal contact with the subject.
2. They are the product usually of spontaneity.
3. They accumulate in a "haphazard," not a "systematic," manner.

Schellenberg made only general contrasts between archival and library methodology. Libraries are collecting, not receiving, agencies; they are item-oriented in their collecting, processing, and descriptive practices and are predisposed to classification of manuscripts by pre-conceived schemes.[7]

Contrast the above in *Modern Archives* with the opening paragraph of his draft manual produced in 1961 at the University of Texas.

> This book relates to the description of both private and public records. It is written in the belief that descriptive techniques that are applied to public records may also be applied, with some modification, to private records, and that they are particularly applicable to the management of collections of recent origin, many of which have the organic character of archival groups.[8]

Between the appearance of *Modern Archives* and this draft manual Schellenberg had taught, prepared syllabus items for courses sponsored by the National Archives and Records Service, and written some articles. One of the syllabus items was on "Arrangement of Private Papers." In it Schellenberg recommended that "large collections" of private papers which reflect "extended activity" should be broken down into series in the same way as an archival group. These series should be formed on the basis of physical type (pp. 3, 9–11). In proceeding directly to series formation he saw no need to apply the public archival practice of grouping the series first according to their parentage. For example: "Most collections of personal papers are divisible into two groups: one relating to purely personal or family affairs and another the activity for which the person . . . became noteworthy. These groups may be regarded as series" (p. 11).

If he had rigorously defined subgrouping to apply only to record origins, Schellenberg would probably have defined as "subgroups" those record units that in the above quotation he calls "series," would have recognized the possible existence of more than two such groups, and would have further broken down the records generated from each particular line of activity into series by record type. But in allowing for subgrouping on the basis of function and subject matter as well as administrative hierarchy, as he also did in 1951 in *Staff Information Paper 18*, he provided no

consistent basis for subgrouping even public records. If he had limited the application of subgrouping to record origins, subgroups would then be consistently formed on the basis of record generating source; when applied to personal papers subgrouping would be on the basis of the agency (corporate body, usually) for whom the person acted. (Family papers that often accompany an acquisition of personal papers may be subgrouped also. For letters, grouping should be on the basis of recipient, diaries according to their author, and other items on the basis of other clues that indicate their origin.)

By failing to make this recommendation or to extend its application to family papers, Schellenberg left the way open for series to be formed without regard to their parentage, resulting in the dispersal of subgroups among general series. By 1965, when *The Management of Archives* was published, he had clearly limited the concept of subgrouping to record origins: the "records created by an organizational subdivision of the public agency that created an archival group."[9] But he still failed to see that it was similarly applicable to the organization of private papers having integral record characteristics.

The "personal" element about private papers is what deflected Schellenberg from applying the public archives practice of subgrouping. It also affected his treatment of other problems associated with manuscript collections. His descriptive program for private papers reflects the influence of the "personal" factor in his thinking, unchanged from *Modern Archives*.[10]

Schellenberg recommended that, in developing a descriptive program, a repository should first produce a summary guide to its entire holdings, supplementing this with inventories to particularly large and important accessions. Concentration should be on description, collectively, of accessions and series; but within this framework he recommended that the archivist produce different types of finding aids for different classes of searchers, adapting "his descriptive program to facilitate the special uses to which particular record groups will be put" (pp. 112–114). Notice should be taken that Schellenberg would produce these special finding aids before first describing the records as they are, or fully utilizing the information already available in records that are arranged by provenance.

He is ambiguous in his overall treatment of description, and I believe this is attributable to his handling of the record level hierarchy problem. His discussion leads the reader to seek a uniform level of control for all accessions in a repository, aiming, for example, for series level control of every accession regardless of its informational value (this was the National Archives objective in the 1940s). If, however, each accession were to be considered on its own merits, and if there were recognition that not all subgroups and series deserve elaboration, a different view of the record level hierarchy would obtain—one not entertained by Schellenberg. Given his presupposition, the effect is to give precedence to forms of content analysis before first recording, and then extracting, data by the objective method inherent in provenancially given data.

A further weakness in Schellenberg's descriptive program lies in his failure to see the potential role that a union catalog or "combined" indexes could perform as integrative tools. He perceived them as but two forms among an array of finding aids, each of which served a different purpose. Their integrative possibilities did not loom forcefully enough in his thinking to advance him much beyond his contemporaries in this respect.

While Schellenberg's writings and those of others who would elaborate upon them—in particular Oliver W. Holmes, Frank Evans, and myself—represent the ascendency of an archival mode, there were other major writings during the same period (1960s) that fell midway between that mode and the Historical Manuscripts Tradition. Given the constraints of space, attention will be focused on Lucile M. Kane's *Guide to the Care and Administration of Manuscripts.* Others in this middle group are Ruth Bordin and Robert M. Warner, Robert L. Brubaker, and Carolyn A. Wallace.[11] Each of them deals with modern manuscripts of the type that have affinity with public archives, and each amalgamates archival and library practice.

Kane systematically takes the reader successively from accessioning, appraisal, and preservation to cataloging, as the last step. The flow of work is crystal clear; there is no cataloging taking place while arranging is in process. "In deciding upon the organization of a group of papers, the first point to determine is whether the group contains more than one catalogable unit. If two or more units are discovered, they may be treated as separate collections or

as distinct sections within one collection, depending upon the relationship of one unit to another."[12] Without recognizing it as such, Kane has recommended what Schellenberg had hesitated to do: establish subgroups in personal/family papers. Although applying the subgroup concept empirically, as a logical method of organization, Kane did not establish it as a principle within a larger theoretical model. For her, in practice, the subgroup first, and series within, are the basic catalogable units.

In developing a "compromise" between group and item cataloging, she incorporates the following elements, which represent a bifurcated system:

1. For group description a register or inventory is used.
2. A "main" or "collection" card and added entries are made and filed in a dictionary catalog.
3. "Special catalogs, indices, calendars, and shelf lists" are prepared to "provide detailed information on particularly important manuscripts or to fill a special reference or administrative requirement."[13]

Kane does, however, like Schellenberg, insist that arrangement and description are inseparable stages of a single process, that of establishing intellectual controls.

During the 1960s, Oliver W. Holmes, Frank B. Evans, and I also continued to elaborate upon Schellenberg's work. In 1964, Holmes more clearly differentiated the record levels. He distinguished two broad levels of arrangement, the "upper level" being based on provenance while at the "lower level," within the agency, "arrangement becomes the task of determining and verifying the original order." He did not elaborate upon this feature. Holmes emphasized that series must be assigned to record groups *and to subgroups*, and then be arranged logically within. If we recognize that the record group is the parent agency, and that the subgroups are its subordinate units with their respective series, we can see that by following Holmes' procedure subgroups will not be submerged within general series of the parent agency. This procedure is now standard in public and institutional archives but is still not practiced generally for personal papers.[14]

In 1966, Frank Evans provided a historical framework in which archival practices had developed in the United States. Lacking any record keeping tradition such as the European registry systems,

practitioners in the United States initially tried pre-conceived classification systems that ignored records provenance—with disastrous results. Under the early leadership of Leland, Rowland, and others of like mind these practices came under attack, leading toward general acceptance of provenance as the basis of arrangement; "arrangement" displaced "classification." The National Archives led the way after 1941 when it abolished its divisions of classification and cataloging. Evans also elaborated upon Holmes' recapping of Schellenberg's early treatment of the record level hierarchy. He concluded that "because of American record conditions, arrangement at [the series] level must be a constructive rather than simply a preservative kind of arrangement.... It is...[the American archivist's] major contribution in making archives usable while still preserving their integrity."[15]

Although I elaborated upon Holmes' "upper and lower" levels in 1975, I had applied it to personal papers as early as 1959 and had established it as a concept at the University of Washington in 1962; i.e., that the record group and subgroup levels relate to provenance, while the other levels of the hierarchy relate to filing order.[16] Thus far, only the University of Washington Libraries' *Manual for Accessioning, Arrangement and Description* spells out these procedures and the theory behind them.

If David Gracy's basic manual on arrangement and description is any indication, this distinction between upper and lower levels is still not shared generally. For Gracy, "subgroups are not finally established until the series have been confirmed." He also confuses subject series with subgroups by allowing function and subject matter to be a basis for subgrouping, rather than limiting it to parentage; he does not recognize that every series has a parent. In addition, no clear articulation of a descriptive program is presented by Gracy as a means of providing access to the finding aids.[17]

Although there is broad agreement now on the existence of a hierarchy of record levels and on the need to establish progressively refined controls that are keyed to these levels, the Historical Manuscripts Tradition has persisted as a resistent strain. Recent writings in this tradition are best exemplified by Kenneth W. Duckett's *Modern Manuscripts* and by the *Anglo-American Cataloging Rules* as they apply to manuscripts. Duckett deals with the

entire control process, while the AACRs consider only the descriptive aspect, and only a limited part at that.[18]

Since Duckett's work was examined extensively in my 1978 article on arrangement and description,[19] only a brief recapitulation will be made here. His settings seem to be manuscript collections within special collection units of private and academic libraries, as well as collections of state and local historical societies. He accepts provenance as the basis of arrangement. He does not, however, address the problems of controlling integral accessions of recent origin. Cataloging occurs while arranging papers and is done from the manuscripts themselves, not from the finding aids. Both the concept of series and the inventory, as means of control, are at the periphery of his discussion. There is no reference to a hierarchy of record levels nor to the need to establish progressively refined controls; he would establish item control at the outset while arranging the papers. All of this reinforces a bifurcated finding aid system with no single point of access to an entire manuscript collection.

The *Anglo-American Cataloging Rules* ignore the Public Archives Tradition altogether. They were derived from the NUCMC rules for descriptive cataloging,[20] one of whose purposes had been to establish national standards for cataloging manuscripts at the repository level. The AACRs have as their goal the inclusion of all types of non-book materials in a central catalog that also includes references to standard library material.[21] For manuscripts they devise two methods of description: one for items, following rules for book cataloging, and one for collection level description, the level of our concern.[22]

Establishing the main entry is straightforward. Trouble begins with the handling of added entries. Most writers on the subject consider added entries for proper names and topical subjects to be the most essential need in the catalog, although parsimony has been followed as a rule in making them. AACR2 simply recommends that "if added entries are required under headings and titles . . . , make them." AACR1 was more explicit, recommending that "an added entry may be made under any person or corporate body that has a significant relationship to the content or origin of the collection, including a donor, former owner. . . ."[23] Missing is any specific reference to "major correspondents" or proper names

generally—although "significant relationship" might imply that to the experienced manuscript librarian—and there are no instructions for identifying the primary topical subject characteristics. Yet it is through added entries for proper names and topical subjects that multiple access points are given to an accession and to the repository's entire collection. Without this integrative function, the catalog is of questionable value.

Although other finding aids can be referred to in the main catalog entry, the relation of cataloging and of the catalog to them is ignored. In AACR1, "it is recognized that descriptive cataloging is not the only method of making library materials accessible, and that, in dealing with some types of them, guides, calendars, indexes, inventories, etc., may be preferable."[24] In other words, the catalog does not integrate the other finding aids by using them as the source of cataloging information, but stands independently and co-equal with them. AACR2 does not compensate for this deficiency. For the "source of information," AACR2 advises the cataloger to "treat the whole collection as the chief source."[25] The implication is that the information should be derived from the actual manuscripts and not from their finding aids, producing highly subjective entries and randomness of description.

In avoiding reference to other finding aids as the information source, AACR2 also avoids the requirement of establishing progressively refined controls and of linking catalog entries to the specific level from which the information was derived. Proper construction of such hierarchical controls demands future concentrated attention. Thus far, only the inventory provides a disciplined control device for establishing controls at different record levels. If, for example, a proper name or topical term is abstracted and entered from a series description or from a file unit in the series, the added entry will refer the user to that specific series or file unit as described in the inventory. The inventory, in turn, will show the relationships of that added entry (or index entry) to the accession as a whole. However, a catalog entry that is derived randomly will only refer to the item or clusters of selected items, and is incapable of showing the wider range of information relationships and the relevant clues that occur in a normal search process. Because one of the objectives of AACR2 is to ease the transition toward automated catalogs and toward on-line access to

them, its incapacity for hierarchical searching of archival finding aids is a definite handicap. It is incapable of providing for access below the collection level, and thus inevitably reinforces a bifurcated system of finding aids instead of an integrated one.

Let us now turn quickly to Richard H. Lytle's recent articles in the *American Archivist*, in which he crystallizes the two basic methods of intellectual control.[26] He distinguishes two basic methods of subject retrieval, interpreting "subject" to cover practically everything with a name or title: the Provenance Method and the Content Indexing Method. In the framework of this article, we can link the Provenance Method with the archival mode, and the Content Indexing Method with the Historical Manuscripts Tradition rooted in librarianship. Lytle considers the two methods to be complementary, with the Content Indexing Method picking up where the Provenance Method leaves off. The latter exhausts all leads provided by arrangement, and by the arrangement's reflection in the finding aids. It is an inferential method: in depending upon it, the user can anticipate in what places the information s/he seeks might be located—but it might not actually be there. The Provenance Method capitalizes on the self-accessing character of arrangement by provenance. It is most effective to the level of series descriptions, but it can incorporate information from useful file folder headings in the inventory as well. These headings are the main source for catalog/index terms and they are objectively derived. Effectiveness of a search depends on how well the finding aids system is constructed, particularly how good the inventories are.

The Content Indexing Method focuses on analysis of file units that make up series, and upon items. Unlike the Provenance Method, its index terms are explicit and certain; they tell the user that what s/he seeks is actually there. Index terms are gathered by examination of the records themselves. The system must accommodate users by anticipating their demands—this is the task of the indexer. The Content Indexing Method has its historical counterparts in calendaring and item indexing, both of which have almost disappeared from general practice because of the exorbitant expense of compiling them.

With this in mind, it might be well to give top priority nationally to making the Provenance Method maximally effective

before proceeding with the Content Indexing Method on an extensive basis. And for maximum effectiveness there must be agreement on what finding aid should be the primary source of catalog/index information. The inventory seems to be the most suitable format, but if it is chosen there must be corollary agreement as to its structure and content. Automation, if it is to be effective, would seem to depend on these basic considerations as well.[27]

FOOTNOTES

1. The author's manuscript, *Archival Theory and Practice in the United States: An Historical Analysis*, to be published in 1982 by the University of Washington Press, discusses these traditions in considerable detail. The book represents a modification of his article, "Arrangement and Description: Some Historical Observations," *American Archivist* 41 (April 1978): 169–181. For citations in the literature the reader should consult that article, but it should be noted that the book is based on a much broader bibliography.
2. Grace Lee Nute, "Suggestions for a Code for Cataloging Historical Manuscript Collections," in A. F. Kuhlman, ed., *Archives and Libraries* (1939), pp. 54–63.
3. Illinois State Library, *Catalog Rules: Series for Archives Material* (Springfield, Ill.: Secretary of State and State Librarian, 1938).
4. See: American Library Association, *Archives and Libraries*, which are the annual proceedings of this committee, 1937–1940.
5. See particularly Staff Information Circulars/Papers No. 5, "European Archival Practices in Arranging Records" (1939); No. 14, "The Preparation of Preliminary Inventories" (1950, reprinted 1974); No. 15, "The Control of Records at the Record Group Level" (1950, reprinted 1974); No. 17, "The Preparation of Detailed Lists of Records" (1951, rev. 1960, reprinted 1974); and No. 18, "Principles of Arrangement" (1951, reprinted 1974).
6. A bifurcated finding aid system is one in which each type of finding aid (catalogs, inventories/registers, shelf lists, special indexes, etc.) is co-equal and in which no single point of access is provided. In this system, the catalog and cumulative indexes are denied an integrative role. "Proliferated" system is more accurate, but bifurcation better conveys the sense of division. See Berner, "Arrangement and Description" and "Manuscript Catalogs and Other Finding Aids: What Are Their Relationships?" *American Archivist* 34 Oct. 1971): 367–372.
7. Theodore R. Schellenberg, *Modern Archives: Principles and Techniques* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, reprint 1975), p. 18.
8. Schellenberg, "Draft of a Manual on Archival Descriptive Techniques" (Texas State Historical Committee, June 1961), p. 1.

9. Schellenberg, *The Management of Archives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), p. xvi.
10. Ibid., chapter VII, "Character of a Descriptive Program," especially pp. 112–116; and pp. 268-279.
11. Lucile M. Kane, *A Guide to the Care and Administration of Manuscripts* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 2nd ed., 1966); Ruth Bordin and Robert M. Warner, *The Modern Manuscript Library* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1966); Robert L. Brubaker, "Manuscript Collections," *Library Trends* 13 (Oct. 1964): 226–253; Brubaker, "Archival Principles and the Curator of Manuscripts," *American Archivist* 29 (Oct. 1966): 505–514; Carolyn A. Wallace, "The Southern Historical Collection," *American Archivist* 28 (July 1965): 427–436.
12. Kane, p. 16.
13. Ibid., p. 54.
14. Oliver W. Holmes, "Archival Arrangement—Five Different Operations at Five Different Levels," *American Archivist* 27 (Jan. 1964): 21–41.
15. Frank B. Evans, "Modern Methods of Arrangement of Archives in the United States," *American Archivist* 29 (April 1966): 241–263. Quote is from p. 261.
16. See particularly "The Arrangement and Description of Manuscripts," *American Archivist* 23 (Oct. 1960): 395–406, and "Arrangement and Description of Manuscripts," *Drexel Library Quarterly* 11 (Jan. 1975): 34–54.
17. David B. Gracy II, *Archives and Manuscripts: Arrangement and Description* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 1977). Quote is from p. 10.
18. Kenneth W. Duckett, *Modern Manuscripts: A Practical Manual for Their Management, Care, and Use* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1975). *Anglo-American Cataloging Rules* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1967); *Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules* (Chicago and Ottawa: American Library Association and Canadian Library Association, 2nd ed., 1978); hereafter referred to as AACR1 and AACR2.
19. Berner, "Arrangement and Description: Some Historical Observations."
20. *Rules for Descriptive Cataloging in the Library of Congress,* Sept. 1954. These are the rules originally used for NUCMC cataloging.
21. AACR1, pp. 1–2; AACR2, p. 1.
22. AACR2, chapter 4, pp. 110–124.
23. AACR2, p. 322; AACR1, p. 267.
24. AACR1, p. 189.
25. AACR2, p. 111. For parallels refer to the discussion above of the Library of Congress system.
26. Richard H. Lytle, "Intellectual Access to Archives: I. Provenance and Content Indexing Methods of Subject Retrieval," *American Archivist* 43 (winter 1980): 64–75 and "...II. Report of an Experiment Comparing Provenance and Content Indexing Methods of Subject Retrieval," *American Archivist* 43 (spring 1980): 191–207.
27. Cf. Lydia Lucas, "Efficient Finding Aids: Developing a System for Control of Archives and Manuscripts," *American Archivist* 44 (winter 1981): 21–26.

University Microfilms International, in cooperation with publishers of this journal, offers a highly convenient Article Reprint Service. Single articles or complete issues can now be obtained in their original size (up to 8½ x 11 inches). For more information please complete and mail the coupon below.

ARTICLE REPRINT SERVICE

University Microfilms International

☐ YES! I would like to know more about the Article Reprint Service. Please send me full details on how I can order.
☐ Please include catalogue of available titles.

Name _____ Title _____

Institution/Company _____

Department _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Mail to: University Microfilms International
Article Reprint Service
300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

BOOK REVIEWS

Archives & Manuscripts: An Introduction to Automated Access. By H. Thomas Hickerson. Society of American Archivists Basic Manual Series. Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 1981. 60 pp. Illustrations, suggested reading lists, and glossary. Paper. $5.00, members; $7.00, non-members.

Once regarded as the answer to all problems, automation got a bad name in the 1970s when program limitations met head-on with archivists' high expectations. In recent years, the resulting disillusionment has begun to dissipate. Confronted with increased quantities of holdings and numbers of users and with new areas of research inadequately met by existing access systems, archival institutions are again turning to automation. Mr. Hickerson's manual aims to be an "introductory handbook, descriptive review and critical essay" to aid archivists in evaluating and implementing computer uses. It fills most of these roles admirably.

The introductory handbook role is addressed primarily by the first two chapters and a most useful glossary at the back of the volume. Chapter 1 describes technical aspects of computer hardware and operations and notes alternate methods of data input and alternate forms of output. Chapter 2 defines terms and discusses the factors in computer software systems which are of major importance to archivists. It explains why not all programs will run on all computers, the implications of sequential access versus direct access systems, and the importance of good documentation and system maintenance. These chapters offer a clear and concise treatment of a complex subject.

The role of descriptive review is addressed mainly by Chapter 3 as it surveys ten computer systems currently being used by various archival institutions. A brief presentation of approaches to subject

access and a review of early archival uses of automation is followed by a discussion of MRMC II at the Library of Congress, SPINDEX II and III, SELGEM developed by the Smithsonian, GRIPHOS which is used in many museums, CODOC at the Ontario Universities' Library Cooperative System, the Corning Glass Works Archives photo index, ARCHON at the Baltimore Region Institutional Studies Center, the system developed for the Survey of Sources for the History of Biochemistry and Molecular Biology, PARADIGM at the University of Illinois, and NARS A-1. The clarity of the survey is greatly enhanced by illustrations of sample output from several of the systems. Comparative information is included in the narrative, but a useful addition would have been a chart comparing aspects of the systems. Also, though strengths and weaknesses of the various systems are sometimes noted, more emphasis on the "critical review" role would have been helpful in this chapter.

The final chapter describes some of the management functions necessary for successfully implementing automated processes in an institution. It might be noted that many of these functions are also important for efficient operation of non-automated processes; a fringe benefit of automation is the self-examination it prompts. Mr. Hickerson successfully avoids the trap of excessive management jargon and takes pains to present the areas of choice archivists will confront.

Also in the final chapter are comments on current efforts and opportunities for national cooperation. Though mention of the now virtually defunct NHPRC national guide project falls victim to the problem of being out-of-date before it's printed, Hickerson's main point that archivists need to work together to gain maximum benefit from their automation efforts will remain valid for a long time to come. And his fearless prediction that during the 1980s over half the major archival institutions will begin to use computer assistance implies that such cooperation could make a major change in the state of archival access.

Although this volume is part of the SAA's second manual series which is meant to address the more specialized interests of archivists, automation systems can impact so strongly on all the topics of the first five manuals—appraisal and accessioning, arrangement and description, reference and access, security, and surveys—that it

deserves to sit next to them on your bookshelf. It also merits that spot by meeting the series' high standards of clarity and relevance.

Karen J. Baumann
State Historical Society of Wisconsin

J. Franklin Jameson and the Birth of the National Archives, 1906–26. By Victor Gondos, Jr. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981. xv, 232 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, index. Cloth. $20.

J. Franklin Jameson and the Birth of the National Archives, 1906–26 is a compelling book to read. Victor Gondos, with a background in architectural engineering, retired from the Army in 1940 and then joined the staff of the National Archives. This book is the subject of his dissertation which he received in 1971. It is the force of Gondos's own interest in the topic that draws the reader into seemingly endless moves, negotiations, bills, and coalitions that developed during Jameson's long efforts to obtain proper housing for the archives of the federal government. The book is well written and very thoroughly researched. Gondos covered all the ground: the collections of personal papers of people involved in the project, interviews with Waldo G. Leland, the texts of the numerous failed Senate and House bills, committee reports, and so on. No stone was left unturned.

An historian by trade, Jameson arrived in Washington in 1905 as the Director of the Historical Research Bureau of the Carnegie Institution and Leland became his assistant. Jameson's interest in archives predated his arrival in town. As early as 1895 he submitted a program to the Executive Council of the American Historical Association on the systematic collection and organization of source materials for American history and was appointed Chairman of the A.H.A.'s Historical Manuscripts Committee. Jameson's work at Carnegie took him to Europe and into the Archives there where he became familiar with a tradition of archives. He became actively concerned with an archives project in this country in 1907 when he contacted President Theodore Roosevelt and asked him to query

his department heads about the annual growth of space they would require. This information was forwarded to Jameson and became the basis of a storehouse of information he would collect over the next two decades.

With a passion and determination to see the archives project through, he was able to work with a multitude of events towards his purpose and to convince many people both inside government and outside that a national archives was a necessity. Through the years he was not to be deflected or sidetracked. Prior to his own interest, there had been some efforts towards the establishment of a Hall of Records and a variety of storage areas, but none were successful. From time to time there had been fires in government buildings often with the loss of valuable records. The fires and the resulting losses coupled in people's minds with an idea for storage provisions for government records. Various members of several administrations appeared interested and some bills were introduced but failed.

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge was one of Jameson's first converts, and he was soon joined by Congressmen and later Senators Miles Poindexter and Morris Sheppard. Jameson worked with and through five presidents—Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, Harding and Coolidge. He developed grass roots support in such organizations as the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Knights of Columbus, the National Association of State Libraries and the newly formed American Legion. He had magazine and newspaper support, and even William Randolph Hearst directed the *Washington Herald* into a propaganda campaign in support of an archives. More traditionally the A.H.A. created a Committee on the National Archives in 1908, and a Conference of Archivists was formed in 1909.

After a number of false starts, the omnibus public buildings bill, which had an archives attachment, was signed by President Taft in 1913. It took another 13 years to get the appropriation for the building. This included money for the purchase of a site, drafting plans, and construction. The site was a critical and drawn-out problem and without one, Jameson couldn't make further progress. A fire in 1921 in the Census Building again stirred public interest in an archives. There was even discussion of a fire proof as opposed to a fire resisting one. The Pension Building was offered

as a temporary home for government records but was finally rejected. Although the idea of retrenchment in costs was pervasive after World War I, the first postwar public buildings act included an authorization for the National Archives. It was signed on May 25, 1926, and the appropriation followed the next month. Costs for the Archives finally exceeded 12 million dollars. Ground was broken in 1931, the cornerstone was laid in 1933, and in 1934 Roosevelt approved the act establishing an archival agency. This is a particularly interesting book to read at this time, in a period of federal budget cuts. It strikingly reminds us of the mission of the National Archives, of its roots, if you will.

Mary Boccaccio
University of Maryland

Directory of Illinois Oral History Resources. By Kathryn Wrigley. Springfield: Oral History Office, Sangamon State University, 1981. 54pp. Appendices and indexes. Paper.

This book is an alphabetical list of the names, addresses, and other information regarding 151 repositories which contain 7,000 interviews. The director of the project to accumulate this information was Cullom Davis, author of *Oral History; From Tape to Type* (1977).

Most of the projects in this directory were started to record the local history of a particular geographic area. There also were many others started to register in permanent form the reminiscences of people concerning the history of a college or university. A large number were undertaken by volunteers, but numerous projects were funded by CETA grants. Secondary schools started programs to give students experience in interviewing and to train them in other aspects of oral history. The ethnic history of Chicago is well represented by interviews with Poles at the Chicago Historical Society, Italians at Chicago Circle, and Jews at the Chicago Jewish Historical Society.

The reviewer's list of favorite programs will give an idea of the diversity of oral history in Illinois: interviews with Chicago

journalists including Lerone Bennett, Phil Donahue, Roger Ebert, Andrew Greeley, and Paul Harvey at the Chicago Historical Society; interviews regarding the history of the Urban Investment and Development Company, a building, city planning, and real estate development concern in Chicago; a project in Elgin to gather the reminiscences of those attending and viewing silent movies; recollections relating to the history of the Black Church, including its worship traditions, key figures, and movements at the Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary; information about life and work around Illinois inland waterways at the Illinois Canal Society; interviews with prominent anesthesiologists at the Wood Library-Museum of Anesthesiology; and a program to interview people in Air Force communications, data automation, and air traffic control at Scott Air Force Base.

There are indexes by county, repository, and subject. One of the appendices lists institutions, organizations, and individuals who have conducted a class or workshop in oral history. This directory could be of particular use to researchers in the recent history of Illinois as well as to anyone interested in oral history. The book fulfills its purpose of publicizing oral history in Illinois.

Robert A McCown
University of Iowa

The Museum Forms Book. Edited by Kenneth D. Perry. Austin: Texas Association of Museums, 1981. 380 pp. Paper. $12.00.

In 1979 the Texas Association of Museums surveyed museums throughout the United States, as well as the Museum Documentation Association of England, asking them to send examples of the various forms they used in the course of their day to day activities. The surveyed institutions returned more than 2,000 different forms, and from this sample editor Kenneth D. Perry has selected over 400 from 119 institutions for inclusion in *The Museum Forms Book*.

As its title suggests, *The Museum Forms Book* is a collection of reproduced forms. The 380 pages of main text consist entirely of

exact reproductions of various forms used by the 119 institutions. I should qualify my use of the word "exact," perhaps, since Perry has edited some of the forms slightly, usually for space saving reasons. For example, he reproduces two-sided forms, whenever possible, on one page; reduces large size forms to his standard 10 7/8 x 8 1/4 page size; and, in some instances, omits information on forms that is not primary to content. In all such cases, however, Perry includes explanatory notes.

Perry has divided *The Museum Forms Book* into five sections based on fundamental museum functions which, while not directly equivalent perhaps, are comparable to those in which archivists are involved. Thus under ADMINISTRATION we find forms relating to collection policies, contractual agreements, gift contracts and acknowledgements, institutional memberships, personnel, and security. The CURATION section includes cataloging worksheets used by art, history, and natural science museums; conservation and condition report forms; forms relating to photographs and storage; and even a brief (4 forms) section on museum archives. The EDUCATION and EXHIBITION sections include a variety of forms relating to those two museum functions. The final section of the book comes under the heading of REGISTRATION, and here we find forms for accessioning and deaccessioning, incoming and outgoing loans, examination and loan receipts, and a variety of shipping forms.

Even though *The Museum Forms Book* is aimed specifically at museum curators and administrators, and much of the information contained on the forms is relevant only to specific types of museums—I doubt, for example, many archivists have to concern themselves with "habitat description" or "sight of capture" when engaged in field work—the book should prove interesting, if not extremely useful, to both archivists and manuscript curators. While the exact functions or uses of specific forms may not be equivalent, the general situations out of which these forms grew are comparable to the everyday situations which archivists and manuscript curators face. All archives and manuscript repositories work with donors and researchers, not to mention their own personnel; we all catalog, store, and try to conserve our holdings; and most institutions have to worry about loaning and borrowing material for exhibitions, not to mention the problems involved

with exhibitions themselves. Thus the book should be of general use to the archival community, especially to those of us who have the situations and problems but lack the forms.

I was going to include a mild complaint about the book's skimpy introduction and its lack of an index, but, then, I began to think of how I read similar books which purport to instruct readers in particular ways of the archival world and usually end up criticizing them for containing too much theoretical description and not enough concrete examples. Kenneth Perry gives us 380 pages of examples and keeps his own interpretation down to a bare minimum, and for this I commend him. Actually, his concise, 1 1/2 page preface provides more than enough information about his methodology and the book's arrangement so that users should have no trouble finding their way around *The Museum Forms Book*. And I don't think the lack of an index really hinders anyone's use of the book. A reader interested in a particular topic will want to look at entire sections, if not the entire book. Perry himself notes that the book is not meant to be a panacea for museum curators looking for the perfect form for a particular situation. So I don't think a panic stricken archivist—or museum worker for that matter—desperately searching for the perfect loan agreement form should expect to turn to a particular page in *The Museum Forms Book* and find it. I do believe, however, that an archivist or manuscript curator who is trying to design a form for a particular function or situation will want to browse through the entire book since it represents such a wide variety of institutions and situations. At the very least a potential form designer will, through the sheer number of forms presented here, be able to avoid potential pitfalls and, more than likely, benefit from some of the better designed forms found in the book.

A few final notes are in order. First, Perry has assigned an institutional code to each form, so readers can locate the name and address of an institution that has provided a particular form; he also provides complete addresses for all 119 institutions. Perry also suggests in his preface that the contributing institutions will supply additional information about their forms, so that interested readers can query institutions comparable to their own, I suppose, on a variety of situations. This latter point is particularly valuable, since Perry was forced to omit more than 1,600 forms from his

collection, many of which would be of interest.

The Museum Forms Book, then, is an interesting inside look at the day to day operations of the American museum world as revealed through its forms. It serves not only as a useful reference tool, but also as a model for similar projects, including, hopefully, a collection of forms used by archives and manuscripts repositories.

Timothy B. Murray
Washington University

Religious Archives: An Introduction. By August B. Suelflow. Society of American Archivists Basic Manual Series. Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 1980. 56 pp. Appendices and bibliography. Paper. $5.00, members; $7.00, non-members.

The growing interest in religious history during the last decade has led to an increased awareness among historians, archivists, and religious communities of the importance of religious archives. This mutual concern has led many religious organizations to initiate archival programs and has caused existing repositories to push for greater professionalism in both administration and selection of personnel. August Suelflow's *Religious Archives: An Introduction* reflects this interest and concern within the archival profession and provides a basic manual for those archivists and religious groups seeking to establish or improve archival programs.

Religious Archives is comprised of ten parts. Two introductory sections treat the nature of religious archives and their place in religious organizations. The remaining eight sections deal with the basic rudiments of archival management, including appraisal, budget, buildings and personnel, acquisition of materials, processing, reference service, photo-duplication and microfilming, exhibits, and publications. Photographs, a short bibliography, and appendices containing sample applications, deeds, and loan agreements supplement the text.

Suelflow's manual is competent and well written. He treats the basic problems and issues of archival administration and applies

them specifically to religious archives. Of special significance is his treatment on defining the scope of the collection, the acquisition of archival records, and the receiving, accessioning, and registration of archival materials. He notes the importance of a well defined collection policy, based on an efficient records management program, which will assure the collection and preservation of vital records and exclude superfluous material that occupies valuable storage space and staff time. Establishing such a program is frequently a difficult task, for staff and administrators are often reluctant to part with their records, but it is essential for the preservation of the records of the religious community or organization. Suelflow suggests guidelines for the establishment of such a program and the judicious appraisal of these records once they are obtained. He highlights, too, other techniques for acquiring material and ways to preserve good donor relations.

The processing of manuscripts and records is a necessary duty of any archivist, and Suelflow's coverage of this task is another important segment of his study. He cites important issues relating to processing, including legal rights, restrictions, and the necessity of keeping well organized records concerning the accessioning of material. This last point may be taken for granted by most experienced archivists, but it is worth repeating and an important fact to keep in mind for the novice, inexperienced archivists for whom this manual is intended.

Suelflow's treatment of other aspects of archival administration is, likewise, thorough and relevant. He provides insight into the presentation of exhibits, the establishment of a microfilming program, and reference work. But at times his attempt to cover all aspects of archival management in such a short manual causes an uneven or incomplete coverage of some important archival functions. For example, four pages are devoted to microfilming, publications, and exhibits, but only one paragraph is allotted to the description and preparation of finding aids. Furthermore, his coverage of oral history in two short paragraphs is too short and general to be of real value to the reader. Finally, some may even debate the necessity for publishing such a manual. Aspiring religious archivists must still consult basic manuals, a fact the author does well to note, regarding processing, arrangement, and other tasks. Aside from applying these archival concepts to the

religious archives experience, there is little in this manual that could not be found by consulting other SAA manuals or basic archival texts. But given the increased interest in the field and the need for greater professionalism in religious archives, this manual does serve a purpose. It is a starting point for those without training or background who suddenly find themselves, by choice or appointment, working in a religious archives. It acquaints them with important questions and issues they should be aware of and points the ideal direction in which they should progress. For this reason, *Religious Archives: An Introduction* should be a useful reference work for novice or inexperienced religious archivists, as well as religious communities, organizations, or groups seeking basic guidelines to begin an archival program.

Thomas T. Spencer
University of Notre Dame Archives

Slovenes in the United States and Canada. Bibliography. Compiled and edited by Joseph D. Dwyer with assistance from Maurycy Czerwonka. St. Paul: Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota, 1981. 196 pp. Photographs. Index of personal names. Paper. $7.00.

This volume, the third of a series of bibliographies compiled by the staff of the Immigration History Research Center (St. Paul, Minnesota), was made possible through the support of the Hoover Institution of War, Revolution, and Peace and the financial assistance of the National Endowment for the Humanities. The previous volumes relating to the Serbs and the Hungarians in the United States and Canada were published by the IHRC in 1976 and 1977, respectively. As Rudolph J. Vecoli, Director of the Center, explains in the preliminary statement, the purpose of the series is to remedy the problem of insufficient reference tools pertaining to the study of the ethnic factor in America.

Joseph Velikonja, professor of geography at the University of Washington, discusses in a preface the emigration of Slovenes from their southeastern European homeland (the northern part of

present day Yugoslavia), their settlements and numbers in America, and other informative, relevant data about them. The compilers' introduction outlines the organizational framework, stressing that the bibliography is not complete or comprehensive.

Bibliographic entries are divided into three major categories: monographs and articles, serial publications, and manuscript collections. As expected, the monographs and articles heavily predominate: about five-sixths of the volume consist of entries describing reference works, books, and articles on Slovenian American history, organizations, literature, language, religion, politics, society, art, music, and works by Slovenian American authors and publishers dealing with Slovenia and Yugoslavia. The preponderance of listed entries in the first group is due to a thorough inclusion of articles from three major Slovenian American almanacs as well as their selective inclusion from other journals. The second group, serial publications, consists of 168 entries and is subdivided into periodicals, annuals, and newspapers. The bibliographical information includes under the title, place of publication, publisher, beginning and ending dates, frequency, and location of holdings. While some twelve institutions both in the United States and the Slovenian capital of Ljubljana are listed as holding some serial publications, it appears that the Immigration History Research Center is really the only significant repository of Slovenian American historical resource materials. As a matter of fact, all items listed in the first category (monographs and articles) can be found there, as can all twenty-eight manuscript collections registered in the third and final part of the bibliography. The latter are, for the most part, records of churches and fraternal societies.

There are 1,913 entries in the volume. Numbers identifying each item clearly stand out, simplifying search for entries when the alphabetical index is used. This index, consisting of the personal names of authors and editors and the subjects of biographies, should prove extremely useful. The table of contents with detailed breakdowns helps the researcher to find the types of material with ease. Each group of entries is in alphabetical order and the format of entries follows an acceptable pattern for bibliographic citations. *The National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections* is the model for the description of manuscript collections.

The most obvious factor in the bibliography is the prepon-

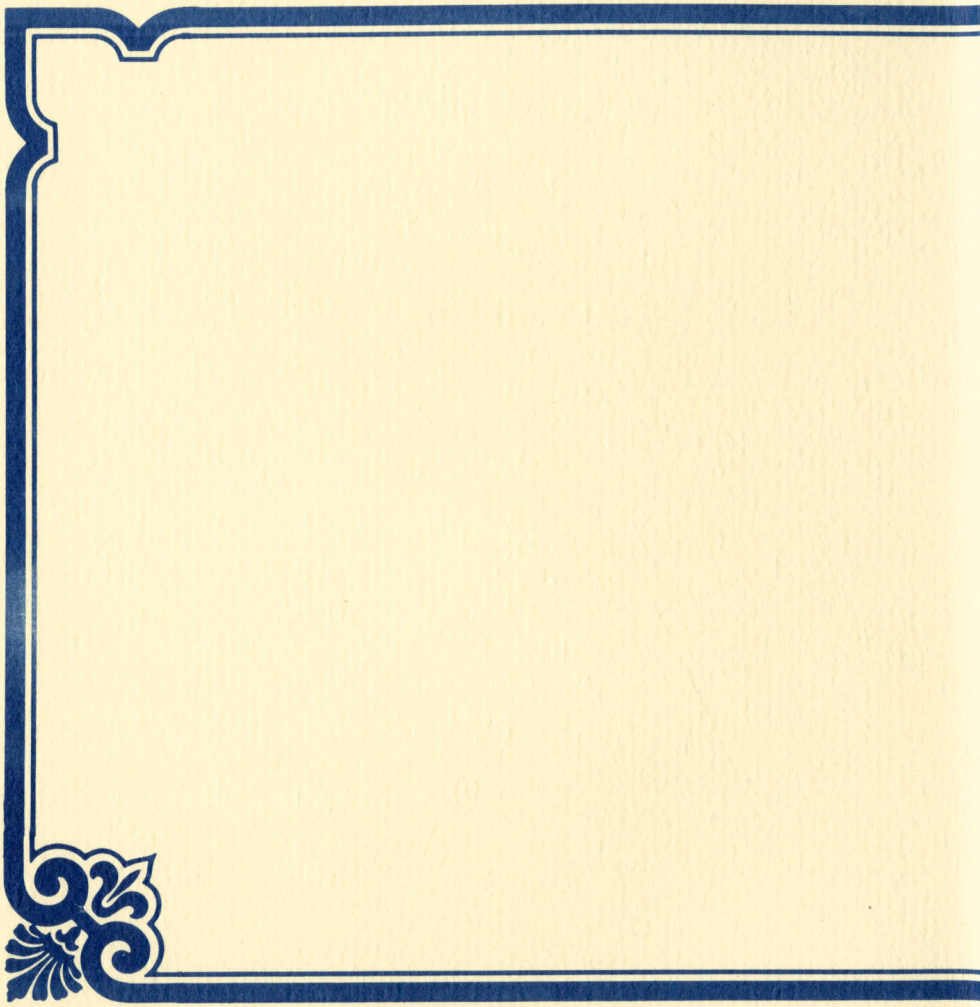
derance of entries in Slovenian. Although this is to be expected in all ethnic source materials, it does represent a more serious problem with lesser known languages such as Slovenian. It means that the research can be undertaken only by those scholars who have at least a reading knowledge of the language. For practical purposes the Americans of Slovenian heritage and Slovenes in Yugoslavia will be the most likely candidates to avail themselves of these source materials.

Overall, the volume is a worthwhile effort, a much needed first step. It should inspire thousands of interested Americans of Slovenian descent to help in the identification of additional materials not listed in this bibliography. The volume can also be considered a tribute to new social history, discovering, remembering, and recognizing an ethnic group of ordinary people doing ordinary things.

Joseph G. Svoboda
University of Nebraska-Lincoln

CONTRIBUTORS

Jeffrey Field has a Ph.D. in philosophy from the University of Michigan. He has been a Program Analyst and Program Specialist for the Division of Public Programs of the National Endowment and the senior Program Officer for the Endowment's Research Resources Program. He is presently Acting Assistant Director of the Research Resources Program. This article is a revised version of his speech to the Plenary Session at the spring, 1982, meeting of the Midwest Archives Conference.

Maynard Brichford is university archivist at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. This article is a version of a paper presented at the 1980 annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists in Cincinnati. The article reflects a long standing research interest of the author, and draws upon translations of European archival journals and two sabbatical visits to Europe in the 1970s.

Richard C. Berner is head of the University Archives and Manuscripts Division and university archivist at the University of Washington Libraries, Seattle. His article is a distillation of a lengthy historical analysis that will be presented in a forthcoming book.