

**THE KNOWLEDGE BASE AND ARCHIVAL PROFESSIONALISM  
IN NORTH AMERICA: A POLITICAL HISTORY**

by

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF  
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARCHIVAL STUDIES

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
(School of Library, Archival and Information Studies)

We accept this thesis as conforming  
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University of British Columbia

July, 1997

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## ABSTRACT

The thesis seeks to examine the extent to which the archival conceptual base has changed over time in order to ensure the field's continuing relevance to contemporary economic, social and intellectual circumstances. The investigation focuses on the profession's own definition of its knowledge requirements in the context of profession building professionalism and the related development of educational programs in North America.

The educational requirements of the archivist have moved from those of the law officer of the European Renaissance, to the historian/records keeper of the nineteenth century, to the records manager and information professional of the late twentieth century. As the profession became more sophisticated and self-aware it began to define its knowledge areas, and ultimately supported the creation of university-based programs of education.

In North America the development of the conceptual base has been a largely twentieth century phenomenon. The archivists of Canada and the United States initially adopted the contemporary European model of the archivist as scientific historian with appropriate historical training. As archives were viewed as agencies in support of historical research and archivists enjoyed some prestige as historians, this relationship was relevant and practical. However, as the demands of records keeping mounted with the growing complexity of the documentary heritage it became clear that historical training and historical thinking were no longer adequate to the task of producing competent archivists.

North American archivists began to recognize the need to develop concepts and approaches relevant to the handling of large bodies of contemporary information in a variety of formats. A knowledge base unique to the field and to the North American situation, began

to be developed. The profession, through the establishments of its own professional associations, became self-aware and recognized the need to find institutions capable of refining and transferring this body of knowledge. Like other professions, it recognized the importance of locating advanced professional education in the university, both in the interests of the elaboration of the conceptual base and in support of the field's own claims to genuine professional status.

The development of programs of graduate education in archives in North America served to enhance the intellectual flexibility and dynamism of the field. It has yet to resolve all of the questions around the appropriate intellectual foundations of the field and the future of archives *vis a vis* the demands of the field's role in the management of information and cultural resources. Discussion continues as to the most relevant sources for professional knowledge and expertise, though there has developed a widespread acceptance of a distinct form of "archival thinking" based on the unique foci of archival work. As with all other professions, competitive pressures and changing environmental circumstances have fundamentally shaped and will continue to profoundly influence the ideas and institutions of the field.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Abstract</b>	ii
<b>Table of Contents</b>	iv
<b>Acknowledgement</b>	vi
<b>Introduction</b>	
Professionalism and Occupational Survival	1
The Intellectual Evolution of the Modern Profession	3
The Intellectual Dissent of the Practising Profession	9
 <b>Chapter One: A Profession of Practitioners:     The Evolution of the Archival Profession     to the Twentieth Century</b>	
The Genesis of Archival Professionalism	13
The Modern Age of Archives	19
The North American Archivist and the Relevance of Memory	25
 <b>Chapter Two: The North American Craft:     Education and Professionalism     in the Twentieth Century</b>	
Defining the North American Archivist	32
A "Skilled Occupation" and its Knowledge Base	36
The Craft Mystique and Professional Education	41
 <b>Chapter Three: "A Discipline Worthy of Study":     Archival Graduate Education Comes of Age</b>	
Describing a Discipline: The Development of Graduate Curriculum Guidelines	45
Describing a Discipline: The American Compromise	48
The Articulation of the Knowledge Base	53
 <b>Chapter Four: New Directions:     Archival Education in the Twenty-First Century</b>	
Locating the Archival Discipline	58
The Information Paradigm	61
Archival Education in the Information Realm	67

<b>Conclusion</b>	71
<b>Notes</b>	79
<b>Bibliography</b>	101

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I wish to thank Professor Terry Eastwood for his timely advice and encouragement in the preparation of this thesis. I also wish to thank my wife Kathryn for her support and assistance throughout the writing and preparation process.

## INTRODUCTION

I have every confidence that if we consider just how rich and diverse the archivist can be and how capable he is able to become that we shall overturn the passive curator, the historian manqué and the librarian-one-step removed - some of the ghosts of archives past. Indeed we shall go further because the complete archivist raids areas of knowledge and skills far beyond the traditionally allotted confines. Survival plainly encourages this though I would maintain that most archivists or aspiring archivists like other disciplinarians ought to be sufficiently tempted intellectually to want to explore. If we do not it is a comment on ourselves and our educational system not ... on the responsibilities and challenges of the discipline.

Gordon Dodds,  
"The Compleat Archivist"<sup>1</sup>

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### Professionalism and Occupational Survival

An almost geologic process of formation, erosion and recomposition characterizes the development of every occupational group and profession. Basic elements -- professional objects, purposes, fundamental principles -- may remain little altered by time or social change, but the constituent elements of the conceptual base, the intellectual tools, occupational competencies, and the norms and values that shape practice and that motivate and inform professional purposes are subject to adaptation. These intellectual foundations are often profoundly affected by the struggle to maintain sophistication and functional relevance as the cultural and technological environment evolves. They may be reshaped by competition, by the need to protect conventional spheres of activity from encroachment as new or related occupations compete for a place in the same sphere of activity.<sup>2</sup> Thus the process of profession-building begins and ends in a layered struggle that is at once profoundly intellectual, highly practical (as are the purposes of all professions), and intensely political.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the politics of the construction of an archival conceptual base and the role of ideas and their dissemination in the process of profession building. It



is perhaps a sign of the field's recent academic heritage that the words "relevance" or "professional survival" rarely figure in discussion of the animating ideas and values of the profession.<sup>3</sup> Nonetheless, it is the contention of this thesis that the demands and dictates of relevance, both historically and in the context of the contemporary struggle for professional status, have been central to the evolution of archival thinking. While a concern for relevance is both natural and healthy, it inevitably engenders tensions between those who adhere to traditional ideas, believing them to be critical to identity, and those eager to embrace the new as a guarantee of vitality. Equally inevitably, it establishes rival camps among the advocates of change in regard to its speed and direction, alliances to be forged, and the values to be abandoned or refashioned.

The archival profession has been shaped by its intellectual, social and economic circumstances. As the field of archives developed a self-consciousness as an emerging profession, it regularly reassessed and debated its purposes and potential, challenged its concepts and reordered its priorities. The thesis will examine how the quest for relevance, competence and identity has shaped the conceptual base through an examination of the development of pre-appointment education for the archivist in Canada and the United States.<sup>4</sup> This focus has been adopted on the assumption that archives, like all other aspiring professions, has best articulated its concepts and practical knowledge requirements in the context of establishing appropriate training and education criteria. Modern professions recognize that their animating ideas must be sufficiently vital to inspire and challenge aspiring members. Programs of professional education are central to the elaboration of a genuine discipline, "a form of study having a distinct methodology for gaining knowledge," and the effective analysis, testing and transfer of ideas.<sup>5</sup> The field of archives has long been sensitive to the significance of education and issues around the role of academic preparation have generated debate within the North American community for more than eighty years. They have, quite naturally, been a focus of activity for professional organizations and the key institutions of the field. As Terry Eastwood has observed: "No question is more important for any profession than the education of its members, for ... professional education fashions the outlook of practitioners and the image they

present to society.”<sup>6</sup>

The thesis examines how conceptual paradigms and archival knowledge requirements, both practical and theoretical, have been defined and refined over time according to the changing nature of archival work and its environment. It seeks to place the development of these intellectual aspects of archival life in the context of the experience of practice, the functional need for education and training, and the desire for legitimacy, status and control that is concomitant with the rise of any occupational group to professional status. It explores the relationship of the practising profession to its academic wing and the dynamic relationship that both maintain with the knowledge base of the field. Ultimately, it suggests that archives, like all other self-aware occupational groups, relies for both its relevance and survival upon a distinct and unique knowledge system and the power to consider and abstract -- the internalization among every practising professional of the creative “ability to define old problems in new ways.”<sup>7</sup> The dynamism of that knowledge system relies on the intellectual tensions produced by programs of education and constructive debate within the field. It permits a responsiveness to the demands of the creators of archives, the society in which the profession operates, and the priorities of the cultural and socio-economic environment that are the ultimate judge of the value of archives and archivists.

\* \* \*

### **The Intellectual Evolution of the Modern Profession**

Before beginning an analysis of the archival experience in the evolution of a knowledge base, occupational competencies and university-based education, it may be useful to establish that this experience is neither formless nor unique. The creation of a genuine, education-based profession incorporates a number of standard stages familiar to established and aspiring bodies alike.<sup>8</sup> It begins with the isolation and functional structuring of some area of endeavour, a jurisdiction, which the occupational group assumes as uniquely its own by virtue of a shared competence and expertise,

however basic. This is followed by the development and refinement of a body of specialized knowledge that is composed of theoretical and practical elements. At the level of theory are the central concepts that animate the profession and that grant it its unique authority, as well as the “system of abstract propositions that describe in general terms the classes of phenomena comprising the profession’s focus of interest,” thereby rationalizing the details of practice.<sup>9</sup> The practical, methodological components comprise the accumulated experiential knowledge of the occupational group in dealing with common problems.

This compound of practical and theoretical knowledge enhances the mastery of the skills attached to the field and, for the true profession, provides the basis for its “learned” dimension. The values and skills of the profession provide the necessary ingredients for the socialization of new members via an extended period of dedicated intellectual preparation. The importance of a genuine professional education goes well beyond the guarantee of simple competence, however much society may rely upon that guarantee. It provides the social vision and idealism that separates the professional from others who possess only technical skill. The elaboration of a socially sensitive and dynamic knowledge base ensures that the profession maintains a stimulating environment for its members, who are required to engage in a continuing evaluation of the theoretical foundations of the field and their practical application. This intellectual ferment (however modest) contributes to the continued relevance of professional ideals, ideas, and practices to the occupational group’s clientele and society at large -- important, given that “the standing of the profession in society may, in the end, depend on its assessed value by users and non-users.”<sup>10</sup>

The knowledge base of the aspiring profession encourages an “emerging self-consciousness” within the group.<sup>11</sup> It forms a key ingredient in the advancement of a distinct professional culture and mind-set that is further refined and defined by formal and informal associations, by a shared educational and training experience, and by common intellectual and practical goals. The evolution of the knowledge base and the maturation of the profession inevitably give rise to discussion around the best method for transferring and inculcating the knowledge necessary to effective performance.

There is commonly a debate within the profession, usually acrimonious and often highly divisive, relating to the relative merits of apprenticeship (the traditional and practice-bound form of preparation) or formal academic education. Eventually the discussion comes to focus on the proper balance to be struck between academic instruction and practical experience.<sup>12</sup> The struggle is usually resolved by a compromise incorporating academic, university-based instruction in the general principles of the field and professional involvement in preparation in the details of practice and criteria for admission to professional ranks.<sup>13</sup> The practising profession ultimately recognizes that the academic wing elevates the field's intellectual standards, provides an effective means for the assessment and dissemination of a growing body of technical information, and reinforces the claim to special status by virtue of esoteric study.

In the twentieth century, a preparation via university based specialized study is central to any claim to genuine professional status.<sup>14</sup> The intellectual evolution of the modern profession is marked by the imperatives to ensure:

- 1) the continued relevance of the profession's jurisdiction to society;
- 2) its unique claim to mastery of the knowledge necessary to operate competently within that jurisdiction;
- 3) the relevance of the body of knowledge and technique relative to both the intellectual enrichment of the field and the day-to-day activities of the profession.

That the evolution, despite its tendency to follow familiar paths, is never smooth is demonstrated by the historical experience of most of the modern professions.<sup>15</sup> Such an historical review also clearly indicates the centrality of educational issues. Early notions of professional training were associated with the closed corporate world of the guilds, the traditions of which still influence many modern occupations. The old "true" professions were areas of occupation deemed suitable for gentlemen and governed exclusively by gentlemen with a well-honed sense of social place and purpose. While they required skill and a measure of intellectual competence, they demanded no formal pre-requisites beyond a liberal education.<sup>16</sup> Professional preparation generally

involved little more than membership in the “guild” together with readings and apprenticeship service with a master or a community of professionals. Whatever they lacked in terms of intellectual stimulation or well-defined theoretical foundations, the old professions were nonetheless considered crucial to the effective functioning of society. Their members, though largely self-regulated, were considered (and often considered themselves) to have a special corporate duty to the community.<sup>17</sup>

The nineteenth century witnessed the rise of the modern professions in the midst of bitter disputes between the state and such established, self-governing fields as law and medicine over their social responsibilities, defined largely in terms of the need to reform educational policies. It was a battle that centred upon the traditional, arbitrary claims of the professions to a monopoly of admission, education and practice based upon standards for preparation and competence that were antiquated, lax, or often non-existent.<sup>18</sup> Battles subsequently raged within the professions over the value of academic and theoretical instruction versus practical preparation, and indeed as to whether any genuine theory existed. In Victorian Britain, for example, “debate as to the role of the universities in legal education began with practitioners such as Lord Halsbury suggesting that universities had no role because the only things lawyers needed to be interested in is how to recover costs under the County Courts Act.”<sup>19</sup> It was generally assumed that the basic practices, principles and norms of the profession were ideally conveyed through the traditional, day-to-day interaction between the student and the members of the profession, an apprenticeship system which had the added benefit of providing regular contact with the client public and the harsh realities of the working world.<sup>20</sup> The development of academic programs often came only with considerable professional anxiety that the curriculum and management of the programs be under professional direction and control. There was a particular concern that the relationship between the student and the professional remain intimate through some, at the very least, vestigial form of apprenticeship.<sup>21</sup>

The emergence of science and science-based education, the growing complexity of economic life, the rise of new professions, and the erosion of the power of old, convention-based institutions, all combined with a mounting social demand for competence and a sensitivity to diverse user needs.

The professions were compelled to accept that the privilege of monopoly was accompanied by responsibilities that would ultimately be safeguarded by the state in the public interest.<sup>22</sup> They gradually introduced appropriate qualifications for admission. They came to recognize and support programs of study based in the university that encouraged a theoretical appreciation and the construction of a “scientific” basis for its purposes and responsibilities.<sup>23</sup> The professions, besides being critical actors in an increasingly expertise dependent society, revived their ancient claims to be true “disciplines” or departments of learning, with rich (though often neglected) intellectual traditions. They introduced standards of practice that could be regulated as well as enforced. In doing so, they confirmed their claim to be the models of professional preparation and conduct against which all other occupations should be compared. Competence built on formal and socially relevant knowledge structures and performance in the public interest have been ideas central to the notion of “profession” ever since.<sup>24</sup>

The modern ideal of professionalism had been barely established before the rise of specialization and scientific technique gave birth to a fresh array of aggressive occupational groups. Those with distinct competencies and a university-based educational foundation -- a learned dimension -- such as accountancy, social work and librarianship, began to lay claim to professional status. Questions were raised as to the exact definition of “profession,” which generated a measure of not always disinterested institutional and academic inquiry. The prestige and character of both the established professions and the aspiring professions were threatened by the tendency of any group to lay claim to professional status by virtue of “professional” behaviour, defined as operation in a competent and personally altruistic mode.<sup>25</sup>

True to the spirit of scientific order, criteria were demanded to identify the genuine profession and establish benchmarks for the progress of aspiring occupational groups. According to Abraham Flexner, in his seminal study of the nature of professionalism, published in 1915, genuine professional work was:

basically intellectual, carrying with it great personal responsibility; it was learned,

being based on great knowledge and not merely routine; it was practical, rather than academic or theoretic; its technique could be taught, this being the basis of professional education; it was strongly organized internally; and it was motivated by altruism, the professionals viewing themselves as working for some aspect of the good of society.<sup>26</sup>

Early twentieth century analysts thus articulated a view of professions considerably more complex and public spirited than the elite, closed view of half a century before. While it posited the view that professionals were both learned and rooted in practice, it failed to provide for the active reconciliation of the two elements and appeared to de-emphasize the academic aspect.

Flexner's criteria have remained valid in general terms over the last eighty years, though embellished or restated with variations by students of the professions. Perhaps the most notable change came as a result of the burgeoning of the professional disciplines based in the university. The criteria of professional schools has increasingly emphasized the intellectual nature of professional preparation and work, and the absolute need for the academic shaping of the professional mind. This notion was no academic conceit, but, it was argued, formed the historical core of the idea of professionalism, a core which possessed added importance as new and insecure marginal professions sought to establish their roots in ancient tradition. As Brubacher has noted, theoretical knowledge and a breadth of understanding had always been the key to genuine professionalism:

The word theory ... came from the same Greek stem as the word theatre. The root-meaning here is that of getting a view of things. In theory as well as in the theatre one seeks an overview of the whole situation. He does not limit himself by the immediate action in focus but takes in the periphery as well. The larger the scope he takes into account, the more necessary it is to conceptualize what he is doing.<sup>27</sup>

By the mid-twentieth century learning and theoretical knowledge had ceased to be but one attribute of the professional. It had become the very cornerstone of professionalism: "A profession is a vocation whose practice is founded upon an understanding of the theoretical structure of some department of learning or science, and upon the abilities accompanying such understanding."<sup>28</sup> No occupational group could claim professional status without a distinct and elaborate knowledge base and extended academic instruction: "long and usually university-based education is probably the most noted characteristic associated with professionalism."<sup>29</sup>

## **The Intellectual Dissent of the Practising Profession**

Despite all of the work of criteria building, and the efforts to establish professional exclusivity, there has neither been consensus on the character of a profession nor a diminution in the tendency to claim the status of profession arbitrarily. Virtually all occupational groups seek the status that is attached to a professional designation. They feel, genuinely, that their claims to that status are merited by the significant social purposes and the uniqueness and technical complexity of their field. Flexner himself, in attempting to formalize criteria, was caught up in the aspirations of the occupational groups under study and he ultimately contended that:

What matters most is professional spirit. All activities may be prosecuted in the genuine professional spirit. Insofar as accepted professions are prosecuted at a mercenary or selfish level, law and medicine are ethically no better than trades. Insofar as trades are honestly carried on, they tend to rise toward the professional level.<sup>30</sup>

The fact remains that the debate over the definition and character of the profession, and the role of education, was never entirely abstract. As Flexner, Carr-Sanders and others have noted, professional knowledge is connected to the "ordinary business of life" and necessarily has a highly practical content.<sup>31</sup> As a result, there is rarely agreement within a professional group as to the full range or the depth of professional knowledge that is genuinely critical to practice. Practitioners who have survived (and often prospered) without academic preparation in the theoretical foundations of their field have a functional view of both standards and ethics. Common sense is seen as entirely sufficient and quite capable of transmission to new generations via apprenticeship. So-called "book learning", separated from practice and entrusted to those without practical experience, is often viewed as an unnecessary complication in the process of "getting on with the job." For this reason, the rise of every profession is marked by controversy surrounding the degree of formal education required for entry into professional ranks, the extent of theoretical knowledge intrinsic to professional life, the need for controls over admission to the profession and professional instruction itself, and the relative importance of practical training versus academic instruction. In part it may



take the form of a generational power struggle, but it also reflects a view that the practitioner prepared in the workplace is closer to the central realities of practice and more sensitive to the demands of relevance.

Such concerns are never entirely allayed in even the most sophisticated professions, as many professional educators have observed: "The dualisms of knowledge vs skill, theory vs practice, or basic vs applied will probably be with us always. But these dualisms must be wrestled with continuously in professional education."<sup>32</sup> Their potency may be profoundly affected by the gradual domination of the professional membership by those who have emerged from academic preparation. They are also conditioned by the practising professions' awareness of the mounting complexity of their tasks and difficulties experienced in maintaining rootedness in the values of the professional culture without some consistent form of education. For this reason, openness to the theoretical aspects of professional life and to the role of academic preparation of professionals is greatest in times of rapid change, growth, technological advancement, and occupational uncertainty.

The awareness in the practising profession of the need for sophisticated education and socialization presents both opportunities and problems for the academic wing. The professional disciplines based in the university, unlike the purely academic disciplines, are faced with the battle to remain relevant, and to appear to be relevant, in a fluid professional environment. They are challenged to remain true to intellectual goals, to defend the social utility of practical knowledge, while preparing students to exercise their expertise and judgement in meeting the varied demands of the workplace. As an Italian archival educator observed, a "graduate from a professional school must be armed to deal with problems, to compare situations and what he has learned, and to solve them."<sup>33</sup> Thus professional schools must remain within the professional culture, close to professional institutions and realities, yet vital within the university environment, "if the professional school is in the university, it should be of the university".<sup>34</sup>

Professional education therefore demands difficult compromises and, particularly where the profession maintains a voice in academe, presents temptations to attend to the priorities and wishes

of the profession in the interests of continued sanction and the employability of graduates. New professional faculties are faced with the additional challenge of both transferring the wisdom of the conceptual base and exposing, with archaeological care, the outlines and foundations of theory. As practitioners rarely find the need to articulate first principles, academics must elaborate, often for the first time, the ideas that underlay not only the motivations of the field, but the various elements of practice.<sup>35</sup> They must unearth and study that elaborate web of concepts that inevitably exists, without formal expression, through centuries in the life of an occupation, and that are sanctified by generations of use and moulded by the exigencies of practice. It is the academic's task to locate principles lodged in action, that have a history and a rationale, and that may be connected with attitudes and aspects of life that reach far beyond the immediate concerns of the practising profession. It becomes the duty of the academic arm to make the breadth and coherence of these foundations obvious to the profession, relevant to practice, and (in an aspect of professional education that seems often neglected in much of the literature) stimulating to the student.

Every field experiences conflict between those who prize training and short-term responsiveness in professional thinking and those who appreciate the intellectual dimensions and enduring fundamentals. The resolution of this conflict represents, to an extent, the culmination of professionalization, the ultimate emergence of the profession as a confident and self-conscious body. It requires that the field accept its uniqueness and the intellectual validity of its peculiar concepts and preoccupations. In professions and professional education, as in architecture, form follows function. The very existence of academic instruction in a field, as well as the structure and the content of professional education, reflects and symbolizes the significance of the social functions and roles of the occupational group. The existence of the profession depends upon its value to society and its capacity to make a genuine and particular contribution based upon the exercise of refined ideas and talents. The value of professional education lies in both the preparation of the practitioner for a life of service and in the development of a flexible and enduring body of concepts that will assist in ensuring the social validity and ultimate survival of the profession.

In the archival context, these interrelationships of the practical and intellectual, of idea imbedded in action, of corporate memory as source of legitimacy and inspiration, of organic relationships that are elaborated and that endure over time, have a particular resonance. As Michel Duchein has noted, "the practice of archival administration grew ... as a natural, 'organic' phenomenon as soon as the practice of writing on perishable materials was invented."<sup>36</sup> The archival community remains very much a professionalizing group, with aspirations. Archival professional education and professional self-awareness has followed much the same pattern of evolution as that experienced by other such groups. Archivists have been compelled, by the materials with which they are entrusted and by the particular demands of their sponsors and users, to differentiate their practices, to explore the nature of the record, and thereby to gain an awareness of a specific set of competencies and to establish a particular moral and social role.

Lacking a strong institutional base, political influence, or strength in numbers, the field of archives developed slowly in North America. It created its first professional organization in 1936 and its first journal in 1938. Not until the 1970s did it genuinely flourish as a vigorous field capable of examining and refining its professional objectives and educational requirements. A genuine professional self-awareness, expressed in a concern about education and specialized skills, and combined in a willingness to act, emerged only in that decade. A measure of pride was combined with a resistance to accept instruction from those outside of the profession: "Archivists have underestimated the skills which they need to acquire and have shown a pathetic eagerness to accept whatever training is offered to them by well-meaning non-archivists."<sup>37</sup> Despite a modest stature, limited influence, and a narrow educational base, the field of archives has been capable of adapting and developing a body of knowledge, a sophisticated literature, and specialized programs of instruction at the graduate level in the university. These achievements are a tribute to the professionalizing imperatives of the field and the demands of relevance in the face of rapid change.

## **Chapter 1**

### **A Profession of Practitioners: The Evolution of the Archivist to the Twentieth Century**

It is not exceedingly difficult to determine when and why a profession like that of archivists or librarians, might turn to its past. When a profession is first developing, it might attempt to define its origins and antecedents.... A profession also turns to its own past when its self-identity or self-image improves, especially as educational requirements, the very heart of professionalism, are expanded and strengthened.

Richard Cox  
"On the Value of Archival History"<sup>38</sup>

\* \* \*

#### **The Genesis of Archival Professionalism**

Like all other professions, archives is a profession of practitioners, not of theorists. This has been the case since records began to be created and individuals were entrusted with the responsibility for their care. Generations of records-keepers and archivists existed without a developed self-awareness, an appreciation of the distinctiveness of their role, or established educational prerequisites or specialised skills for the performance of their tasks. The goals, knowledge base, and responsibilities of archivists were not formulated in the first instance by an ancient guild or a professional community. Rather, they were shaped by the varied institutions and administrative structures within which archivists worked and by the political and social context of those institutions. Until the nineteenth century, little energy was devoted to articulating concepts around the broader purposes of the record, or formulating generalizations about the nature and function of archives or archival practice. Nonetheless, specific and sometimes elaborate practices emerged, joined by ideas about the management of records and the proper role and preparation of recordskeepers. Thus the pre-conditions for an archival profession, complete with a conceptual base, cultural orientation, skill set, and educational prerequisites, began to be established centuries before archivists themselves took a hand in building professional organizations and academic programs.

While archivists have long been energetic in the celebration of the intellectual lives of the creators of records, they have consistently neglected the intellectual dimensions of their own field, including the historical.<sup>39</sup> The historiography of archives is very limited and provides only a bare overview of professional development. Much of the writing centres on the experiences of significant institutions and only rarely offers insights into developments across or even within cultures. However, through the work of Ernst Posner and other archival historians, complemented by the research of archaeologists, historiographers, and students of public administration, we know something of the origins and development of archives and their servants. While it is perhaps unwise to speak in general terms about the development of archives in western society, where each community has “followed its own path of archival development, linked narrowly to its governmental and bureaucratic system,” certain broad observations may be attempted.<sup>40</sup>

We know that archives and records repositories were common in the ancient world and were central to the administration of sophisticated civilizations.<sup>41</sup> We know that the keepers of records were part of the administrative and social elite and were expected to possess a certain level of education and functional expertise:

[They] had to be knowledgeable in disciplines that in modern terms would be called law, political science, administration, management, financial accounting, and also to be expert in records forms, classification and retrieval systems, and indexing. Persons with such an education were extremely rare in the ancient world, and came from the highest social classes.<sup>42</sup>

Luciana Duranti points out the significance of the medieval rise of the notaries and the standardisation and formalization of legal and administrative documentation. She identifies the first articulation of an archival knowledge and a proto-professional education in university-based studies in the arts of record creation:

It is significant that the first courses of study ever offered in the university were in law and records management, but law only as a function of records management. This fact expresses clearly that the first and fundamental need of any organized society is the regulation of its network of relationships by means of objective, consistent, meaningful and usable documentation, and also that such a need can only be fulfilled through a common education for records officers providing them with their common body of systematic knowledge, not just skills.<sup>43</sup>

Archives, as distinct and distinctly managed entities in the medieval and early modern era, were established to safeguard the documentary evidence of the rights and obligations of the state and the church. "The primary reason for preserving records of all kinds for centuries was a legal reason ... not a historical one."<sup>44</sup> They were repositories of land and legal records maintained by a bureaucracy in the active and exclusive service of the royal houses, civil and ecclesiastical courts, state apparatus, bishoprics, or bodies corporate. The volume of records were relatively small, often standard in form, and possessed of a "clearly evident character of utility", making processes of appraisal and transfer relatively routine.<sup>45</sup> The keepers of these records were classically trained clerics or educated lay functionaries who recognized the virtues of custodialism and were, as the term "keeper" implies, concerned to safeguard their holdings from physical damage or unauthorized use. These responsibilities demanded some level of specialized education. In addition, archivists developed skill in records handling through knowledge of court and legal hand and sigillography, critical in the use of the documentation.<sup>46</sup>

The rationale for the maintenance of archives became more complex and politically compelling with the coming of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, and the development of the centralized and bureaucratized state from the 16th century. In the first place, there was more documentation to manage. "The development of the national states and their bureaucracies led to the development of a large volume of administrative "red tape" and the growth of fixed diplomatic correspondence."<sup>47</sup> In the more dynamic trading nations, the legal records of the state became sources of evidence and precedent for the commercial and land-holding classes as well as the government. Perhaps most significantly, religious, political and territorial disputes of all kinds came to be based upon legal claims and supporting documentary evidence: "In order to act, a prince required a precedent; in order to expand, a government needed a title, or least an excuse. This is what Francis I meant when he remarked euphemistically upon the importance of 'having a way of reviewing past events .. for the elucidation of future difficulties.'"<sup>48</sup> As J.H. Plumb has observed, the

new autocracies needed to preserve and exploit a documentary heritage not simply to justify actions, but to establish the fundamental legitimacy of their authority through genealogy and appeals to traditional loyalties: "Power needs legitimacy, and when not based on content, when it is absolutist or oligarchic, it needs justification, which it can get in three ways: from religion, from philosophy, from the past."<sup>49</sup>

In this highly disputatious and litigious era the utilization of records, and particularly the study of records of the past, became an active state concern. The Reformation witnessed a remarkable growth in the amount of historical writing and publication, published often at the behest of the sovereign or church and offering up propaganda and the justification of aggressive action in the guise of legal and moral exposition. "Never in the palmiest days of classical or Humanist historical writing was more feverish energy exhibited in scanning the record of the past."<sup>50</sup> Historical research was viewed as an integral part of law and statecraft and the fruits of documentary research and analysis were, just as the creation and preservation of the document, seen to have state purposes. In these circumstances, the value of established records repositories began to be recognized and even celebrated as "institutions vital to any civilized nation."<sup>51</sup>

Thus the sixteenth and seventeenth century witnessed the creation a number of major state archives, such as the Archivo de Simancas in Spain, and the appointment of "national" keepers of the records of significance.<sup>52</sup> The archivists renewed their roles as guardians of state secrets, as active members of the administrative machinery, and as generators of legal argument through utilization of documented claims or obscure precedent. Archives and documentation became a field worthy of scholarly attention. Intellectuals such as Mabillon, Bonifacio and Godefroy produced treatise and manuals on the management of archives, providing advice on the preservation and organization of documents and thereby giving birth to an "archival science". As Duranti has observed, the early modern period saw the development of a

... special interest in the theory of records keeping, which gave rise to a body of literature on the creation, filing, retrieval and care of records. This literature stemmed from both practical and cultural needs. It was directed to records creators, to make

them sensitive to the value of records and to propose methods of maintenance and description which could facilitate the immediate retrieval of the records by the creator, for his own needs or for those persons who had received special permission to consult them for well defined reasons and under the supervision of the creator.<sup>53</sup>

Armed with a body of knowledge and increasingly identified as records specialists of some political importance, archivists began to develop self-awareness. They were not merely keepers/records managers, but prototypical information managers, organizing and often manipulating data in the interests of a discrete user community with clearly defined needs and objectives. They were charged not just with the care of records for purposes of evidence or future reference, but with the physical and intellectual management of material in order, primarily, to ensure timely extraction of information content. In the words of Bonifacio:

[F]irst it is proper to divide up locations, then affairs, and finally times... Then let us prepare indices and syllabi, let us make up lists and catalogues in alphabetical order. Adapting to each set of materials its own indices, whatsoever will be needed we will have before our eyes immediately.<sup>54</sup>

The archivist was dedicated to achieving a thorough knowledge of the record, its structure, meaning and contents, and was expected to possess a reliable expertise in the active use of evidences of all kinds. Such skills required not only “specialized savoir-faire”, a competency based on an appropriate education, but a special dedication and a particular responsibility to both the record, as an authority, and to the owners of the record.<sup>55</sup>

In this climate, the proper intellectual preparation of the archivist took on added importance and a distinct shape. As administrative servants of a jurisdiction, they were expected to be lawyer/historians with a proper intellectual grounding. Little distinction was made between the two fields as their scholarly preparation was identical and their goals similar: the utilization of historical and documentary information, sometimes (though not always) defined as “fact”, in the resolution of contemporary issues.<sup>56</sup> Legal education provided the records keeper with administrative credibility, theoretical knowledge required to interpret documents and establish their potential significance, as well as practical training required to utilize the records in the service of the state. Associated historical scholarship provided the archivist with document management tools drawn from such



auxiliary sciences as diplomatics, as well as the research skills necessarily to prepare analyses and to place arguments in broader moral and political context. In addition, the archivist was expected to possess a certain dedication to the record as artifact for, in an emerging age of antiquarianism, there was a growing appreciation of the value of the document as muniment and symbol.<sup>57</sup>

The great treatises of the seventeenth century and the status of archivists as law officers did not serve to prepare recordkeepers with all of the skills or with the management orientation required to perform the increasingly burdensome tasks of records handling: transferring, arranging and describing records in order that they might be maintained and retrieved readily. As the volume and complexity of records increased and ready access became more critical, procedural issues came to the fore, as they did in libraries of the same era.<sup>58</sup> These considerations were all the more urgent where the user community extended beyond a court and small central bureaucracy and where a mounting volume of records met an increasingly varied range of demands.

This was seen quite early in the more liberal, common law world of Britain. Fussner has identified a "revolutionary" change in attitude in Elizabethan England toward access to the public record. By the 16th century "except for those records having to do with 'mysteries of state', most records could be consulted, and more and more lawyers, historians, and royal officials were consulting them."<sup>59</sup> As this statement implies, a distinction was made between the legal record, or the records of the courts and their decisions, vital in the precedent-based English Common Law and open to scrutiny, and the records of most governmental activity. Nonetheless, the precedent of access to state generated and maintained records was established. In 17th century Britain, records searching manuals began to be published reflective of the fact that "bureaucratic disputes of all kinds were being argued out in terms of administrative precedents found in the records."<sup>60</sup> In these circumstances, standards for the creation of records, generally characterized by the use of forms or formulaic documents, and the organization of records became ever more vital. Registry systems were elaborated for the management of correspondence and documentation, and filing methods for documents of all kinds. The range of competencies of clerks and records keepers was enhanced and

hierarchies of competency developed based on education and skill differentials.<sup>61</sup>

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### **The Modern Age of Archives**

A more general change in Europe began with the post-revolutionary Archives Nationale of France, established not only in an atmosphere of equality and fraternity, but of comprehensiveness and centrality. "At the end of the eighteenth century, the whole field of archival theory and practice in Europe was being completely renovated."<sup>62</sup> Traditionalism, as Posner has noted, did not come to an abrupt end, and the revolutionary archives continued to operate "with a view to serving persons who might want to consult documents for judicial or other legal purposes" rather than the varied demands of scholarship or public reference.<sup>63</sup> Indeed, with the assumption by the central state of additional powers and control of church and aristocratic lands, the importance of archives as source of authority and legal title was amplified.<sup>64</sup> This administrative and legalistic view of the purposes of archives continued the presumption that archivists should have legal training and be, by education and aptitude, law officers or the agents of law officers of the state. "Archival subordinates were generally selected from persons trained in jurisprudence rather than in history."<sup>65</sup>

As Posner, Duranti and other historians of the profession have observed, the French Revolution heralded the modern era of archives. The new age of documentation was marked by significant changes in the scope of records managed, the principles of archives management, the uses that archives were seen to serve, and the bureaucratic and cultural context in which they operated. The state began to see that it had a responsibility to identify and preserve documents in the interests of posterity. The archival institution serving a function separate from the day-to-day management of operational records was created. It was charged with responsibilities for documents of limited "practical and immediate relevance."<sup>66</sup> This distinction between active records and historical archives had enormous implications for the definition of duties and skills of administrative record

keepers and archivists. It encouraged significant changes in the attitudes of archivists toward their own distinctiveness, status and social significance.<sup>67</sup>

The sophisticated bureaucracies of the first French republic and Napoleonic governments contrived to bring into the archival institution a wide range of government records. At the same time the archives were thrown open to a variety of users, including the scholar. Archives thus began their careers as “arsenals of history.”<sup>68</sup> This course was influenced not only by the liberal ideologies of revolutionary Europe, but by the scholarly orientations that joined that ideology. It was a period of romantic historicism, profound nationalism, patriotic celebration and myth-construction - an intellectual climate which held archives and archivists in thrall for generations.<sup>69</sup> In this context, archives represented something more than simply the evidence of action, but the symbolic record of a national or local culture - the memory of a people and its institutions. “First the medieval charters, then more and more other public records, acquired the dignity of national monuments and, as such, had to be intrusted to the care of competent custodians.”<sup>70</sup>

The definition of archival competence in this situation began to change from the traditional skills of the bureaucrat/law officer, the expert in “governmental writing and registry work” that had dominated repositories in the past.<sup>71</sup> Sir Francis Palgrave, the first Deputy Keeper of the Public Record Office (an institution created by historians, in large measure in the interests of history), stated “that the Record service, requiring as it does a knowledge of law, of languages, and of general history, must if it is to be rendered efficient, be treated as a distinct profession.”<sup>72</sup> Not only did archivists begin to discern in their activities the hallmarks of a unique field and a professionalism based on particular skills, but they embraced an active role as participant in the celebration of a national heritage. They became both custodian and scholar. Archivists assumed responsibility not only for access to records (through description, reference services, or more proactively, transcription and publication) but for their interpretation to the research community.<sup>73</sup> The traditional administrative records management functions were relegated to clericals with a rudimentary expertise, but possessed of no specialized education and no status within the bureaucracy.

If the rationalist philosophy had concentrated its attention on order, systems and methodologies creating theoretical foundations for them, the romantic and national ideas of the nineteenth century focused on the sources of the past and their exploitation, and dismissed with contempt the 'technicalities' of office activities.<sup>74</sup>

The achievement by archivists of a relative elite position within the records community served to encourage a nascent professionalism, though the results for the care and preservation of the records of government were often disastrous and were to haunt archivists for decades to come.<sup>75</sup>

As custodian and scholar, the archivist's education was, by the first decades of the nineteenth century, assumed to be in the discipline of history combined with some exposure to the traditional "auxiliary sciences" and perhaps an introduction to library methodologies. Post-revolutionary bureaucratization enhanced the importance of educational credentials and reinforced the status of archivists as public servants endowed with a special competency.

[T]he managerial arts were placed on a rather respectable basis under the prodding of the same historical forces that moulded 'enlightened monarchy'. The alliance of the throne with the middle class, against a nobility resentful of the ruler's newly won supremacy had many enduring consequences. It shaped the structural and procedural characteristics of an integrated system of public administration. It brought forth a full-fledged civil service built on merit. It pulled the universities into the training of the emerging career officialdom.<sup>76</sup>

Archivists, like all other modern civil servants, began to have their roles, responsibilities, and, significantly, their qualifications formalized in job descriptions and regulatory legislation.<sup>77</sup>

Specialized advanced education appeared, directed to the needs of the newly established state archives and addressing concerns around the disappearance of traditional methods of administration and their cadres of clerical staff. Education was needed that would be relevant to the handling and comprehension of ancient historical documents:

With the suppression of most of the monasteries, tribunals, and other places where pre-revolutionary archivists had learned their trade, it became necessary to create special schools in order to train archivists in reading old scripts, interpreting old documents, and understanding old languages and spellings. This was needed all the more because the knowledge of old administrative and legal practices was rapidly disappearing.<sup>78</sup>

The need to apply the skills of historical scholarship to the description of and access to holdings, and the necessity of dealing, however reluctantly, with modern records, produced schools of archives and

the revival of archival thought in regard to the nature of the record and its care. The establishment of a half dozen Italian archives academies between 1760 and 1820, the Ecole des Chartres in France in 1821, the Institute for Austrian Historical Research in 1854, the Spanish School of Diplomatics in 1856, together with other national academies devoted to archival education, provided places for discussion and analysis of problems unique to the management of records.<sup>79</sup>

A distinct and sophisticated archival science was elaborated during this period as archivists came to terms with a vast body of records under a new regime of use. Archival thinking in the mid-nineteenth century, elaborated by trained archivists, scholars, and archivist/scholars, included both theoretical and methodological components. It explored the definition, true nature, and significance of records and archives. It addressed these issues in conjunction with, and relation to, problem-solving in such practical areas as arrangement, description and access. Through the agency of professional contact, academic discourse, and identification of common problems, archival ideas were extended across Europe and an identity of purpose was constructed.

The earliest known exposition of that body of ideas is the 1849-50 correspondence between Francesco Bonaini, archivist of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, and the Prussian historian-diplomatist Johan Friedrich Bohmer. This correspondence clearly refers to the 'science of archives' and presents it as an autonomous body of knowledge. It dwells on ideas about what archival material is and on how to work with that material, and discusses their application in archival practice.<sup>80</sup>

This is not to suggest that the academic character of archival science as a department of learning was universally accepted. Though core elements of the "archival doctrine", such as diplomatics and palaeography, might be considered foundations of archival training, the orientation of the relevant academies was generally toward scholarship in history.<sup>81</sup> Schools such as the Ecole des Chartes were devoted to the production of archivists with a vigorous and deep understanding of historical research methodologies, the auxiliary sciences, and conventional archival work. The German academies demanded historical preparation at a high level, usually a doctorate, prior to entry into archival education and training.<sup>82</sup> While their ambitions in the direction of fashioning an archival discipline might have been limited, they succeeded nonetheless in producing a national standard of education

for those entering archival service and in earning a significant level of social and bureaucratic status for their graduates.<sup>83</sup>

The early products of archive schools found on entering practice that a centuries old dedication to classification schemes and information retrieval modes continued to preoccupy day-to-day thinking. Echoing Bonifacio, the Handbook of German Constitutional Law stated in 1794 that:

Order is the soul of all business; without meticulous attention to order, the archives will be of just as little use as a large library in which the books are placed helter-skelter. Hence all records that belong together must be placed together. It is not good practice to include in the same reports or instructions several points concerning entirely different subjects.<sup>84</sup>

It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century, as institutions settled into a post-Napoleonic stability, that new principles of practice began to be articulated. Respect des fonds and respect for original order made their appearance at a time when archivists came to associate themselves not merely with cultural memory and antiquarianism, but with the advance of the study of history inspired by scientific positivism and based on the use of reliable evidence in the fashioning of “truth”. These principles, and the practices based upon them, provided a basis for approaches to records and record-keeping that were quite distinct.

Nineteenth century archival thinking about the nature of the record as authentic, impartial and organic, and of the archivists role as “guardian for the benefit of others of truths of all kinds”, were supportive of historicist ends.<sup>85</sup> The records were no longer mere sources of information, they were the “facts enshrined”, the repositories of truth.<sup>86</sup> They demanded not merely preservation and care, but accessibility and an arrangement that guaranteed an accurate reflection of past action. Ranke and his disciples, a new breed of objective historians, “dedicated to the accumulation of fact and the study of documents,” required records that were as impartial and objective as they believed themselves to be.<sup>87</sup> What is more, they brought to the study of history a perception of society and the past as an “organic whole”, all elements interacting creatively through time, and producing a respect for context critical both in scholarship and recordkeeping.<sup>88</sup>

Historicism became a powerful intellectual force in all aspects of European life and it produced a new and politically influential community of archival users and a new paradigm in the intellectual life of the field: the archivist as scientific historian. The reliability of the historical record was given added importance. The significance of archival principles and methodologies dedicated to defence of the integrity of archives was enhanced. The archivist was expected to possess the mindset of the historian, combined with a knowledge of archival science as an auxiliary discipline to history. The growing isolation of historical archives, maintained by educated historian archivists, produced what Hugh Taylor has lamented as the "historical shunt": the separation of the archivist, both operationally and intellectually, from the active administrative and political life of the state.<sup>89</sup> The robust historicism of the late nineteenth century did not, however, relegate archives to the status of lowly appendage. Archives and archivists found a new relevance, a connection with a dynamic academic world, and a renewed social purpose within a cultural and political environment dominated by scientific history. Archivists were also exposed to the modern idea of professionalism by the newly professionalized historian, and so proceeded to establish new academic credentials for archival service.

This change did mean a separation of the archivist/historian from concern with the current activities of the state or other institutional sponsor. If historians were dedicated to the disinterested treatment of their sources, so too were their archival auxiliaries.

In the professional approach, the historian identifies history with 'the past' which, he affirms, has an objective existence independently of him and his present circumstances. He conceives it to be his purpose to establish accurate knowledge about that past. To achieve it he must deliberately abandon the present, and study the past 'for its own sake' and 'on its own terms'... In order to study 'the past' the professional historian has to rely upon the evidence that has survived into the present. For him, this means, above all, documents. In documents he finds, or thinks he finds, the 'facts' of the 'the past': actually, of course, a version of some portion of the past to which the documents relate.<sup>90</sup>

Archivists, as scientifically trained historians, saw their role as individuals who could separate historically useful and significant records and maintain them as historical evidences for scholarly attention. As both good historians and civil service specialists they were duty bound to avoid the

utilization of these records to serve narrowly political or even governmental purposes, leading them to resign an equally traditional role as information specialists in the interests of the state. It made their activities and their intellectual orientation nonetheless relevant in the context of the politically charged historical debates of the era.

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### **The North American Archivist and the Relevance of Memory**

While European governmental archives and specialized government-sponsored educational institutions were providing the institutional base for both specialized education and practice in the field of archives, there was no comparable initiative in North America. The European reality of a “centralized and uniform administration controlling in a police fashion all aspects of individual life” through, in part, the bureaucratic medium of the record, was quite alien in Britain and a particular anathema in the newly independent United States.<sup>91</sup> As Michael Kammen has noted, the United States has been wedded for most of history to the view that in a free and individualistic republic “government bore virtually no responsibility for matters of collective memory, not even the nation’s political memory.”<sup>92</sup> Citing the wholesale destruction of public records during the Civil War, including material that had long been recognized as possessing enduring cultural importance, he notes that throughout “the nineteenth century indifference on the part of government officials and the cavalier attitude of private individuals toward public records as a primary source of national memory frequently bordered on the bizarre.”<sup>93</sup> This limited perception of government responsibility extended from memory to public accountability as well. While, the Library of Congress was established in 1800 as a repository for significant manuscript materials, and an archives act was passed in 1810, there was no commitment to preservation or access to the records of the national government. “Congress had repeatedly refused to have anything to do with historical or literary matters and had kept the publication of its own records at the minimum required under the constitution.”<sup>94</sup>



This situation was perhaps not so surprising if examined in the context of American attitudes to government and the evolution of the American bureaucracy. There was a keen understanding in the new United States (drawn from observation of European despotism) that power was both the essence and the peril of government and that the power of the state had to be severely circumscribed in the interests of individual liberty. The American bureaucracy was faced with constitutional and administrative constraints "designed to protect the person, property, and civil liberties of the individual, by pre-existing and superior law, against all forms of mere arbitrary interference by government officials."<sup>95</sup> Thus limited in power and responsibility the civil service was slow to develop either the regimens or the professionalism of their European counterparts.

Administrative amateurism characterized the colonial governments and institutions of America, producing a "picture of losses and negligence" in record keeping.<sup>96</sup> Nonetheless, the early American republic showed some signs of developing administrative competence. Indeed it has been suggested that in the late eighteenth century the American "public service was one of the most competent in the world."<sup>97</sup> This extended to the maintenance of effective record keeping, the first Treasury department being dedicated in part to bringing order to a "chaos of old records."<sup>98</sup> However, the maturation of the American state and the advent of Jacksonian democracy brought an antipathy to both centralized government and elitist professionalism.<sup>99</sup> The early nineteenth century witnessed a shrivelling of governmental initiatives and the introduction of an ultimately unstable and venal spoils system which severely eroded bureaucratic authority and competence. "Departmental organization was casual, sometimes bordering on anarchy ... Very little had been done to rationalize departmental administration or to develop methods of control and accountability. There was no budget system. Accounting was loose and unsystematized."<sup>100</sup> It is not surprising that records administration in such circumstances was virtually derelict. As early as 1810 a Congressional investigation revealed that the public records were "in a state of great disorder and exposure; and in a situation neither safe nor honourable to the nation."<sup>101</sup>

For much of the nineteenth century, the public records of the United States remained in the care of untrained functionaries of no particular education, usually the appointees of the governing party. They were not encouraged to dedicate time to the preservation of the records in their trust, or to regard seriously any responsibilities to provide access to information. They neither regarded themselves, nor were regarded by the public, as professionals in any sense.

The State Department had responsibility for many of the nation's most important records; but a small staff and an utterly inadequate system of achieving access to the records meant that aspiring researchers needed to obtain a permit from the Secretary of State. Such permits tended to be awarded on capricious grounds and, most often, on the basis of personal connections. Although the State Department maintained a modest historical library and a Bureau of Rolls, they were notably under-used. Some people believed, with cause, that it was easier to do research pertaining to American history in European repositories than it was in the United States.<sup>102</sup>

Despite an unalloyed American nationalism and a considerable public fascination with primary sources (including "ancient" public documents) scant attention was devoted to the care of public records even by the scholarly community at the time. Little pressure was exerted on the senior levels of government to create institutions or to define archival competence.<sup>103</sup> Scholars were content to utilize overseas material, secondary sources, and anecdotal accounts in the creation of a national history.

Academic and public influence extended only to support for the publication and distribution of government documents. "In an economy minded era legislators were willing to make large grants for the publication of historical material, and apparently the expenditures met only with public applause."<sup>104</sup> Governmental initiative, whether for historical or bureaucratic purposes, appeared only in the latter part of the century: Rutherford Hayes recommended the recreation of a national archive in his annual messages of 1878 and 1879.<sup>105</sup> Discussions were conducted in both the Congress and the executive in ensuing years about the appropriate housing of records of historical value, though little attention was dedicated to principles of archival management or the selection and preparation of archivists. Indeed, the question of fundamental responsibility for records remained an open issue. "During the later nineteenth century no consensus emerged as to whether the nation's documents

would be better managed by the government or by a private organization such as the American Historical Association.”<sup>106</sup>

The archival slack was indeed taken up privately at the local level. Records keeping and public memory, like public charity, was entrusted to well-meaning dilettantes and historical enthusiasts true to the American spirit of individual initiative.

In the six decades following the establishment of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1791, more than two hundred state, local, and regional historical societies were established. While there were still no official national or state archives, many of these societies assumed responsibility for their region's records.<sup>107</sup>

Their efforts resulted in a “great mass of documents” being “collected, preserved, recorded, and published” in a reach that extended beyond manuscripts and into the records of business, organizations, and local and state government records.<sup>108</sup> Not only historical societies, but museums, libraries, universities, and individual collectors seeking to build research holdings, all entered the archival realm. Antiquarianism, and a desire to produce published versions of papers of even dubious significance, dominated the interests of these organizations and their archivists. “Romanticism in history meant love of the specific as well as the grand; it meant documents as well as rhetorical narrative.”<sup>109</sup>

Those few individuals employed in the private American archives in the nineteenth century were generally possessed of liberal education, a dedication to the particular interests of their sponsors, and a complete indifference to “developing systems or theory to guide the management of their historical collections.”<sup>110</sup> Idiosyncratic methodologies for the arrangement and description of records abounded and were, in fact, celebrated. Inter-institutional rivalry was rife and was combined with a reluctance to admit government interference and a dedication to the traditions of the local historian and proto-professional librarian.<sup>111</sup> The development of what has long been characterized as the “private manuscript tradition” in American archives resulted in attitudinal divisions in the American archival community as public repositories began to emerge. It produced an early indifference to both archival standards and the need for formal and specialized programs of

instruction in the field.

By the end of the nineteenth century scientific history was extending its reach beyond Europe to America. With the rise of the universities and an elite of professional historians, action was demanded of American governments in the preservation of the record and the introduction of an expert competence in the management and provision of archival resources.

Systematic care of the archives of the United States and especially of the archives of the states has its taproot in the development of scholarly concern for the availability of original source materials, a cause of supreme interest to the school of scientific historians that emerged in the last decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>112</sup>

In 1899, The American Historical Association established its Public Records Commission to survey archives, press for the establishment of a national archives, and lobby for legislation to create and protect state and local archives.<sup>113</sup> Historians' demands were reinforced by an exposure to European experience, an appreciation of principles of archives management that had evolved under the European public records model, and a general desire for efficiency and public spirit in government.

A condition of neglect characterized the public record situation in Canada in nineteenth century as well. Private collecting energies were never as pronounced, though the same antiquarian spirit prevailed. Given a more collective Canadian character, historians and historical societies campaigned earlier and more vigorously than their American colleagues for the creation of local public record offices and ultimately a national archives as a cornerstone cultural institution.<sup>114</sup> They were sensitive to the need to protect sources, whether for local chronicles or 'objective' history, and were alert to the nation-building properties of both records-keeping and scholarship. Their sensitivity to the evidential character of public archives was clear in the 1871 petition of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec requesting action on the preservation of the record, which in part read:

That, considering the divers origins, nationalities, religious creeds, and classes of persons represented in Canadian society, the conflicting nature of the evidence proffered by authors in presenting the most important points and phases of our past local history, as well as the greater need which a rapidly progressive people have to base the lessons derivable from their history upon facts duly authenticated in place of mere heresy or statements only partially correct, and, in the absence of documentary proof, coloured conformably to the political and religious bias or the special motives which may happen to motivate the narrator of alleged facts, the undersigned desire to

express their conviction that the best interests of Society in this country would be consulted by establishing a system, with respect to Canadian Archives, correspondent with those which have been adverted to in relation to Great Britain, France and the United States.<sup>115</sup>

While the Canadian government may have been more attuned to bureaucratic developments in Britain, including provisions for the management of the public records, there was nonetheless little evidence of an administrative concern with the management of its recorded information. The Public Archives of Canada, established in 1872 as the Archives Branch of the Department of Agriculture, was largely concerned with historical records rather than the management of government documents and it tied its success to scholarly schemes of historical publishing. The national archives was created for cultural purposes and with the understanding that its staff would be historically knowledgeable and its labours would be directed to the needs of academic and other historians. By the early twentieth century the institution was characterized by "a scholarly yet open mood conducive to research, discussion and intellectual discovery," but essentially unconcerned with the exploration or application of modern archival techniques. Its staff was not composed of archival professionals in the European sense, however erudite and energetic they may have been.<sup>116</sup> A parallel to the European experience, and the only demonstration of administrative concern for records, lay in the separation of the archives function from the management of public records. A keeper of public records was appointed within the Department of the Secretary of State shortly after the establishment of the Archives Branch. This official, however, was little involved with the active management of records and showed only slight dedication to the preservation of the corporate memory.<sup>117</sup>

North American archivists entered the twentieth century only vaguely aware of the traditions and practices of their European cousins. There was some exchange of information, fact-finding tours, and the familiarity produced by copying expeditions by historian/archivists of both the United States and Canada. North America had developed little of the professional identity and self-consciousness that produced the 1910 International Congress of Archivists and Librarians in

Brussels.<sup>118</sup> Nonetheless, the European evolution of professionalism did have an impact on their trans-Atlantic colleagues, and it demonstrated that a set of professional concerns and a professional language of discourse was emerging. North American archivists, though few in numbers and idiosyncratic in their methodologies, could begin to think of themselves as part of an international community that shared a commitment to an historical orientation. Bureaucratic and technological forces were only beginning to compel attention to the theoretical foundations of their education and their skills.

## Chapter 2

### The North American Craft: Education and Professionalism in the Twentieth Century

On the eve of the birth of the Society of American Archivists and the beginnings of the Historical Records Survey, and one year after the National Archives had embarked on its career, there was a wide range of archival practices, and only one clear line of theory to serve as a guide for the future. Only in the public archive field had a solid foundation in theory been laid to prepare for the future of the profession. In the historical manuscripts area there were simply practices, executed without recognition of their theoretical implications.

Richard C. Berner  
Archival Theory and Practice  
in the United States<sup>119</sup>

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#### Defining the North American Archivist

The elucidation of educational ideas and approaches in North America came only with the large scale development of archival institutions and the emergence of a sizeable working profession, which appeared simultaneously with the need to manage large volumes of modern records. The archival field became a recognizable occupational group only when a significant number of archival institutions, identified as such, began to appear early in the twentieth century. The United States and Canada, lacking a long tradition of specialized post-graduate archival education, determined their educational requirements largely from the practical needs of the modern records archivist “on the ground” -- essentially basic training in appraisal, arrangement and description. The advanced education or academic preparation of the archivist, following the European tradition, was assumed to rest in a relatively high level of scholarly achievement in historical study prior to entry into the field.

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, the number of government archives and manuscript collections had increased to the point where a group of individuals, with a particular interest in the management of records, could be assembled in conference to debate uniquely archival

issues. In 1909 the first North American conference of archivists was held in New York, in conjunction with a meeting of the American Historical Association. In the words of Waldo Gifford Leland, it "marked the formal and conscious recognition of the administration of archives as a distinct profession similar to other custodial professions, but differing from them in demands and qualifications."<sup>120</sup>

The isolation of qualifications for the professional archivist was clearly a concern of the archivists at this formative conference, and if there seemed little doubt that specialized skills were required, it was equally evident that they would have to be provided via some institutional means. The report the conference of the American representatives at the recent International Congress of Archives in Brussels observed the importance of preserving not only private manuscript collections, but public archives as well. The distinctions between the two were articulated and the report expressed the need to have "central repositories" for public records "under the care of trained officials."<sup>121</sup> It noted the "[h]igh degree of scholarship required in Europe for the position of archivist, and the decision of a majority of the members of the Congress in favor of an historical-literary rather than of a legal training as the best means of preparation for the archival profession."<sup>122</sup> Nonetheless, there was an apprehension that while historical scholarship was a good, perhaps an ideal, preparation for archival work, there were special foci of archival knowledge. These were connected to the appraisal of archives, the acquisition, preservation and use of records, and the establishment and management of archival institutions. European archival theory, centred upon the management of public records, demanded an understanding of such basics as the application of the principle of provenance in arrangement and description, as distinct from library classification methods currently in use in manuscript collections.

Indeed, so strong was their faith in the power of provenance that in 1912 Victor H. Paltsists, chairman of the Public Archives Commission, suggested that provenance provided the only basis for the 'scientific' management of records. The historical manuscripts repositories, however, sure of the uniqueness of their nonrecord materials and secure in their status as the keepers of America's past, ignored the concept of provenance.<sup>123</sup>



The idea of a science in the management of records could not have been entirely alien to those librarian/archivists who were emerging from the Dewey inspired library schools at the turn of the century, and certainly the principles of scientific management generally would have been familiar to educated Americans in all fields. But despite this awareness of distinct archival concepts and the need to apply particular principles and methodologies to the care of records, remarkably little developed by way of either an American archival literature or practical initiatives in archival education early in the century.

A quarter of a century later, American archivists took action on their own behalf with the creation of the Society of American Archivists. Constituted in 1936, the new organization encouraged the development of American archives and demonstrated some leadership in defining the appropriate educational preparation of archivists. It quickly established a committee on education which reported in 1939, providing a re-statement of the traditional historicist position, with the addition of an exclusionary clause:

It is the historical scholar, equipped now with technical archival training, who dominates the staffs of the best European archives. We think it should be so here, with the emphasis on American history and political science. But there is a distinct danger in turning over archives to librarians who are not at the same time erudite and critical historical scholars.<sup>124</sup>

The committee evidenced a desire to distinguish the work of the archivist from that of the librarian and manuscript curator, and acknowledged a distinction in animating ideas. Its conclusions heralded an advance in the process of professionalization that had been anticipated by Leland at the turn of the century: "We must disabuse ourselves of the idea that anyone can become an archivist."<sup>125</sup>

However, the SAA and its education committee were satisfied that an archival mind-set could rest upon a few relatively simple concepts, with history remaining the formative discipline. It was imperative, in their view, that the archivist have a well-developed historical awareness in order to effectively appraise historical records and to discern their enduring value for purposes of research and administration. "Experience in historical research enables one to appreciate how manuscripts

and records are used. The archivist must be able to judge the probable value of sources to a scholar or research worker, and this ability can be developed best by personal experience in research."<sup>126</sup> The relevance of archival work continued to be regarded as centred in historical scholarship. The primary users of archival materials were conventionally considered to be the archivist's natural colleagues, professional historians, and secondarily a general public with an interest in genealogy or local history. Other professional responsibilities, such as the preparation of finding aids and research tools, were assumed to demand significant subject knowledge combined with the scientific objectivity of the historian. A further factor, often alluded to though rarely discussed in any detail, was simply what might be termed the psycho-social sympathies of the historian/archivist to the original document. The historically trained were presumed to have a natural aptitude and the required cultural dedication to the preservation and care of the record. In the absence of professional education it was this sympathy, this spiritual connection with the work and its objectives, that would generate professional zeal in the cause.<sup>127</sup>

The essentially technical aspects of the archival craft, it was posited, were readily grafted onto this existing scholarly and cultural base. Pragmatic American educational pioneers saw some value in developing the intellectual character of specifically archival instruction, the elaboration of theory, but nonetheless contended that a thorough familiarity with effective and standard methodologies was crucial.<sup>128</sup> This was partly a reflection of their urgent desire to train staff quickly to take on the pressing task of preserving the documentary heritage, and partly the result of their entirely justified concern that standard methodologies of any kind were sadly lacking. Assisted by a few college courses, methodological training in the first decades of the North American profession was supplied largely by on-the-job instruction at the national archives of both the United States and Canada, supported by texts and manuals which presented a few ideas and a solid dose of practical guidance.<sup>129</sup> While the Society of American Archivists returned to education and professional standards in the 1950s, and discussed the development of education guidelines, little progress was made and little besides frustration was generated among those actively concerned with enhancing the

content and status of archival work.<sup>130</sup>

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### **A "Skilled Occupation" and its Knowledge Base**

The assumptions upon which this level of education and training was based were not seriously challenged until the 1960s and 1970s, though the dimensions of a greater archival system of knowledge were being explored in the pages of the American Archivist and in SAA conferences in earlier decades.<sup>131</sup> The challenge was occasioned by a number of developments, including the changing character of the record and the user and the dramatic growth in the profession resulting in a new concern for professional identity and professional standards. A dramatic increase in the number of university archives was joined by an array of new institutions in business, local government, and professional organizations.<sup>132</sup> The river of modern textual records, with which the first generation of North American archivists had been forced to contend, was now joined by tributaries of new media including machine readable records and audio and video recordings. With the increasing scope of materials, the use of archives also expanded to include social and physical scientists and a wide variety of community research interests. The importance of the care of inactive records as a dimension of effective records management and the accountability aspects of records preservation were becoming more obvious and were being argued more forcefully. There was a growing appreciation that those working in archives required more sophisticated and specialized training in technical areas and that the study of history as an academic preparation was now unrealistically, and perhaps dangerously, narrow.<sup>133</sup>

By the 1970s, post-war economic growth gave way to economic uncertainty and considerable competition for both cultural and administrative dollars. Coincidentally, this occurred just when archival institutions were enjoying a remarkable period of growth and large numbers of new and young archivists were beginning to seek out an identity and peculiar role in the administrative and

cultural worlds. "Eager to enhance the professional status of archivists, this large and active group re-focused the attention of the profession upon itself rather than its institutions."<sup>134</sup> The information age, which provided some of the explanation for the emergence of archives in numbers and importance, also presented new challenges in the form of "information science" and the impetus to refine and enhance both theory and methodology - potentially the basis for a new and genuine professionalism. As George Bolotenko observed: "Under the exigencies of the modern era, responding to the demands of the Geist of technology which has so suffused the last several decades ... some archivists resolved to seek a newer sleeker image, a new archival ethos."<sup>135</sup> There was undeniably a "desire for increased definition of professional standards and professional culture, and concern with the new milieu and expanding influence of the information specialist."<sup>136</sup> The twentieth century and its works had truly caught up with archivists, though arguably the forces toward professionalism would have been compelling even without the added impetus of the information age.

It has been observed that professionalization is a "dynamic process whereby many occupations can be observed to change certain crucial characteristics in the direction of a 'profession' even though some of these may not move very far in this direction."<sup>137</sup> Amid the insecurities and ambitions engendered by this new age, archivists could, as with librarians, quite accurately be described in this period as a "skilled occupation on its way to becoming a profession".<sup>138</sup> The archival field had developed a relatively complex array of principles and methodologies. Through its professional organizations it had achieved a level of self-awareness and collegiality. The character of its work and its raw materials dictated a particular mind-set. If the field was to become a distinct profession, and many doubted that it had progressed far in that direction, then real and substantial initiatives had to be taken. Certainly there was a pressing need for a reevaluation of the archivist's role in society and their intellectual equipment. This perceived need, combined with the erosion of the traditional history-based paradigm, revived discussion of education and training requirements.

In their attempts to define the requirements for true professionalism and its educational foundations, archivists inevitably turned, as had librarians and other so-called "marginal professions" before them, to accepted sociological definitions.<sup>139</sup> As has been noted in the introduction, students of the professions have laid out many criteria, some of them contradictory and overlapping. In general, they agree upon an extended period of university-based education in a body of theory and principles, combined with a dedication to the ideal of public service.

A profession is a vocation whose practice is founded upon an understanding of the theoretical structure of some department of learning or science, and upon the abilities accompanying such understanding. This understanding and these abilities are applied to the vital practical affairs of man. The practices of the profession are modified by knowledge of a generalized nature and by the accumulated wisdom and experience of mankind, which serve to correct the errors of specialism. The profession, serving the vital needs of man, considers its first ethical imperative to be altruistic service to the client.<sup>140</sup>

Archivists dedicated to their professionalization could take some comfort from such an analysis. They could be quite secure in their commitment to the ideal of public service, but theoretical education in a discipline (or even basic standards of training and practice) was seriously lacking. Both the Society of American Archivists and the Association of Canadian Archivists were established, in part, in the hopes of creating such standards and both were called upon to fulfil their mandate in the design of effective criteria for admission and professional conduct in the public interest.

The profession has a responsibility to regulate itself - to assure that a person formally designated as an archivist meets certain specified standards agreed upon by the profession, and that archival training programs provide certain fundamental information and experience and maintain conditions under which the achievement of basic professional knowledge can reasonably be expected.<sup>141</sup>

The drive to professionalism made the definition of the core of professional knowledge, "conceptual fundamentals", imperative. At the same time a whole set of new technical training requirements were being identified. As in all professions, archival education was to realize three key objectives: imparting of basic principles; training in the practical activities of the profession; socializing students to the norms of the profession. Most aspiring professions found that these

requirements were best achieved in an academic environment. Intensive university-based study in theory and practice provided a conceptual grounding, a distinctive qualification and, hopefully, enhanced status and legitimacy in society. In the archival world, however, this requirement was no more readily accepted than it had been by the established professions of the nineteenth century. The same issues of content and control marked the archival educational debate over the last two decades. It revealed a remarkable level of professional insecurity, self-definition anxieties, a surprising streak of anti-intellectualism, and the pervasiveness of that archival individualism that has always dogged efforts to develop professional and institutional standards.<sup>142</sup>

A profound scepticism about the existence of a theoretical basis of archival work and hence the validity of university-based instruction, though widely held, was not often articulated by practising archivists. John Roberts, one of the few who wrote in compelling fashion on the subject, continued to contend (remaining true to his nineteenth century professional forebears) that the intellectual content of archival work rests entirely in historiography. While he allowed that "it is not harmful and is in some respects pleasant to chat about" questions of theory and methodology there is "no need for archives academicians to develop dogma on these points."<sup>143</sup> In this, his views did not differ from those of distinguished archivists of an earlier generation, such as Herman Kahn, who observed that "most of the truly professional training of an archivist comes before he is given any specifically archival training."<sup>144</sup> However, where Kahn and others granted that genuinely archival ideas might be developed (and indeed that archivists had an obligation to develop them) Roberts categorically rejected their existence or potential. He provided his own hierarchy of useful knowledge:

Above all, it should be remembered that archivy per se is a fairly straight-forward, down to earth occupation; it is not a liberal science, and it is not to be confused with the cultural and historical treasures held by archival repositories. The knowledge that archivists must have to be effective can easily be summarized: they need to know procedures and technology; they need to know the ethics of the profession and what is expected of them; they need to know history; and they especially need to know their records. Everything else is either unnecessary or will fall into place well enough without the mediation of priesthood of theorists.<sup>145</sup>

Roberts contention that exposure to practical procedures, combined with an appreciation of the norms of the occupational group, are the primary educational requirements for an archivist presents not the position of the historian, but the clear voice of the traditional practitioner in any field. It is the voice of the nineteenth century lawyer or doctor. It occurs naturally where actual vocational practices have not been constructed upon a theoretical base and where they tend to the mundane and routine in their execution. It has been found in librarianship, where, even after a century of academic study and methodological development, "most day-to-day professional work utilizes rather concrete, rule-of-thumb, local regulations and rules, and major cataloguing systems. The problems of selection and organization are dealt with on a highly empiricist basis, concretely, and with little reference to general scientific principles. Moreover, little if any of the current research in librarianship attempts to develop such general principles."<sup>146</sup>

Roberts views also reflect the common American belief, following on the American archival experience, and expressed eloquently by Schellenberg, that all archival institutions are unique with peculiar individual concerns and justly idiosyncratic methods determined by the particular requirements of their holdings and their social and political circumstances.<sup>147</sup> In this highly differentiated environment, it is not universal archival theories, but a general academic knowledge, a dedication to the varied interests of the records creator and user, and finely-tuned analytical skills that must be brought to bear. Flexibility and responsiveness to particular conditions are presumed threatened by straightjackets of theory, conceptual labyrinths, and professional rigidity and arrogance.<sup>148</sup> As Roberts puts it: "Archival theory does two things that are profoundly threatening to clarity of thought: it overcomplicates that which is simple, and it oversimplifies that which is complicated."<sup>149</sup>

These fears regarding the narrowness and elitism of a "discipline" of archives are closely tied to general concerns about the relationship of education to practice. Traditional practitioners, essentially self-taught or trained within an institutional environment, are suspicious of education that does not provide for the same level of practical instruction. They are naturally resistant to sharing

professional status with those who have only paper qualifications and they may be resistant to the social pressures to accept "yet more dreary and unsatisfactory schooling because it will at least lead to a certificate."<sup>150</sup> It has been commonly agreed, at least in North America, that archival work is as much craft as it is science and that archival instruction must therefore contain a large dose of "clinical" instruction and exposure to day-to-day archival work. "If archives is a craft, then the best way to learn to do archival work is on the job."<sup>151</sup> Hence the continuing attraction of the apprenticeship mode of induction and the determination, even where academic preparation is endorsed, that apprenticeship be introduced in the form of an internship or a practicum. Thus the innovative curriculum guidelines of the Association of Canadian Archivists in 1976 (which shall be examined in more detail in the next chapter) assumed that only a combination of courses and experience would produce a "program acceptable to the university as well as to the profession."<sup>152</sup>

The profession should, according to this view, guard against a higher education that would weaken its "roots in the real world."<sup>153</sup> The role of the university should be restricted to perhaps the refinement of methodologies and the production of graduates who are competent and immediately productive members of the vocational community, all under the watchful eye of education committees. There is certainly nothing unusual about professional organizations insisting upon a continuing and active role in education. Many expect to be involved in curriculum design and in matters of admission and apprenticeship placement and they may ensure their continuing authority through a school accreditation process.

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### **The Craft Mystique and Professional Education**

In the archival community, however, the continuing concern that education be closely attached to the profession too often reflected a narrowness of perspective and a reluctance to admit an academic role beyond training. This is indicated in the often expressed desire that programs of



instruction be kept out of the hands of full-time academics - an appeal to the “old craft mystique argument” that archives must be taught by practitioners, even in the universities.<sup>154</sup> This is a commonplace in professions that relied initially upon practitioners with an interest in teaching to assume the academic role. In archives, it seemed to betray a limited view of the intellectual content of the field.<sup>155</sup> It has been observed that “this reliance on the practising archivists [for teaching] overemphasises practice at the expense of theoretical research.”<sup>156</sup>

Issues of content and control were also readily discerned in discussions that progressed through the pages of American Archivist and Archivaria. A stream of articles and commentaries, particularly through the 1960s and 1970s, clearly reveal how meagre was the profession’s estimate of its own intellectual stock. Discussion focused almost exclusively on the appropriate location of instruction, whether in the library school or the history faculty, evidence that both intellectual content and innovative methodology were judged to be inevitably acquired from other sources.<sup>157</sup> The question was reduced to whether the future of archives lay in a) the continued primary application of historical research skills and sensitivities or b) a new emphasis on library-style descriptive and retrieval techniques in response to the presumably progressive demands of information science. The schizophrenic character of the archivist remained.

In almost 40 years of debate about archival training, no one has been able to get away from the fact that one can learn to be an archivist only after receiving training elsewhere in another discipline. Like Goethe’s Faust, two souls dwell in the archivist’s breast, and one is continually tearing away at the other. Almost every archivist has a divided heart. Whether he is primarily an archivist or primarily something else seems to depend in good part upon where he is and with whom he is speaking.<sup>158</sup>

Such resistance as was offered to this continued intellectual reliance was too often couched in terms of a blanket rejection of both the related disciplines, partly the natural “attitude of exclusivity” that is a concomitant of professional development.<sup>159</sup> It was not attended by insights into the opportunities of archival scholarship, but rather exposed a frustration with the invasion of imperfectly socialized library graduates and history Ph.D.s at a time when genuinely distinct professional development seemed a real possibility.<sup>160</sup>

In neither the United States nor Canada could a consensus on the appropriate location and character of archival education be reached. The Society of American Archivists' "Committee of the 1970s" examined the problem and reiterated the practitioners creed. "Because of the nature of the materials with which the archivist deals and because of the nature of his responsibilities with regard to these materials, the training necessary for an archivist should be firmly rooted in experience."<sup>161</sup> The Committee went on to suggest that no education beyond basic training was required and stated that "our best interests as a profession are not served by attempts to develop separate degree programs in our colleges and universities for archives administration."<sup>162</sup> The lack of vision of the committee is striking, but perhaps not surprising. Not only did it have to contend with a reluctance to admit a place for academic instruction, but it faced a number of well established academic oxen reluctant to be gored by new and distinctive education programs. The inability or reluctance of the Society of American Archivists to give serious consideration to the central ingredients of intellectual preparation for the archivist was a great disappointment to many with an interest in education and professionalization.

The traditional view of archives, wedded to the historicist paradigm continued to hold sway in North America through much of the latter 20th century. Nonetheless, the 1970s and 1980s witnessed a North American "continental drift" toward the professional acceptance of an archival discipline grounded on a meaningful and distinctly archival body of knowledge. The debate that raged between those who viewed the cultural values of the archives, rooted in a view of records as historical source and the archivist as a species of historical scholar, and those who held that the role of archives was "primarily to serve the administrative needs and public accountability demands of its institution" (often dismissed as an "information management" perspective), merely highlighted the need to find a new and distinguishably archival paradigm.<sup>163</sup> To some extent this was accomplished by those "real world" pressures to which even the most traditional archivist remained sensitive: the need to justify in a variety of ways the continued existence of institutions in the face of economic pressures and the decline in the prestige and relevance of historical research; the need to find a place

for archivists in the world of electronic records that defied traditional approaches and demanded a more "front-end" attack; the need to find new markets for archival services and to distinguish the skills and approaches of archivists from others seeking to enter the records realm.

This development was encouraged by, and in its turn contributed to, an increase in graduate studies in the field and the advent of autonomous graduate programs.<sup>164</sup> Its coming was likely inevitable given the intellectual maturation in the field, and its form was dictated by the self-awareness and professionalizing imperatives of the practising profession: the increasing complexity and demands of archival work, the perceived need (or at least desirability) to establish some educational standard in the preparation of those entering the field, and the need to exercise some professional proprietary control over the integrity, structure and use of the knowledge base that was gaining in general acceptance.

## Chapter 3

### **“A Discipline Worthy of Study”: Archival Graduate Education Comes of Age**

In our effort to create autonomous professional education, we need not discard a regard for learning we will need if we are to avoid becoming mere technicians. In the long run, however, the solution will not be found in more efficient shopping in other curricula. Archival studies faculty members must incorporate the desired elements of other disciplines learning and methodology in their own curricula. In that way, we shall create what we so earnestly seek, a discipline worthy of study in its own right.

Terry Eastwood  
“Origin and Aims of the  
Master of Archival Studies  
Programme”<sup>165</sup>

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### **Describing a Discipline: The Development of Graduate Curriculum Guidelines**

By the late twentieth century, the archival profession was expending considerable intellectual and literary effort in debating the existence of a conceptual base, and where its existence was assumed, its source and its utility to practice. What energy remained was devoted to investigation of the newly identified intellectual dimensions of the field.<sup>166</sup> Lack of resolution of the issues of intellectual content or context, and the continued divisions as to archival roots and allegiances, did not impose barriers to the creation of university-based courses of archival instruction nor to the practical assessment of archival education needs and opportunities by university educators in a variety of disciplines. Indeed, the lack of unity and coherence in the archival debate likely encouraged the view that archival education was a field open to academic exploration from many directions. By the 1980s there was a rapid increase in the number of archives related courses in universities in Canada and the United States, all of them allied to another discipline and often taught by non-archivists.<sup>167</sup>

Issues of control and the need to generate its own criteria for the education of future members ultimately compelled the profession to take steps to define its intellectual foundations. A

response to competitive pressures was required as was an acknowledgement that the integrity of professional purposes demanded archival education not be entirely surrendered to other disciplines. It was critical that as archives entered the academic realm that it be viewed as something more than a sub-specialization and an employment zone of opportunity.<sup>168</sup>

The community response to the seemingly random, uncoordinated, and often ill-considered growth in educational opportunities came in the form of model curricula for education programs. These were rightly regarded as necessary first steps to coherent university-based programs designed by the profession to serve professional purposes. It was also recognized that the organization of knowledge areas in curricula would serve as a manifesto providing the outlines of a body of knowledge, the purposes of the profession, and its motivating ideas. These would be announced in attractively practical terms, not only to the academy, but to the practising profession. It was understood that both parties were still to be convinced of the merits of the discipline.

Lacking an academic wing, the task of curriculum design was undertaken by concerned, working professionals at the behest of the national archival organizations. It was to be a major preoccupation of SAA and ACA education committees for two decades. Curriculum products in Canada and the United States emerged almost simultaneously and, though they shared similar objectives, were reflective of fundamental differences in orientation in the two nations. The first Canadian statement, the ACA's "Guidelines Towards a Curriculum for Graduate Archival Training Leading to a Master's Degree in Archival Science", was developed by two senior members of the profession, Edwin Welch and Hugh Taylor, in 1976.<sup>169</sup> The authors themselves indicated that their efforts did not represent a "detailed curriculum." In fact the guidelines were less a committee document than a set of structured views on education as prepared by a pair of seasoned veterans.<sup>170</sup> While it assumed that any design would have to be acceptable in content to the profession, their commitment was to a genuinely academic program at the graduate level. As one of the authors was to state in 1977, what archives students "need to be taught is not a pabulum of existing courses but archival science."<sup>171</sup> The curriculum, while it incorporated methodological training in such areas as

the arrangement of records and conservation, nonetheless focused on theory: the nature of archives and issues surrounding international archival approaches and practices. Its academic biases, and its confidence in the vitality of archival ideas, is revealed in its encouragement of “socratic and open ended” teaching methods with minimum of two teachers, “to help develop a dialectic and difference of opinion where this is valid.”<sup>172</sup>

The guidelines came hard on the heels of the establishment of the Association of Canadian Archivists and a drive on the part of the community to fashion a professional identity. While few initiatives (at least on the English-language side of the national spectrum) had been taken by the profession in the training and preparation of archivists, and even less consideration given to the intellectual content of archival work, the impetus toward professionalism was accompanied by a general awareness of a need for more sophisticated education. The urgency of the need was driven home by the investigations and report of the Consultative Group on Canadian Archives in 1980. “In essence, the profession pronounced its own preparation for archival work inadequate to the task and called for change.”<sup>173</sup>

The leadership of the Canadian community, as in the case of Hugh Taylor and a number of others, had some experience of archival graduate programs internationally. They were aware not only of the feasibility of advanced study but also of the intellectual depth of the discipline.<sup>174</sup> They were vitally interested in the use of the curriculum guidelines not merely as a program design tool, but as a prod to universities to create programs of graduate study relevant to the needs of both the profession and the discipline. As a later president of the ACA was to observe, “The Guidelines were intended as a means to an end, not an end in themselves.”<sup>175</sup> They were ultimately accepted by the association’s membership almost without debate and were, for the most part, welcomed as a validation of the claim to professional status.

## **Describing a Discipline: The American Compromise**

As indicated in the previous chapter, the larger and more complex American profession, had to contend with a number of established courses of instruction attached to departments of history or librarianship within the universities. It was a profession more firmly tied to its intellectual parents, history in particular.<sup>176</sup> The Committee of the 1970s, which had established that there was no room for an archival discipline, inspired the SAA's education committee to establish guidelines that would confirm the place of archives as a subsidiary area of study.<sup>177</sup> A model was established for a minor concentration that involved three basic courses and a practicum.<sup>178</sup> As Eastwood was to observe: "It would seem that the existence of vested interests within universities, which was virtually absent in Canada, and the great diversity of the American profession caused the SAA to temporize once again on the question of separate education, as it had done in the past."<sup>179</sup> The effect of the SAA guidelines was to confirm the primacy of practice and the efficacy of instruction by practitioners as adjunct professors or occasional lecturers of archives courses. It added to the confusion as to the character of archival knowledge and questioned the capacity of the profession to provide an elaborate and specialized education. Nonetheless, the SAA guidelines did advance the community in the direction of some form of university-based instruction and certainly served its political objective of avoiding a rift on education issues.

The compromise did not satisfy most concerned observers within the profession for long. As James O'Toole later noted, a survey-oriented approach to education encouraged a limited comprehension of the intellectual potential of the field and provided, in the courses described, little time or occasion for discussion of the broader purposes or contexts of archival work. "[B]oth educators and students tend to think about their discipline in summary, overview fashion."<sup>180</sup> Courses, even university-based courses, prepared by practitioners, dedicated to practitioners, in the interests of practice, and delivered in narrow time frames with specific training objectives, produced, in the view of O'Toole and many other critics of the American educational scene, a "workshop mentality" that was antiquated, traditional, and antithetical to the goals of genuine education:

Above all, the workshop mentality leaves us with an irresistible disposition toward practicality. In archival education, we have striven principally to communicate to students how to do it when it comes to archives. We have been less interested in teaching students to think like archivists than we have in getting them to act like archivists.<sup>181</sup>

In addition, the SAA guidelines provided no guarantee of standardization in orientation, teaching approach or of general program construction. In 1988, the Society undertook a survey of educational offerings for archivists and found approximately 200 university-based courses, generally attached to history departments or library schools, with a vast array of courses offered as supplementary to the introductory courses and seminars. A dismayed SAA education officer was moved to write:

Although some diversity is both inevitable and healthy, the extremes of graduate programs strain the limits of such virtue. The 1986 Education Directory includes one library-based program that offers four courses beyond the survey level: 'Literature of the Social Sciences', 'Analytical Bibliography', 'History of the Book', and 'Library Practicum'. Another training program for archivists, based in history, is similar in that it also offers four courses beyond the survey level: 'Historical Editing', 'Heritage Preservation', 'Museum Studies' and 'Internship in Applied History'.<sup>182</sup>

It was difficult to discern in this welter of courses any coherent notion of what archivists needed to know in order to perform effectively or to sustain an occupational identity, much less a professional one.

After a decade of hand-wringing, and spurred by a number of global initiatives, the SAA's Committee on Education and Professional Development created a new curriculum subcommittee to develop a new set of guidelines. These were published in 1988.<sup>183</sup> The new guidelines presented a direct challenge to the workshop mentality and the apprenticeship model, declaring that "the work of an archivist represents that of a profession, not a craft or applied vocation. Theory is not only just as important as practice but guides and determines that practice."<sup>184</sup> It asserted the importance of theory and the conceptual base, and went some way to articulating a knowledge base of sufficient complexity as to demand a more elaborate program of study. "The vast amount of knowledge essential to understanding archives described in 1988 makes it impossible to successfully treat the entire body of archival knowledge within three courses."<sup>185</sup> While the guidelines strained "to lend



support to the establishment of a two-year master degree programs in archival studies”, they did not in fact call for the establishment of an independent graduate degree as a precondition for the development of a distinct discipline.<sup>186</sup> The SAA Council was clearly not yet ready to take the leap and endorse autonomous archival education.

Nonetheless, times were changing for North American education, and the potential was obvious from the Canadian experience. Despite the frustrations experienced by the ACA Education Committee in its dealings with universities, only five years after the production of the first curriculum guidelines an autonomous graduate program of archival studies was created.<sup>187</sup> In 1981 a Masters of Archival Studies program, the first such in North America, was established at the University of British Columbia. While it was located within the School of Librarianship, it was nonetheless autonomous and dedicated to the development of a distinct archival discipline.<sup>188</sup> It provided a case study of an archival curriculum in action, the first attempt to place a program of archival studies before students and to make it consistent with the demands of a university and relevant to the profession. As the program was the product of an alliance between library and history educators, and had to be provided by a single instructor, it could not be radical in character. “For both practical and principled reasons, the Master of Archival Studies Program was designed as a compromise between what we had, archivists with historical studies who serve an apprenticeship, and a course of purely professional studies, much like what exists in the library profession.”<sup>189</sup> Despite the scepticism of many Canadian archivists (only rarely expressed and never documented) the program immediately served to make the Canadian archival community more sensitive to education issues and more open to innovation.<sup>190</sup>

Building upon the UBC experience, and with the participation of faculty of the UBC program, the ACA was able to construct a new set of curriculum guidelines considerably more elaborate and wide-ranging than those produced in 1976. The Canadian document was uncompromising in its dedication to an academic place for archival studies:

Education, from the Latin word educere, means to bring out the inclinations and

qualities of the persons and direct them. Thus, professional education means formation of mind-set, operative capacity, and professional awareness through instruction in the body of knowledge belonging to a given profession. It imprints the characteristic signs of professionalism by communicating theory, methodology, and general skills of a profession in an environment where it is possible to practice rational enquiry, interdisciplinary work, and research, namely, the university.<sup>191</sup>

The ACA insisted, with the confidence of experience, that a graduate archival program must have “full academic status in the university” and must be autonomous, if not entirely independent.<sup>192</sup> In a remarkably succinct statement on conceptual foundations, the Canadian guidelines provided a contemporary definition of archives and established the role of the archivist as an actor in the full range of records continuum activities. A vision statement was provided, outlining the moral and social imperatives of the archivist and the role of graduate programs of instruction: “the archivist must receive an education which guarantees the creation, preservation and communication of impartial, meaningful and usable archives.”<sup>193</sup> The preamble to the curriculum established that the creation of a discipline was not the work of a national professional body, nor was it isolated to the endeavours of a particular school or academic approach. The discipline of archives was given its viability by virtue of generations of experience and its international character. The ACA guidelines asserted the dynamic nature of archival knowledge and indicated that its development would be shaped by ideas and standards emerging from the global community. Indeed the ACA document itself was derived, at least in some measure, from international models.<sup>194</sup>

The Canadian experience encouraged the SAA Committee on Education and Professional Development to renew its efforts in the promotion of autonomous graduate programs.<sup>195</sup> By 1991 a review of the existing guidelines and a further redraft were under way. The SAA education committee was then composed of members with a greater academic sympathy and direct experience with graduate archival education (significantly, it included two Canadians).<sup>196</sup> The committee recognized, particularly in light of the research of Tim Ericson, that with or without professional direction, curriculum development was occurring in the academic marketplace. Programs were growing in a haphazard and idiosyncratic way, sometimes neglectful of such basics of archival

knowledge as appraisal, arrangement, description, and reference.<sup>197</sup> The committee committed itself to developing curriculum for an autonomous master's level program, essentially on the Canadian model. It also resolved to use the document to encourage American educators to move from a minor concentration to a full degree program at the graduate level in recognition of the field's growing complexity.

The Guidelines were constructed to address the vast breadth and depth of archival knowledge, the broader societal context from which archival knowledge is derived, the changing environment in which records are created, maintained, and disseminated, and the elements of knowledge from other disciplines that enhance archival methods.<sup>198</sup>

It had thereby to both define and demand acknowledgement of the discipline of archival studies.

The new SAA guidelines, presented to the membership in 1994, were determinedly academic in design and purpose. It was North America's first comprehensive professional statement on the intellectual scope of the archival discipline and, in the context of the American profession, it was a decidedly revolutionary document. Twenty years after the Committee of the 1970s, the new guidelines stated that: "The importance and complexity of archival work requires that an individual entering the profession receive a strong archival education, which must be coherent, autonomous, and based on archival knowledge."<sup>199</sup> It called for the development of a Master of Archival Studies degree with the primary objective of "[p]roviding students with a solid foundation in the theory, methodology, and practice of their science, and in the scholarship of their discipline."<sup>200</sup> Like the Canadian guidelines, it outlined various knowledge areas, including the contextual legal and historical knowledge essential to the understanding of archives. It acknowledged the multidisciplinary quality of archival studies and provided descriptions of knowledge areas complementary to archival knowledge. But significantly, it quantified its faith in the potential of the discipline and the extent of its independence by establishing that "[t]wo-thirds of the students' work should be dedicated to the area of archival knowledge...."<sup>201</sup>

The SAA guidelines were adopted by the SAA Council and were, according to the chair of the education committee, to be viewed as an acknowledgement of the existence of an archival

discipline and the utility of an independent program of archival studies. "By means of the these guidelines, the Society of American Archivists endorses the development of master's degree programs of archival education."<sup>202</sup>

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### **The Articulation of the Knowledge Base**

A number of factors encouraged this remarkable elaboration of an independent knowledge base for archives in the 1990s. The number of academics in North America devoted to the study of archival issues had increased markedly. Accompanying this growth was the enhanced production of intellectual resources for the use of students and practitioners alike. Something like a "critical mass" of scholars and scholarly material was appearing, lending credence to the claim of discipline status.<sup>203</sup> Added to this was the ever increasing number of graduates of archival programs: Masters in Archives, graduates with a concentration in archival studies, and doctoral candidates and graduates from North American and European programs. These individuals, sensitive to and often outspoken on the value of graduate archival education, increasingly influenced the councils of the profession.

The most significant factor contributing to the professional acceptance of the idea of an archival discipline in North America was the simple reality that archival work had become immeasurably more complex, proactive, and intellectually demanding. If, as has been argued, archivists were insecure in their knowledge in the 1970s, and aware of the need to create and exploit educational opportunities, this insecurity was intensely magnified by the dramatic changes of the 1980s and 1990s. Archivists no longer enjoyed the comforts of relatively static bodies of conventional paper records or the sanctuary of scholarly institutions located comfortably within the cultural realm. They were being drawn into all aspects of social and economic life and made to deal with records that demanded treatment at point of creation and in new and often perplexing formats. Assumptions about the role of archivists and the nature of the record were being challenged

everywhere. The absence of a well understood theoretical base for archival action, contributing to confidence in the relevance of archival concerns, was highlighted by the challenges posed by sponsors, users, and all those who claimed an interest in preserving information of enduring value.

The press of knowledge requirements was nowhere more evident, or more actively noted, than in issues surrounding the impact of information technologies. In the words of the SAA's education chair of the mid-1990s, they "impress upon providers of graduate archival education that extensive knowledge about them must be among the parlance of the modern archivist."<sup>204</sup> The demands of the information age highlighted not only the sophisticated requirements for archival knowledge, but the weakness of the guardians of the conceptual core. The demands of instruction and of expertise were clearly overwhelming for other than dedicated full-time programs, and even for such programs unless very generously endowed with faculty and other teaching resources.

In the face of constraints on university budgets, the quest for opportunities by associated disciplines, and the demands attached to the adaptation of old and often ancient methods to the requirements of modern practice, the profession had to redouble its efforts to make itself and its ideas current. For those with a confidence in the discipline, the clarion call to action was sounded. There was a clear understanding the very life of the profession was at stake. As Ann Pederson stated to the 1992 ICA Conference in Montreal:

The lack of understanding that results from a confused or incoherent message about the work and value of archives and archivists means that our energies are constantly drained by isolated explanatory battles to justify our existence and/or to acquire basic resources for our work. Unless we act positively to eliminate the ignorance that fuels these attacks, we will always lack the time and energy for the contemplative thought and analysis essential to theoretical and educational vitality. And while we apply tourniquets to stay these intermittent haemorrhages, other fields with more established knowledge bases and with more powerful alliances move to fill the vacuum. The unhappy result is a deepening cycle of professional frustration, impotence - and finally professional oblivion.<sup>205</sup>

Amid the dire warnings of a loss of a particular archival perspective if archival education did not meet the information age directly, more was required than additional academics, texts and programs. Action on the intellectual as well as political/educational front was required. A fresh

articulation of the substance of archival understanding was needed to meet the doubts of the traditionalists and the demands of a profession under stress.<sup>206</sup> Despite the fact that the number of full time archival educators in North America remained small, often operating programs alone and in academic isolation, and hard pressed to find the time and energy to further archival research, much was accomplished in this regard in the late 1980s and 1990s.<sup>207</sup> Books and articles appeared on research directions for archival scholarship, on the nature and purpose of archival theory and its significance to practice, on the impact of new technologies and new media on archival ideas and methodologies, and on the need to maintain the vitality of archival thinking on all issues.

Such writings not only reinforced a somewhat tenuous archival mindset and buoyed confidence in the capacity of the profession to respond to change, they were somewhat comforting to the profession in suggesting that the knowledge base was not so esoteric as to be inaccessible but was, naturally, linked with the objects and essence of archival work.

It is not a question of creating rigid laws, which in any event do not exist even in the physical sciences, to explain reality, but rather a question of recognizing patterns in the generation and management of archives in any given legal and social reality and in any time. This involves something less than propounding a straitjacket for practitioners and something more than thoughtful professional planning or teasing out a few guiding principles. For archivists, it consists of adapting the knowledge of other scholarly disciplines, including history, to the study of the nature of archives and the methods of treating them.<sup>208</sup>

The case was made that there was nothing artificial in the development of a theory-based discipline. "That professions take action in the world disguises that they build knowledge on which to base action in the same manner as the pure disciplines build knowledge. Every applied discipline operates on the basis of some abstract body of knowledge."<sup>209</sup> As with all professional knowledge bases, archival studies are presumed to contain pure and applied dimensions.

If theory is defined as the knowledge derived from the analysis of fundamental ideas, archival theory is the analysis of the ideas archivists hold about the nature of the material they work with. Analysis involved examining the meaning of each idea, determining what it is and what it amounts to. This analysis of ideas about what archival material is informs subsidiary ideas about how to treat such material. These latter ideas can be distinguished from the former ones by calling them methodological.<sup>210</sup>

Thus scholars, both Canadian and American, began to illuminate the constituent elements of the knowledge base and provide an indication of the scholarship possible within an archival discipline that already possessed a certain antiquity and cultural complexity.<sup>211</sup> What is more, they contended that the archival discipline was a viable independent entity. While celebrating a multi-disciplinary quality, they established that archival thinking was based upon the unique nature of the materials with which archivists worked and the unique approaches that archivists took to the management and access to that material. In this respect, it was a body of ideas that could both draw upon and influence thinking in other disciplines, but did not fundamentally rely upon other disciplines.

It was clear to most observers, however, that while a new “consensus about archival educational content” seemed to be emerging, with the acknowledgement of the benefits to be derived from the existence of a body of specially educated archivists, the discipline of archives remained in an infant and fragile state.<sup>212</sup> The practising profession, despite the advances of the 1990s, had not unanimously embraced the notion of independent archival studies based on distinct archival thinking. As late as 1993, commentators noted: “Not only do American archivists appear not to believe in the academic substance of archival studies, they also appear not to believe in the existence of an archival discipline.”<sup>213</sup>

Evidence for this judgement lay not just in articles resisting the trend, but could be detected even within progressive curriculum guidelines and syllabi for programs of graduate education. These continued an emphasis on skills training and, in their academic components, continued a reliance on borrowings from other disciplines. The need to compromise and accommodate both dependent programs and the sensibilities of traditionally trained archivists was evident. “Archival science”, as described in the curriculum of the SAA, for example, is provided only a few lines for exposition and is identified as but one program of study. Though certainly not the intention of the curriculum designers, it may be viewed as the basis of a single course within the archival education program.<sup>214</sup> If it is assumed that archival science is a limited and discrete area of knowledge, carrying no more weight than management studies, credence is lent to the claim that there is little room for extended

esoteric study in a body of knowledge unique to the field. The ACA Guidelines, likewise, was a political document produced by a political body and its academic pretensions were limited. It attempted to be practical in its advice on course construction, provided a minimum of discussion on all of the interdisciplinary opportunities that were available to archivists, and placed an emphasis on specific areas of knowledge useful in the day to day management of archival institutions. In addition to a set of foundation courses, intended to provide a cultural context for the conduct of archival work, the curriculum guidelines describe core subjects and methods subjects, theory and practice areas. A single knowledge area, again actually incorporating a number of potential theoretical subject areas, provided students with an introduction to the "nature of archives and theories for their control".<sup>215</sup> Practical subjects included automation and archives, library principles and practices in archival description, diplomatics, preventative conservation, and financial accounting.

Compromises were necessary even after the drafting of curricula. The SAA curriculum, for example, was revised to drop the exclusivity clause in 1993: "While the Committee believe the MAS degree is the best way to educate archivists, they agreed it should not be the only recognized pre-appointment professional education for archivists."<sup>216</sup> Similarly the thesis, described in the Canadian guidelines as essential for the intellectual development of the student and the enrichment of the profession, was dropped as a requirement in the SAA document. Significantly perhaps, the MAS program at UBC also abandoned the thesis as a requirement, making it optional to the program in the following year, for other than intellectual reasons as well.<sup>217</sup>

Despite the continuing tensions with respect to the role of the profession and its education, the archival community had clearly made great strides by the final decade of the century. It appeared ready and anxious to make a distinct place for itself as an academic discipline and provide, in turn, a unique analysis of the place of the record and the keepers of the record in society. Work was proceeding in the creation of new autonomous graduate programs and in the development of doctoral level studies in North America to provide a pool of talent to staff the programs and to contribute to the intellectual life of the field.



## Chapter 4

### New Directions: Archival Education into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

Two of the central mechanisms resolving interprofessional contests are amalgamation and division, which create professions with knowledge abstract enough to survive objective task change but not so abstract as to render jurisdiction indefensible. The issue of abstraction is particularly crucial in the information area. The 1930s had in fact brought two decisive changes, both to be accelerated by the war. The first was a conception of information science as a coherent whole, embracing qualitative and quantitative information. The other was the concept of computers - machines with which this conception could be made something like a reality.

Andrew Abbott  
The System of Professions<sup>218</sup>

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### Locating the Archival Discipline

The last years of the twentieth century witnessed the development of curricula emphasizing archival knowledge, the emergence of graduate programs focusing on a distinctly archival knowledge base, and a growing acceptance in the practising profession of a specialized sophistication of archival work. The aspiring profession discovered a new relevance in the information age. Changes in archival thinking and practice were disintegrating the historicist intellectual consensus that had dominated the field for a century and a half. The traditional archivist/historian paradigm, was being replaced by a vision of archival professionalism shaped by unique, though varied, purposes and an appreciation of the social utility of the record.

These changes produced a radical alteration in attitudes toward the intellectual and educational prerequisites for practice. As archives came to be viewed as a distinct body of advanced knowledge it was accepted that it could, and should, comfortably overlay basic scholarly preparation of almost any kind. In Eastwood's words: "Because archivists may draw upon a wide range of knowledge, it is advantageous to be catholic about acceptable qualifying studies."<sup>219</sup> If archives was no longer an auxiliary field to history, intellectually informed by its priorities, it was acceptable to

think in terms of core of professionals drawn from a variety of disciplines but educated archivally at the graduate level. Indeed, advantages were perceived in encouraging admission to those with backgrounds in geography, sociology, anthropology, film studies, the sciences, with each making a particular contribution to the intellectual life of archives and to the practical handling and use of materials.

Further confirmation of the emergence of a new intellectual paradigm lay in the educational demands of archival employers. In the 1970s, an SAA education survey revealed an overwhelming demand for history graduates to fill archival positions in the United States.<sup>220</sup> By the 1990s, there was a demand for professionals with specialized archival education and a range of academic backgrounds. Significantly, archival curricula guidelines did not call for history as a prerequisite for entry into the field and did not focus on historical knowledge in their program design.

These changes reinforced the need for intellectual vitality in the field, yet doubts persisted as to the independent viability of archival studies. The profession continued to demonstrate a lack of self-confidence and a spirit susceptible to easy resignation. While North American archivists were aware, even at the turn of the century, of the essential requirement to build identity and purpose around knowledge, they resisted an “archival war of independence” in the interests of a distinct discipline.<sup>221</sup> The extent to which European archivists had truly achieved that independence might be open to question, but clearly they could lay some claim to a distinctive mind-set critical to a genuine professionalism.<sup>222</sup>

While a significant number of North American archivists now recognized that historical scholarship failed to provide an expertise and methodology relevant to the management of large volumes of complex records (and, by extension, professional survival in the face of the information revolution), there was some question as to whether archival knowledge was sufficient to the task. While efforts to encourage and fashion graduate programs demonstrated a desire to “grasp firmer control over their domain, especially the intellectual domain of their formation,” this was qualified by a lack of solidarity and a circumscribed commitment.<sup>223</sup> Even plaudits for the intellectual promise

of the field were combined with some hedging as to its capacity to stand alone. In the wake of the break with history, there continued an imperative within archives to locate its body of knowledge within the compass of something greater and presumably more compelling. This desire may have reflected an occupational habit of building hierarchies and overarching structures, or perhaps a peculiarly archival dedication to context. It undoubtedly sprang, in part, from the fact that most practising archivists had emerged from other disciplines and often viewed their work from the perspective of larger intellectual, social and economic realities. As well, archival education programs and courses existed, in North America at least, as components of other faculties. This inevitably conditioned the mind-set of those that taught or studied in those environments.

The desire to identify a sphere of knowledge within which to locate the intellectual life of archives was healthy insofar as it encouraged the identification of related studies and natural allies. Unfortunately, it tended to foster a continued questioning of the validity of the of the discipline and sustained a view of the field as essentially auxiliary. William Joyce, in providing a vote of confidence in the new intellectual life of the profession in the 1980s, nonetheless noted:

Despite our centrality to information theory and the intellectually stimulating and rigorous task of contextual analysis, there are several pragmatic limitations to the vitality of our graduate archival education programs. First, we must recognize that our education programs will never be very large, and that enrolments will necessarily be limited. It follows that faculty positions will be equally limited. It is unlikely that our programs will ever constitute separate administrative units in institutions of higher education, and it is such units for which funds are budgeted and lines are authorized.<sup>224</sup>

To the practical view that the limited autonomy of archival education was inevitable, given the size of the profession and the exigencies of curriculum implementation, was added the suggestion that it was entirely desirable. It was argued that programs of archival education, being multidisciplinary in character, should be attached to other departments to take practical advantage of their intellectual assets, technical strengths, and the status and influence of the host. Both the SAA and ACA curriculum guidelines, while arguing for an autonomous discipline, assume attachment to a larger department and provide analysis of appropriate location.<sup>225</sup> It was a position only rarely challenged,

though Tim Ericson pointed out the dangers to archival independence inherent in a willing acceptance of limited autonomy. He lamented the “compromises that archival educators have had to make over the years. The point is not so much that most archival education programs are appended to either history or to library science departments, but that they are appended in the first place.”<sup>226</sup>

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### **The Information Paradigm**

The challenges to archival independence were not entirely the product of internal doubt or insecurity. The same environmental factors that had forced the re-definition of the archival paradigm also posed questions regarding the relevance of the discipline. Both the profession and its knowledge base were facing competitive challenges. The information age was not only changing the nature and scope of archival materials and archival thinking, it was inviting the field to probe new frontiers and seek new and fruitful allegiances. The field posed to itself the challenge of finding a secure and meaningful place in a dynamic information world. It had to refashion itself intellectually in order to be true to the imperatives of that world and it had to build practical associations that could contribute relevant technical and methodological expertise. The need to ally, however, had the potential to generate fresh tensions between those who sought to build the field’s intellectual viability via education and those who continued to view archival knowledge strictly in terms of its capacity to enhance immediate practice skills and workplace expertise.<sup>227</sup>

By the 1990s, archivists were encouraged to see their future squarely within the burgeoning ranks of the information specialist, and urged to adapt both practice and thinking accordingly. In the view of many informed commentators, information had always been the business of archives and an association with other information professions was a natural evolution, particularly given the integrative power of information technology. As Eastwood observed: “Different things do need subtly different treatment, but concepts and principles of information control, retrieval, and delivery

in the service of knowledge is the profession of them all.”<sup>228</sup> In the United States, Frank Burke stated in 1992 that:

Like the experience of the mythical blind men, archival analysts have touched and described parts of the beast but have not yet grasped the concept of the whole elephant. The beast, of course, is information, and the parts that we touch and describe - such as records management, or archives, or librarianship, or manuscripts, or information resource management - are mere appurtenances of the whole. All of these subdivisions are homologous, and the parent that they stem from is information itself.<sup>229</sup>

While expressing the concern that archives might be reduced to a “subset of information science”, the President of the SAA stated in 1988 that no betrayal of particular archival interests was required: “As archivists, we can achieve a separate professional identity with our own community of competence, and still regard our profession as being broadly related to the diverse information community.”<sup>230</sup>

Archivists were likewise encouraged to locate themselves, in the words of the ACA Guidelines for a Master of Archival Studies Programme, “within the field of information studies.”<sup>231</sup> Burke’s statement above, highlights the difficulties inherent in defining the limits and the character of information studies. If all academic disciplines are involved in the use and study of information and, as Fritz Machlup and others have argued, a significant proportion of the working population are currently engaged in information or knowledge industries, how helpful in establishing an identity or a usable intellectual framework is an information studies orientation?<sup>232</sup>

Unfortunately the literature on the subject of information professionalism and education in the information field is of little assistance. Most observers have approached discussion of the meaning of “information” from a narrow disciplinary perspective, or have assumed a general consensus on the meaning of the term. There is little agreement on its parameters and even less on the character of those entities deemed to be “information professions”. Andrew Abbott, in The System of Professions has observed:

Some professionals create information that gives clients a basis for action. Prescription by these information professionals is not generally a recommendation for action, but rather a recommendation that certain information, which the

professionals may provide, will further actions the client may which to perform. Some information professionals have moved into providing action recommendations ... it is a natural line of expansion. But in general, information professionals help clients overburdened with material from which they cannot retrieve usable information. On this definition, there have clearly been two general types of information professionals. Qualitative information has generally been the domain of librarians, joined by academics, advertisers, journalists, and others. Quantitative information has seen a larger variety of groups, starting with the cost accountants and management engineers, and coming up through the statisticians, operations researchers, systems analysts and others to the present.<sup>233</sup>

This analysis reveals the potential variety of information professions and provides the option of locating archives, as a field dedicated to the management of aggregations of operational data, within the quantitative "type" - with attendant educational implications. It would appear, however, by virtue of the observable dynamics of archival education, that the "information studies" realm into which archives fall, as deemed by most archivists, are largely those defined by schools of librarianship and information science. Certainly library academics have suggested for some time that archives and libraries share significant "common ground."<sup>234</sup> These schools, increasingly identified as information science or information studies schools, have established a special place for themselves in the information universe. Information scientists, in particular, have been sensitive to opportunities offered by information technology to "unify organization and retrieval of quantitative and qualitative information under a single paradigm."<sup>235</sup> They have, both in literature and curriculum design, placed a particular emphasis on information transfer and the role of the information intermediary. In the process, however, they have not encouraged a more concise understanding of the meaning of information itself or, at a theoretical level, where that common ground with an archival discipline lies. One critic of the recent metamorphosis to the information manager/librarian observed:

The essence of the proposed new self-definition is that the profession's most important function is the acquisition, storage, organization and retrieval of information. The term 'information' is used in a wide variety of meanings however: as data on a topic, as a set of facts, as theories or individual opinions, as involving the transmission of units of knowledge and as communication on any topic.<sup>236</sup>

An "information paradigm" has been established to describe the future of library work and the promise of information-based education.<sup>237</sup> The perceived need to undertake this professional

redefinition was conditioned by a number of factors that will be familiar to archivists:

- a) the increasing importance of communications and computer-based technology to the management of information of all kinds;
- b) the changes that new media both produced and promised for the management of libraries, access to library-based information, and the very nature of library holdings;
- c) the promise of new professional directions and employment opportunities presented by the burgeoning world of information and information demand and the status attached to information work;
- d) the increasingly technological (or at least technique) orientation of many in the library/information field.

Despite a measure of professional scepticism and resistance within librarianship, the old definition of librarians "as educators, counsellors and conservationists is now being partially displaced by the idea of librarians as being exclusively information providers."<sup>238</sup> As it challenged the traditional skills and orientations of the librarian, it also questioned the value of the library in its traditional, and presumably less relevant, cultural and educational role.<sup>239</sup> As some scholars have noted, this development has been progressing with fits and starts through much of the century and has much to do with the perceived highly skilled and "elite" nature of information retrieval work.<sup>240</sup>

The implications of an information orientation are many, but they are, on the whole sensitive to the social and economic realities of the age. An information focus tends to emphasize socially relevant, economically valuable data which can be readily manipulated and made available in an electronic environment. It encourages a lowest common denominator approach to information as a standard of the age: the speed and accuracy of the retrieval of pertinent data. As the user determines the value and purposes of the information, little value is attached to an understanding of background issues: the reasons for its original creation, its purpose or function within a broader base of knowledge. Indeed, the absence of context and meaning attached to the contemporary understanding of information is a source of despair to many critics in the communications field:

Rather than engaging in long-term storage of knowledge in their memories or homes, many people are beginning to believe that information is available 'out there', and that individuals do not need to stockpile it... the computer is increasingly used as an abundant jungle of bits and pieces of 'data' (albeit a jungle created and stockpiled by us). Some data are hunted, gathered, and analyzed when an appetite for correlations arises. The connections found are often consumed and digested immediately without being painstakingly linked to other knowledge areas.<sup>241</sup>

The information age is a client-centred one. Most information professionals are preoccupied with the practical operational demands of generating and manipulating information for their users in the interests, generally, of increasing productivity and streamlining functions and procedures. In our modern understanding, the generation and transfer of information (increasingly defined as knowledge) is primarily an "economic activity".<sup>242</sup> It is expected to take on an easily digestible form and produce a quantifiable benefit, "perceived, valued and controlled in a comprehensive and effective way for the benefit of the organization."<sup>243</sup>

The modern librarian/information manager, accustomed to dealing with information products as commodities and designing services and practices to meet user requirements, are presumed to have a natural sympathy with the contemporary systems-based world of information. They have had time to make the conceptual shift from viewing information as a format (book, periodical, document, etc.) to information as a process. They have even come to terms with the idea that "purpose of libraries is the handling and communication of media-encoded information."<sup>244</sup> In addition, the public service and client-centredness of librarians is striking. It may be argued that they have a particularly sound claim to the title of information professional. Indeed, they have unabashedly made such a claim: "Information is the librarian's business and he is the one person who, by virtue of his historical role and social responsibilities, is best qualified to become a specialist in the emerging information-related studies."<sup>245</sup> This is particularly so as librarians become operationally preoccupied with "high quality information ... services that yield precise, relevant and reliable information."<sup>246</sup>

Facing the demand for dynamic, electronically based access to information while coping with reduced resources for the management of their resources, librarians have been encouraged to



exploit the opportunities presented by the information revolution. These opportunities include the promise of more attractive employment as information specialists in the business world, or as free-lance "information brokers". These new roles promise to provide "qualitative" information professionals with a new relevance, not only in the passive maintenance and provision of information, but in putting that information into action in the interests of the client.<sup>247</sup>

The special librarians claimed that they knew the sources and means to find material that working professionals didn't have the time (and sometimes the ability) to find. They held further that 'what you ought to know to solve a problem' could be better defined by a practical knowledge of what the sources make it possible to know than by a theoretical knowledge of what it is in principle necessary to know. This diagnostic decision - about which information is relevant to a problem's solution - is a central part of the claim of professional jurisdiction. The information professions are in some sense specialists in diagnosis and hence represent a general threat to all professions ... many varieties of information professionals besides librarians have tried to expand into their clients' work, similarly claiming an increasing jurisdiction over action itself because 'information is prior to action.'<sup>248</sup>

Certainly librarians sought to engage in competition in the information marketplace and use their orientation to break beyond the bounds of conventional library practice. In the early years of the information age there was some expectation that library/information studies trained individuals would compete on equal terms with those trained in computer science and related business programs. There was a renewed professional optimism, a desire to build new employment opportunities and an attempt to enhance the status of library professionals.<sup>249</sup>

Archivists were drawn into the same analysis in the same period, and for much the same reasons. Many thoughtful critics of archival traditionalism encouraged the adoption of an information-sympathetic orientation. They pointed to the growing use of information technology and systems methodologies in the automation of descriptive and other practices, as well as the pressing need to manage records generated by the same technology. In the era of the information superhighway, archivists were concerned that the field was becoming a "backwater", that their traditional roles as custodians of evidence and defenders of context were becoming outdated and perhaps even irrelevant.<sup>250</sup> "Indeed, for some archivists concern about the origins, original uses, and characteristics of archival materials in the electronic future might legitimately move to the periphery

of archival interest.”<sup>251</sup> The profession had been shaken by the capacity of the database and telecommunications to obscure and even obliterate our understanding of “creator” or “author”, of “permanence”, “uniqueness” and “authenticity”.

Archivists were increasingly alarmed by the difficulties of electronic records management in conditions of resource scarcity and concerned that archives themselves might disappear with advent of a high storage capacity, full-text retrieval environment. The extent to which the profession was unnerved is reflected in its constant re-examination of (or at least its repeated exhortations to re-examine) basic tenets, seeking a “concise statement of purpose that is based on an understanding of why certain information must be acquired and preserved while the bulk of it can safely be destroyed.”<sup>252</sup> The field was caught in the vortex of change affecting all activities in our society and struggling to find firm footing, continuity and direction.

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### **Archival Education in the Information Realm**

This inevitably touched the education field, as it had in librarianship. The field demanded particular attention to competencies in information technology including the management of electronic records and the application of automated techniques. The Society of American Archivists, in developing a curriculum for automation education, took a particularly active role in encouraging and defining education and training in information technology.<sup>253</sup> Beyond such practical measures, there was insistence that the archives field embrace the information paradigm and seek a more complete educational integration with other information professions. Richard Kesner, a spokesman for a re-defined archival profession purpose-built for the information age, has called for the repositioning of

... archival education in a more comprehensive information resource management setting ... The Twenty-First Century information utility requires the services of cross-trained, highly integrated staff, of I/T professionals to act as facilitators, catalysts for

change, standards monitors, and resource managers for complex, user-driven and controlled, information storage/delivery systems.<sup>254</sup>

Arguments took much the same form as those observed in library education. In order to find a place in the information world of the future archivists were urged to develop a more technical, user- and service-oriented attitude, and be flexible in their definition of the role of archives in society. One leading member of the Society of American Archivists put the case for archival attitudes better suited to the 1990s:

To succeed archivists must do two things. First, we must redefine our professional identity and our role in society. Then, we must develop a clear strategic vision for improving services and responsiveness to archival customers. For many of us, this will require a reconceptualization of traditional methods, theories, and assumptions. In order to change old habits we need professional development in communication techniques, management, strategic planning, negotiation, motivation training, marketing, public relations, the nature and use of power, and other skills. It won't be easy. But it is necessary for survival. We can't afford *not* to change.<sup>255</sup>

Relevance demanded that archivists and the records in their care become more "useful," and user-sensitive in the information age. This provided a strong argument for a harmonization of archival and information studies (a subject of discussion for some decades) and promised a new perspective on archival work and new technology-based competencies: "the whole field surrounding 'information' – its definition, its creation, its management, and its use – demands a new style of education."<sup>256</sup> It offered archival educators located within schools of information studies the opportunity to influence the development of information thinking and develop a more holistic intellectual appreciation of the role of the record as evidence and information. Archivists were urged to "drop the search [for professionalism] and view themselves in a larger context, with the potential to contribute to both the theory and practice of the information field."<sup>257</sup>

It seemed that no sooner had archives arrived at a point of creative self-definition, than a call for reinvention was sounded – a situation in no way unique to the field. One student of professionalization has observed that "a constantly changing sense of mission has come to be a widespread – perhaps universal – characteristic of professions, one which, if present trends continue, is likely to be permanent."<sup>258</sup> The demand for a revolutionary reevaluation of the place of

archives in the information sphere, was joined by a concern to protect certain fundamentals in the conceptual base. If the information paradigm was to be embraced, it would have to accommodate the archival contextual imperatives of record-keeping. North American archives, only recently engaged in the process of theoretical enrichment and the dissemination of generally accepted principles and approaches in the development of an “archival frame of mind”<sup>259</sup>. Terry Eastwood had raised the alarm in the previous decade:

Perhaps autonomous, self-contained archival education is needed above all ... to honor the accomplishments on which the profession in North America has been built and to foster protection of archives whose integrity is beleaguered more than ever in a modern world awash in documents and only too ready to think of information as just another consumer commodity.<sup>260</sup>

There was nothing new or narrow in Eastwood’s concern for a professional education with an internal consistency and integrity, or in his cautions with respect to a “promiscuous pragmatism” that seemed to characterize much of the rhetoric of disciplinary integration.<sup>261</sup> It should be noted that the struggle for distinct and specialized professional education in many fields was a long and often bitter one. French librarians protested in 1932 against the training of librarians at the Ecole de Chartes, the archival college, and demanded the introduction of specifically library-related courses. Even when that objective was achieved there was considerable concern about the quality of librarians being turned out by a school “still dominated by the archival point of view.”<sup>262</sup> It has long been argued that one role of archival education is the celebration of an “archival point of view”, however specialized in focus it may be, as a vital aspect of the socializing of students to archival approaches to information and the record – leavened always by an understanding of the broader social and philosophical context.

Debates as to the true ends of archival work are likely to continue and to stimulate changes in educational focus. Tensions are bound to arise in times of great technological and social change.<sup>263</sup> However, archival education, like all other forms of professional education, requires a commitment to the preservation and enhancement of those elements of the knowledge base that are essential and unique. If it is assumed that archives have a peculiar contribution to make to society through the

elaboration and the application of a distinct view of the record, it must be defended even as the profession endeavours to adopt or utilize the methodologies and approaches of other disciplines. Whatever the merits of a multi-disciplinary approach, archives remains a discipline in the making and is required to proceed on a considerable journey of self-exploration.

## Conclusion

The division of disciplines is more than specialization that results from the vast increase in the store of human knowledge. Each discipline has its own interests, culture, jargon and way of looking at the world. Each also has a particular set of values that determines which problems the practitioners of the discipline decide to tackle and the approach they take to solving them. What may at first sight appear to be overlap and duplication between disciplines often turns out to reflect quite different approaches, each adopting its own methodology and leading to new and distinct insights.

Peter Meincke  
Management of Recorded Information<sup>264</sup>

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The quality of archival professionalism and the nature of archival education has been debated in the North American community for generations, and the debate does not promise to cease soon. There has been considerable progress in the last twenty years in the development of the conceptual base, in the creation of standards, and in the establishment of dynamic educational programs. Nonetheless, the character of the discourse on matters educational within the profession has changed only gradually, with many constants maintained.<sup>265</sup> The disagreements over academic requirements for practice continue to be grounded upon two contrasting views of archival work. One emphasises its vocational uniqueness and the richness and complexity of its intellectual content. The other points to the highly practical nature of its functions and its intellectual roots in other disciplines; it insists that its distinct concepts provide no more than a thin philosophical overlay to methodology or are subsets of a broader intellectual regime.<sup>266</sup> It is not a debate characterized by a natural tension between an academically bred and archivally educated elite and the untrained and the "quasi-professional". Nor is it a conflict carried out in the context of well established and rival educational approaches. Rather it is based upon a vision of the archival profession, its relationship to the world, and its potential. Both positions are rooted in a concern for relevance. One concentrates on the everyday realities of practice and institutional survival. The other focuses on the need for

intellectual flexibility and awareness in the interests of a wider vocational survival.

The establishment of a separate graduate degree and a professional acceptance of the place for autonomous programs of archival studies did not resolve the major issues of education and its relation to practice. In the United States, as well as Canada, the discussion around the need for education in fundamental concepts highlighted the absence of agreement on the nature of archival knowledge itself. As Herman Kahn was to observe, "... the harsh fact is that if we are going to train professional archivists we must first decide what an archivist is and does."<sup>267</sup> The question as to whether the future offered a place for education that was peculiarly archival in its content and approach remained open. There is perhaps an irony, as observed by Hugh Taylor and others, that the archival profession was examining distinctive professional education at a time when occupational specialization seemed to be breaking down and when archivists themselves were looking ever more seriously to other disciplines for ideas and approaches.<sup>268</sup> Harmonization of studies in archives, librarianship, documentation, and information systems seemed a laudable ambition in the effort to "strengthen the core of information professionals who speak for users in an information society".<sup>269</sup> Its value was hotly argued, particularly within library academe, and was embraced by prominent archival educators who saw the future of archives squarely within the context of management of the global "information stock."<sup>270</sup>

The appeal, and the undoubted relevance to contemporary practice, of information sciences has been a continuing source of excitement and tension for those concerned with education. It has, however, deflected attention from a need to refine and enhance the content spectrum of archival graduate instruction and, by extension, the basis of archival claims to professional status. "The failure to define adequately the nature of the intellectual problem means that practitioners themselves often fail to see the challenge of developing the field."<sup>271</sup> Whether the product of insecurity, pragmatism, or ancient intellectual allegiances, archivists have been reluctant to see their construction of the world represented as a genuine department of knowledge.

The challenge presented to archival education in the academic environment is common to all professional education and emerged with the development of genuine professional instruction in the nineteenth century. It is twofold: to develop a compelling and coherent body of theory and to make education in this theory relevant to the practice of archives in order, at the very least, to develop an identity and a vocational commitment on the part of the student. "It is a common and difficult problem in any professional induction programme to determine how best to equip students with an appropriate background of theory and an armoury of relevant practical skills, while also demonstrating the relevance of each to the other."<sup>272</sup>

Obviously, the first task is to accept the existence of theory and to utilize education and university-based research to develop it further. This is imperative, for as sociologist Howard Becker has observed:

... the skills that characterize a professional flow from and are supported by a fund of knowledge that has been organized into an internally consistent system, called a body of theory. A profession's underlying body of theory is a system of abstract propositions that describe in general terms the classes of phenomena comprising the profession's focus of interest. Theory serves as a base in terms of which the professional rationalizes his operations in concrete situations. Acquisition of the professional skill requires a prior or simultaneous mastery of the theory underlying that skill. Preparation for a profession, therefore, involves considerable pre-occupation with systematic theory, a feature virtually absent in the training of the non-professional... Because understanding of theory is so important to professional skill, preparation for a profession must be an intellectual as well as a practical experience. On-the-job training though apprenticeship, which suffices for a nonprofessional occupation, become inadequate for a profession.<sup>273</sup>

Through reasoned argument, and the inculcation of this body of theory, the confidence and the intellectual competence of the novice professional is developed, along with the conceptual base of the field. Many thoughtful members of the profession have insisted upon the need for a conceptual base and an acceptance of an academic archival culture for "experience alone cannot make a professional archivist any more than could experience in the practice of medicine without theoretical training qualify one."<sup>274</sup> Frank Burke has observed that we are "producing a large corps of parish priests when no one has bothered to devise a theology under whose standard they can act."<sup>275</sup> He added, however, that it "...is fair to say therefore, that, do date, there has been no elucidation of



archival theory in the United States and little, if any, in the rest of the world.”<sup>276</sup>

Burke’s last point is no longer valid, if indeed it was at the time of writing. As this thesis has attempted to indicate, the field has a long history and a relatively dynamic tradition of ideas. We enjoy the benefits of generations of experience in North America and internationally, not merely the intellectual fruits of imaginative practitioners, but of scholars. As Duranti has demonstrated in “The Archival Body of Knowledge”, European archival educators and thinkers have developed a very sizeable body of theory over the last three centuries that may be usefully mined for analysis of all aspects of archival activity.<sup>277</sup> In North America, the decades of discussion and analysis, and the experience of the profession in examining its own role in the community, have clearly revealed where the substance of archival theory lies. It is drawn from the unique area of concern of the archivist, the creation, preservation and use of recorded information. “Banal as it is to say, the focus of archival studies is the nature of archives, not even the nature of the archivist’s duties, for everything flows from an understanding of the nature of the things unto which things are done.”<sup>278</sup> This includes a profound understanding of the nature and form of archival materials and their context and how these have changed over time. An understanding of the record may then be combined with an appreciation of their nature as evidence, sources of accountability, and research resources.

The promise of an intellectually dynamic profession, with its relevance rooted in a complex of concepts and values, is beginning to be realized, even in an environment that has for so long prided itself on its lack of sophistication. The opportunities presented by archival study, perhaps for the very reason that it is virgin territory, are almost unlimited. As early as 1941, Solon Buck observed that like other sciences, archives is and must be “compounded of parts of many other sciences or fields of knowledge.”<sup>279</sup> Hugh Taylor and others have pointed out that the theoretical base can be drawn from an application to archival questions of research in such varied areas as communications theory, speculative philosophy, sociology, and psychology.<sup>280</sup> The historical and investigative talents of the archivists can be exercised in the evaluation of the growth and progress of the profession and

its institutions and what this may inform us as to the place of the record in our culture. There is a entire field of investigation in the history of the record, the roots and evolution of our society's relationship with documentation, its cultural, economic and social importance. Archival academics scan the world of knowledge with the focused eyes of their discipline. They have undertaken to interpret the dynamic changes in society and its methods of communication within the context of our unique requirement as professionals to understand these developments. In doing so the enhance the capacity of the profession to meet new challenges through informed analysis and improved methodology.

It is the role of graduate education to develop what has been be termed "archival thinking" or the "archival mind-set", an elaboration of an intellectual weltanschauung that covers all aspects of the record and society. This integrated multi-disciplinary approach, cannot be achieved simply by the introduction of courses from other disciplines into the archival curriculum, but requires that all appropriate knowledge be synthesized and integrated into this archival understanding. As already indicated, a truly academic program cannot and will not be rigid, for theories and applications must constantly undergo reassessment and revision.

Sceptics notwithstanding, the elaboration of theoretical concepts are not the artificial creations of an ivory tower, abstractions manufactured in a desperate drive for intellectual credibility.<sup>281</sup> They are the natural response of a growing and increasingly sophisticated profession seeking to understand and describe its role. The archival profession is only beginning to recognize that the development of the conceptual base is a necessary ingredient in the self-respect and confidence of the practitioner. It is also essential to justify that broad social endorsement and community respect and support so necessary to the survival of the documentary heritage. In this sense, theory is an eminently practical commodity meeting all of the rigorous requirements of relevance. Through the academic investigation of the body of ideas specific to our own concerns, we develop a sense of our own specific professional purposes and ideals. Through study we gain an appreciation of a rich and dynamic archival culture, as organic in character as the records in our care.

It provides us a heritage of our own field of endeavour, a heritage which we have often sought to deny ourselves while celebrating it in all other elements of society. Research toward theory building imbues the archivist with that sense of rootedness, of intellectual and spiritual continuity, of connections with a great ideal, that we require as much as the institutions and communities we serve.

The profession is gradually coming to accept that it is the place of an archival program resident in a university to speculate on the essential nature of activities and phenomenon, to develop, to articulate, and to refine these theories through research, discussion and the study of application.

The importance of theory precipitates a form of activity normally not encountered in a nonprofessional occupation, viz theory construction via systematic research. To generate valid theory that will provide a solid base for professional techniques requires the application of the scientific method to the service-related problems of the professional. Continued employment of the scientific method is nurtured by and in turn reinforces the element of rationality. As an orientation, rationality is the antithesis of traditionalism. The spirit of rationality in a profession encourages a critical, as opposed to a reverential attitude toward the theoretical system. It implies a perpetual readiness to discard any portion of that system, no matter how time-honoured it may be, with a formulation demonstrated to more valid. The spirit of rationality generates group self-criticism and theoretical controversy. Professional members convene regularly in the association to learn and evaluate innovations in theory. This produces an intellectually stimulating milieu that is in marked contrast with the milieu of the nonprofessional occupation.<sup>282</sup>

As Paul Conway recently noted, a scholarly "critical mass" is required in North America sufficient to produce the kind of investigation, creative analysis, and compelling exposition that will prove the academic potential of archival research and thought.<sup>283</sup> This demands a clear distinction between the academic and the practitioner, with some attendant tension. Whatever the dangers of "two solitudes – one concerned primarily with lofty ends, the other with everyday means," we require academic professionals to provide the intellectual contributions necessary to make archives a field of ideas and argument.<sup>284</sup> As many other professions have accepted, the engagement of hearts and minds can only be accomplished through the constructive interplay of theory and practice. Only through genuine education and inquiry can we break the "cycle of poverty in archival theory" observed by Richard Cox.<sup>285</sup>

The profession, in its maturity, is also beginning to accept the student as more than an

embryonic archivist, but as an academic creature dedicated primarily to the assimilation and analysis of concepts and competent to determine the connections between theory and practice. Students should be acknowledged as participants in the definition and expansion of the archival discipline, and should be encouraged to view their work, particularly in this stage of the profession's evolution, as critical to the emergence of stimulating and significant ideas. They are engaged in graduate education programs to acquire archival knowledge and to gain "the ability to analyze and synthesize, to see the big picture, to separate a seemingly overwhelming problem into manageable parts and to solve it."<sup>286</sup> The Canadian experience has indicated the impact of an extended program of study, where students must "come dedicated to their studies and committed to a career as an archivist."<sup>287</sup> As in many other fields, it aids immeasurably in the creation of a committed professional who enters the field having made a choice, has enjoyed exposure to the intellectual and vocational implications of that choice, and who emerges with a desire to put their knowledge into creative action.

It has been the purpose of this thesis to examine the evolution of the archival conceptual base and the twentieth century struggle in North America to develop that base into a discipline of study in the interests of building a genuine and enduring professionalism. It is clear that the field has come, with hesitation, to an acceptance of archival thinking and an acknowledgement of its relevance to both the details of practice and the continuing need to justify the profession's existence. There is still some distance to travel in the United States and Canada to a profession that can claim mature genuine standard of education grounded on theory. As the profession develops its institutions, assesses its future, and constructs the allegiances necessary to its relevance in the next century, it may take completely unanticipated directions in education. The shape and content of the knowledge base may be altered fundamentally. However, there is, in the midst of the turmoil of the 1990s, an increasing willingness to accept the place of archival ideas and autonomous archival study. To say that archival education must be more than vocational school training is to do no more than echo the opinions of a dozen commentators. Programs of archival studies must be firmly committed to intellectual goals, and while it would be unwise to lose an intimate connection with the changing

requirements of practice, it has its own role to play in the life of the profession. As has been noted by one student of archival education: "We cannot train people for [work in archives]. To do so is to tie them to this place and moment. But we can educate people who can see the values of the past, are ready for the unexpected in the present, and will be inventive in anticipating and meeting the forces of the future."<sup>288</sup>

## Notes

1. Gordon Dodds, "The Compleat Archivist," in Tom Nesmith, ed., Canadian Archival Studies and the Rediscovery of Provenance (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1993), 152.
2. It has been observed that a "fundamental fact of professional life [is] interprofessional competition. Control of knowledge and its application means dominating outsiders who attach that control. Control without competition is trivial." Andrew Abbott, The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 2.
3. That having been said, relevance in the face contemporary technological and economic change has become a preoccupation of many students of the field in the 1990s, a matter that will be treated in a later chapter.
4. This will not take the form of a comparative study. Though the experiences of the two archival communities are quite different in many regards, certain fundamental attitudes prevail in both and, particularly in recent years, there has been a constant dialogue between the two on education issues. There will, nonetheless, be a measure of comparison and analysis of differences in approach where the two communities have diverged significantly in attitudes to formal university-based education.
5. Lewis J. Bellardo and Lynn Lady Bellardo, A Glossary for Archivists, Manuscript Curators and Records Managers, quoted in the Society of American Archivists, Guidelines for the Development of a Curriculum for a Master of Archival Studies Degree, (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 1994), 8. The quote continues: "The concept comprises both the rules that guide scholarly research and the results of that research. The archival discipline has a distinct methodology that derives from archival science, and archivists use it to gain a systematic understanding of record making and record-keeping practices and their historical evolution, of archival institutions and their development, and of the archival profession and its body of knowledge. The methodology is also used to communicate such understanding in the form of scholarship."
6. Terry Eastwood, "Nurturing Archival Education in the University," American Archivist 51 (1988): 229.
7. Abbott, The System of Professions, 30.
8. Distinctions are made in the sociology of professions between the "true" professions and other occupational groups that aspire to professional status, sometimes called marginal or aspiring professions. True professions are generally regarded as those that come closest to meeting certain standard criteria: a complex body of knowledge conveyed in a lengthy process of education; strict control by the profession over admission and standards of practice; independence of the practitioner and the power to establish fees and terms of service. The concept of the "true profession" is largely an ideal. As Becker has observed, we can regard "professions simply as those occupations which have been fortunate enough in the politics of today's work world to gain and maintain possession of that honorific title. There are only those work groups which are commonly regarded as professions and those which are not." Howard S. Becker, "The Nature of a Profession," in Nelson B. Henry, ed., Education for the

Professions(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 32.

9. William Goode, "The Librarian: From Occupation to Profession?" in Howard M. Vollmer and Donald L. Mills, eds., Professionalism (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966), 11.
10. T.G. Cook, Education and the Professions (London: Methuen, 1973), 1.
11. Ibid., 6.
12. Apprenticeship is often regarded as exclusively practical training. It should be remembered, however, that traditional apprenticeship was assumed to constitute a balance of instruction incorporating both the details of practice and the norms of conduct and values of the craft. The separation of the two only appeared when the complexity of each dimension of the knowledge base became so great that specialized instruction in theoretical and practical domains was required.
13. The extent to which professions may be active in pre-appointment training, examination, and the certification of competence is studied in detail in the classic work by A.M. Carr-Saunders and P.A. Wilson, The Professions (London: Frank Cass, 1964), 365-393.
14. Abbott questions whether the standard typologies provided by most of the sociologists of the profession actually stand up under scrutiny, positing instead a highly differentiated analysis of the rise of professions based upon specific circumstances and conditions of competition. Nonetheless, he grants that the stages of development that have been described are generally applicable according to the evidence provided by most of the Anglo-American case studies. Abbott, The System of Professions, 1-30.
15. The politics of professionalization is dealt with from an historical perspective in a number of works including: Carr-Saunders and Wilson, The Professions, which treats virtually all of the British professions; Bruce Kimball, The 'True Professional Ideal' in America: A History (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1992); Abbott, The System of Professions.
16. Until the nineteenth century, most of these professions were, like the English Bar, "in a condition of torpor and lethargy." They were either of low status or rife with political intrigue and patronage. Carr-Saunders and Wilson, The Professions, 38.
17. Not only did the various "true professions" claim "intellectual leadership, and thus social authority" but challenged one another's claims to moral guidance and authority in the community as the social and economic fabric changed. Kimball, The 'True Professional Ideal' in America, 158.
18. This was most notably the case with the English Bar, which was subjected to the indignity of a House of Commons investigation on legal education in 1846. This was followed by a Royal Commission on the Inns of Court and Chancery in 1854, also dedicated to improvements in the preparation and competence of students. The medical profession was reformed via the Medical Act of 1858, and licensing in dental surgery arrived the following year. Carr-Saunders and Wilson, The Professions, 48-83.
19. M.H. Ogilvie, Historical Introduction to Legal Studies (Toronto: University of Toronto Press,

1982), 340.

20. H.H. McDermid, One Hundred Years of Medicine in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), 111.

21. "History of Legal Education in Ontario," The Law Society of Upper Canada Gazette 6 (December 1972): 47.

22. Carr-Saunders and Wilson, The Professions, 352. The extent to which the state intrudes upon the management and control of the profession, and the preparation of practitioners, is a measure of the socio-economic importance of the profession, its political significance, and often the capacity of the profession to serve as an agent of public policy. Corinne Gilb, Hidden Hierarchies: The Professions and Government (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 39.

23. Kimball, The 'True Professional Ideal' in America, 204.

24. In the case of librarianship, by way of example, the notion of professionalism was quite early attached to a commitment to provide education as qualification. An 1874 German analysis of library professionalism attracted considerable attention. It stated that "it is clear that the librarian must soon be called upon to assume a distinct position as something more than a custodian of books, and the scientific scope and value of his office be recognized and estimated in a becoming manner. To meet the demands that will be made on him he should be granted appropriate instruction in all departments of library science." Carl M. White, An Introduction to Library Education (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1976), 41.

25. Becker, "Nature of a Profession," 24.

26. Ibid., 28.

27. Brubacher, "The Evolution of Professional Education," 50.

28. Morris L. Cogan, "Toward a Definition of Profession," Harvard University Review 23 (Winter, 1953): 49.

29. John B. Cullen, The Structure of Professionalism (New York: Petrocelli Books, 1978), 76.

30. Abraham Flexner, "Is Social Work a Profession?" quoted in Becker, "The Nature of a Profession," 28.

31. Carr-Saunders and Wilson, The Professions, 491.

32. G. Lester Anderson, "Professional Education: Present Status and Continuing Problems" in Education for the Professions, 18.

33. Giovanni Vittani, "La formazione dell'archivista", quoted in Luciana Duranti, "The Archival Body of Knowledge: Archival Theory, Method and Practice, and Graduate and Continuing Education", Journal of Education for Library and Information Science 34 (Winter, 1993): 16.

34. Anderson, "Professional Education: Present Status and Continuing Problems," 20.



35. Frank Burke puts the academic case forcefully: "If theory is the development of universal laws immutable and applicable at all times, in all places, the theory that we are seeking would, at least in the abstract, analyze certain demonstrable conditions, postulate their effects, and determine how they would affect the transmission of information to those in need of such information. The theoretical assumptions should be based not on the structure but on the nature of human organizations, and on humans themselves; not on how something was accomplished or not, why it succeeded or failed. When we try to respond to the question 'Why?,' instead of to either 'What?' or 'How?', we find that the hot agitated atmosphere of the workplace, under the glare of the imperative for pragmatic solutions, is not only not conducive to the growth of theory, but patently destructive of it. Theory can only grow in the cool and contemplative conditions of the cloister, i.e., in the classroom and its concomitant academic setting." "The Future Course of Archival Theory in the United States," American Archivist 44 (Winter 1988): 42.
36. Michel Duchein, "The History of European Archives and the Development of the Archival Profession in Europe," American Archivist 55 (Winter 1992): 14.
37. Edwin Welch, "Archival Education," Archivaria 4 (1977): 49.
38. Richard Cox, "On the Value of Archival History," in Richard Cox, American Archival Analysis (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1990), 184.
39. This lack of historical understanding of the profession and its ideas has much to do with the lack of self-awareness and the absence of intellectual curiosity about the field demonstrated by archivists themselves. Richard Cox has addressed this issue in "On the Value of Archival History": "Motives for examining the history of a profession determine the quality and value of such studies. The strength of a profession's educational standards and prominence that attracts outside attention lead to more important studies than research conducted only to commemorate anniversaries. The most crucial catalyst for serious historical research is a well-developed sense in a profession's practitioners of the value and relevance of their own past and development." *Ibid.*  
It might also be noted that archival history has also been neglected by historians and students of historiography. The major works on the development of the discipline of history make scant reference to questions around the availability of sources and the evolution of archives as a key in the development of modern scholarship.
40. Michel Duchein, "The History of European Archives and the Development of the Archival Profession in Europe," American Archivist 55 (Winter 1992): 14.
41. Ernst Posner, Archives in the Ancient World (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972).
42. Luciana Duranti, "The Odyssey of Records Managers", in Nesmith, ed., Canadian Archival Studies, 33. Professor Duranti goes on to note that "in the great civilizations of the ancient world, stable and strong states with sophisticated bureaucratic structures placed the keepers of the records at the highest levels, in consideration of the significance of their function for the entire society." As J.H. Plumb notes: "The use of the past for social purposes occurs in all early civilizations for which we have written records. In them the past legitimizes authority and status ... The acquisition of the past by the ruling and possessing classes and the exclusion of the mass of the peasantry and labouring class is a widespread phenomenon through recorded time." J.H.

Plumb, The Death of the Past (London: Macmillan, 1969), 30.

43. Ibid., 45.

44. F. Smith Fussner, The Historical Revolution (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962), 32.

45. Duchein, "The History of European Archives," 16.

46. Even in the Middle Ages documents were utilized as sources for propaganda or information by church and state historiographers. "Monographs, histories and chronicles ... increasingly supply copies of letters, charters, treaties and laws. Historiographers sometimes had a propaganda reason for inserting them; others saw documents as an integral part of the story they had to tell. They sacrificed literary elegance to the duty to be informative." Beryl Smalley, Historians in the Middle Ages (London: Thames & Hudson, 1974), 190.

47. Barnes, A History of Historical Writing, 228.

48. Donald Kelley, The Foundations of Modern Scholarship (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 217.

49. Plumb, The Death of the Past, 36.

50. Harry Elmer Barnes, A History of Historical Writing (New York: Dover Publications, 1962), 122.

51. Kelley, Foundations of Modern Scholarship, 217.

52. Duchein, "The History of European Archives," 16.

53. Duranti, "The Odyssey of Records Managers," 49.

54. Lester Born, "Baldassare Bonifacio," American Archivist 4 (October 1941): 236. Professor Duranti indicates that the preoccupation of these early records theorists was on information content as much as on records as evidence in her observation that the work that followed Bonifacio "concentrated on the problem of facilitating retrieval, and suggested that the best solution was not to multiply finding aids, but to file the records by subject, and, within subject, in chronological order from the oldest to the most recent date." Duranti, "The Odyssey of Records Managers," 49.

55. Duchein, "History of European Archives," 17.

56. Gordon Connell-Smith and Howell A. Lloyd, The Relevance of History (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1972), 35. It should be noted that the association of law and history prevailed until the latter half of the nineteenth century. The first faculty of history in Britain, established at Oxford in 1872, was a department of law and history.

57. The document enjoyed the status of artifact or "relic" even in the Middle Ages. M.T. Clanchy "Tenacious Letters": Archives and Memory in the Middle Ages," Archivaria 11 (Winter 1980-81): 121.

58. The first major works in 'library economy' were published in the mid-17th century, notably Gabriel Naude's Avis pour dresser une Bibliotheque of 1642. Similar studies and procedural manuals were produced by Leibniz in Germany and Bently in England. Raymond Irwin, The Origins of the English Library (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1958), 132.
59. Fussner, The Historical Revolution, 33.
60. Ibid.
61. Duranti, "The Odyssey of Records Managers," 50.
62. Duchein, "The History of European Archives," 16.
63. Ernst Posner, "Some Aspects of Archival Development Since the French Revolution," in Maygene Daniels, ed., A Modern Archives Reader (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1984), 9.
64. "The public domain had been greatly increased by lands formerly belonging to the Church and the émigrés. As every purchaser of such property became a potential supporter of the Revolution, the careful preservation of land titles increased in importance." Carl Lokke, "Archives and the French Revolution," American Archivist 31 (January 1968), 28.
65. Samual Flagg Bemis, "The Training of Archivists in the United States," 154.
66. Duchein, "History of European Archives," 17.
67. As Luciana Duranti has noted: "This determined a material and theoretical distinction between administrative and historical archives which is still present in Romance countries and corresponds to the German distinction between registratur and archiv and to the Anglo-Saxon distinction between records and archives." Duranti, "The Odyssey of Records Managers," 50.
68. Terence M. Eastwood, "Reflections on the Development of Archives in Canada and Australia," in Sue McKemmish and Frank Upward, eds., Archival Documents: Providing Accountability Through Recordkeeping (Melbourne: Alcona Press, 1993), 36.
69. "For a long time, the predominant emphasis in the keeping of archives was a 'historicist' one. For some countries, this orientation lasted almost to World War II." Duchein, "The History of European Archives," 18.
70. Ibid.
71. Posner, "Some Aspects of Archival Development," 12.
72. John Cantwell, The Public Record Office (London: HMSO, 1991), ix.
73. Ibid.
74. Duranti, "The Odyssey of Records Managers," 51.

75. A condition of neglect characterized the keeping of state records in many jurisdictions. Duranti speaks of the "obscure records clerks" toiling with "records about which nobody else seemed to care." Duranti, "The Odyssey of Records Managers," 53. A Select Committee to the British House of Commons reported in 1848: "Our Public Records excite no interest, even in the functionaries whose acts they record, the departments whose proceedings they register; or the proprietors to whose property rights they furnish the most authentic, perhaps the only title-deeds." Quoted in T.R. Schellenberg, Modern Archives (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 7.
76. Fritz Morstein Marx, "Advice on Records, 1794," American Archivist, 47.
77. By example, the legislation creating the Public Record Office in the United Kingdom established that assistant keepers were to be "skilled in records" and proceeded to lay out their responsibilities. Cantwell, The Public Record Office, 46.
78. Duchein, "The History of European Archives," 17.
79. Luciana Duranti, "Education and the Role of the Archivist in Italy," American Archivist 51 (Summer, 1988): 347; Vicente Cortes Alonso, "Archival Education in Spain," American Archivist 51 (Summer, 1988): 331; Dorothy Mackay Quinn, "The Ecole des Chartes," American Archivist, 282; Duchein, "The History of European Archives," 17.
80. Luciana Duranti, "The Archival Body of Knowledge: Archival Theory, Method and Practice, and Graduate and Continuing Education," Journal of Education for Library and Information Science 34(Winter, 1993): 9.
81. Ibid., 9-10.
82. As Bemis observes: "In Germany during the latter half of the nineteenth century, historians began to supersede jurists as exemplified by the appointment of Heinrich von Sybel by prince Bismarck in 1875, as director of the Staatsarchiv and the beginning of the 'Publikationen aus den preussischen Staatsarchiven.' This was the beginning of the tendency to appoint historians as archivists with their staff drawn from doctors of philosophy trained in the historical seminars of the German universities." Samuel Flagg Bemis. "The Training of Archivists in the United States," American Archivist 2 (July 1939): 155.
83. They were, nonetheless producing historical scholars who could, with equal ease, take up teaching positions in the universities. "It was once true that the scholar, whether he was an archivist or a university teacher, was expected to devote a large part of his time to his own research, which presumably would result in publication and in some cases, fame." Dorothy Mackay Quinn, "The Ecole des Chartes," American Archivist 51 (Summer 1988): 282.
84. Carl Frederic Haeberlin, Handbook of German Constitutional Law, as quoted in Marx, "Advice on Records, 1794," 50.
85. Hilary Jenkinson, "Reflections of an Archivist", in Daniels, ed., A Modern Archives Reader, 21.

86. According to Connell-Smith and Lloyd: "The positivist programme began with observation of separate and particular facts existing independently of the observer. For historians, this meant establishing precisely what had happened in the past. The programme would proceed by discerning the principles governing the relations of established facts with each other, their types and their recurrences; and ultimately, these principles would be re-erected into laws. Positivist philosophers tended to move rather too eagerly and prematurely into the later phases of this operation. Historians were increasingly preoccupied by the first. Thus preoccupied, they concentrated their attention upon the preservation of manuscripts: for was it not in these that the past itself was preserved and the facts enshrined. Connell-Smith and Lloyd, The Relevance of History, 19.
87. Ibid.
88. Ernst Breisach, Historiography (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 222.
89. Hugh Taylor, "Information Ecology in the 1980s," Archivaria 18 (Summer 1984): 35.
90. Connell-Smith and Lloyd, The Relevance of History, 35.
91. Duranti, "The Odyssey of Records Managers," 53.
92. Michael Kammen, Mystic Chords of Memory (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991), 55.
93. Ibid.
94. George H. Callcott, "Antiquarianism and Documents in the Age of Literary History", American Archivist, 19.
95. Charles A. Beard, American Government and Politics (New York: Macmillan, 1939), 13. Beard summarizes the "American view" of the role of government thus: "whatever citizens can do better for themselves, either as individuals or in associations, government should not undertake; but that government, besides assuming various obligations respecting defense, property, and order, should provide as far as possible the conditions favorable to the prosperity of industry, agriculture, and labour." 305.
96. Ernst Posner, American State Archives (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 8.
97. Paul P. Van Riper, History of The United States Civil Service (White Plains, New York: Row, Peterson and Company, 1958), 11.
98. Paul P. Van Piper, "The American Administrative State: Wilson and the Founders", in Ralph Clark Chandler, ed., A Centennial History of the American Administrative State (New York: Free Press, 1987), 11.
99. Abbott points out that the educational prerequisites to the growth of professionalism in the United States were challenged by Jacksonian principles. Abbott, The System of Professions, 20. Brubacher notes that "the spirit of the times tried to make the professions accessible rather than competent." Brubacher, "The Evolution of Professional Education", 61.
100. Alice B. Stone and Donald C. Stone. "Early Development of Education in Public

Administration," in Frederick C. Mosher, ed., American Public Administration: Past, Present and Future (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1975), 15.

<sup>101.</sup> Quoted in Schellenberg, Modern Archives, 7. The same situation prevailed in the individual states for much of the nineteenth century. Posner, American State Archives, 13.

<sup>102.</sup> Kammen, Mystic Chords of Memory, 446.

<sup>103.</sup> Few national histories were prepared in the early nineteenth century utilizing unpublished federal government sources, though noted historian James Parton observed in 1858 that "I have long thought that the best way to make the American people acquainted with the history of their country is to render accessible to them the sources of that history - the raw material as well as the woven narrative. Ibid., 76.

<sup>104.</sup> George H. Callcott, "Antiquarianism and Documents in the Age of Literary History", American Archivist, 20.

<sup>105.</sup> Schellenberg, Modern Archives, 7.

<sup>106.</sup> Kammen, Mystic Chords of Memory, 446.

<sup>107.</sup> James Gregory Bradsher and Michele F. Pacifico, "History of Archives Administration", in James Gregory Bradsher, ed., Managing Archives and Archival Institutions (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 27.

<sup>108.</sup> Breisach, Historiography, 227.

<sup>109.</sup> Callcott, "Antiquarianism and Documents," 17.

<sup>110.</sup> Cox, "On the Value of Archival History," 182.

<sup>111.</sup> It should be noted that library professionalism was in its infancy in this period. The Library of Congress itself did not move to the employment of trained librarians, as opposed to friends of the administration, only at the beginning of the twentieth century. "Patronage and Professionals: The Transformation of the Library of Congress Staff, 1890-1907," Libraries and Culture 26 (spring 1991): 260.

<sup>112.</sup> Ernst Posner, American State Archives, 16.

<sup>113.</sup> "To facilitate the use of archival material by the American scholar through proper administrative arrangements based on sound legislation had been the basic interest of the Public Archives Commission." Posner, American State Archives, 19. As Samuel Flagg Bemis observed: "Unlike the Historical Manuscripts Commission, the Public Archives Commission did not print collections of documents. Its first efforts were directed to the preservation of the records of public offices, especially those of state, county, and municipality, and the encouragement of legislation to that end." ("First Conference of Archivists", 113). The distinctions between the Historical Manuscripts Commission and the Public Archives Commission, both created in the 1890s, were an early, but quite clear manifestation, of the distinctions that was to develop between the public archives and historical manuscripts tradition within the United States. One

was dedicated to the acquisition and publication of sources in the antiquarian mode, the other to an acceptance by government of a public responsibility to retain and make available the evidence of its actions.

<sup>114.</sup> In 1857 the colony of Nova Scotia resolved that "ancient records and documents illustrative of the History and progress of Society in this province" would be preserved and made available. Carman V. Carroll, "Developing 'an Historical Laboratory': The Genesis of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia" in Barbara Craig, ed., The Archival Imagination (Ottawa: Association of Canadian Archivists, 1992), 180.

<sup>115.</sup> Public Archives of Canada, Records of the Public Archives of Canada, RG 37, vol. 104, quoted in Ian Wilson, "'A Noble Dream': The Origins of the Public Archives of Canada", in Canadian Archival Studies, 63.

<sup>116.</sup> Ibid., 77.

<sup>117.</sup> Jay Atherton describes early governmental records keeping practices and notes that while a records branch was established within the Secretary of State's office soon after Confederation "[v]irtually no one devoted any attention to current government records. The departments showed no interest in transferring records to either the Keeper or the Archives Branch." Jay Atherton, "The Origins of the Public Archives Records Centre, 1897-1956," in Nesmith, ed., Canadian Archival Studies, 86.

<sup>118.</sup> Duchein, "The History of European Archives," 22.

<sup>119.</sup> Richard C. Berner, Archival Theory and Practice in the United States: A Historical Analysis (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983): 23.

<sup>120.</sup> Waldo Gifford Leland, "The First Conference of Archivists", American Archivist, 115.

<sup>121.</sup> Proceedings of the Second Annual Conference of Archivists. Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1910, 292, as quoted in Ibid., 116. It might be noted that in a discussion of the qualifications of an archivist at the Fourth Annual Conference in 1912, Dunbar Rowland, offered a more pragmatic and generalist interpretation of intellectual requirements of the professional: "The archivist should be an accomplished man of letters who has specialized in history, political science, law, and archival science. He should be a man of affairs, with something of the politician in his make-up, for appropriations are necessary to his work, and he must deal with congresses and legislatures in order to make it a success. It goes without saying that he must love his work, and have the capacity to make others realize its importance. The archivist should be a combination of the scholar, the college professor, the lawyer, the politician, and the business man, for no other profession calls for more varied talents." Ibid., 118.

<sup>122.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123.</sup> Luke J. Gilliland-Swetland, "The Provenance of a Profession: The Permanence of the Public Archives and Historical Manuscripts Traditions in American Archival History," American Archivist 54 (spring 1991): 161.

<sup>124.</sup> Samuel Flagg Bemis, "The Training of Archivists in the United States," American Archivist

2 (July 1939): 157.

<sup>125.</sup> American Historical Association, Annual Report ... 1909, 348, as quoted in H.G. Jones, "Archival Training in American Universities," American Archivist 31 (April 1968): 135.

<sup>126.</sup> W. Kaye Lamb, "The Modern Archivist: Formally Trained or Self-Educated," American Archivist 31 (April 1968): 176.

<sup>127.</sup> Luke Gilliland-Swetland has suggested that a division in the American profession developed early in the twentieth century between the historical manuscripts group as "members of a community of humanities scholars and, by extension, as historian-interpreters of the documents they preserved" and public archives partisans who "perceived themselves to be professionals with mastery over a body of specialized theory and practice". Luke Gilliland-Swetland, "Provenance of a Profession," 163.

While such a division may have evolved later in the century, there is much evidence that the historicist position was pervasive both within public archives and manuscript collections until relatively recently. This is not to suggest that ideas regarding the management of archives of a distinctly public records cast did not influence fundamental methodologies as early as the 1930s, only that the ideas around the ideal education of the archivist remained centred on historical knowledge.

<sup>128.</sup> "Henry Steele Commager refers to 'an intense practicality,' in American thought, extending to most matters, and asserts that pragmatism can almost be called the 'official philosophy of America.'" Harold Pinkett, "American Archival Theory: The State of the Art," American Archivist 44 (Summer, 1981): 217.

<sup>129.</sup> F.R. Evans, "Postappointment Archival Training: A Proposed Solution for a Basic Problem," American Archivist 40 (January 1977): 60.

<sup>130.</sup> Delores Renze, a member of the SAA's Committee on Professional Standards and Training in the 1950s, enquired of Ernst Posner: "Do you think it is worth while continuing the effort to do something? Or is it best annually to just make fine speeches and gestures with the hope that exposure and the mere passage of time will produce the qualitative achievement that we all must surely desire to a greater or lesser degree." Quoted in Jacqueline Goggin, "The We Shall Truly Deserve the Title of 'Profession': The Training and Education of Archivists, 1930-1960," American Archivist 47 (summer 1984): 253. Goggin provides a good overview of the effort to build American archival professionalism through education and comments on the limited vision of the leadership of the SAA at the time.

<sup>131.</sup> J. Frank Cook, "The Blessings of Providence on an Association of Archivists," American Archivist 46 (Fall 1983): 384-387.

<sup>132.</sup> Luke Gilliland-Swetland has suggested that: "The establishment of numerous archives within stable institutions such as colleges and universities answered what had been a basic concern of the profession: the quest for institutional security. The widespread establishment of such archives also brought a new generation of young and energetic archivists into the ranks of the profession." Gilliland-Swetland, "Provenance of a Profession," 168. This is certainly true, but could have been extended to include a number of other new and expanding archival fields.



133. Peter J. Wosh, "Creating a SemiProfessional Profession: Archivists View Themselves," Georgia Archives 10 (Fall 1982): 6.
134. Gilliland-Swetland, "The Provenance of a Profession," 168.
135. George Bolotenko, "Archivists and Historians: Keepers of the Well," Archivaria 16 (Summer 1983): 24.
136. Richard Cox, "Analytical Bibliography and the Modern Archivist: A Commentary on Similarities, Differences, and Prospects for Cooperation," in Cox, American Archival Analysis, 268.
137. "Introduction," Vollmer and Mills, Professionalism, 1.
138. William Goode, "The Librarian: From Occupation to Profession?" in Ibid., 38.
139. An extensive discussion of various interpretations of professionalization can be found in Vollmer, Professionalization. The best archival analysis, utilizing sociological tools, is Richard Cox, "Professionalism and Archivists in the United States," American Archivist 49 (summer 1986): 229-247.
140. Morris L. Cogan, "Toward a Definition of Profession," Harvard University Review 23 (winter 1953): 49.
141. Trudy H. Peterson, Patrick M. Quinn and Hugh A. Taylor, "Professional Archival Training," American Archivist 40 (July 1977): 315.
142. The importance of identity and of perceived location within the intellectual universe as a determinate of status should not be underestimated. As Terry Eastwood has observed: "Our profession in North America has resisted rigorous professional education based on a study of the practice of archival administration... because it was feared we would lose the intellectual substance and status we derive from our roots in historical study." Terry Eastwood, "The Origins and Aims of the Master of Archival Studies Programme at the University of British Columbia," Archivaria 16 (Summer, 1983): 40.
143. John Roberts, "Much Ado About Shelving," American Archivist 50 (Winter 1987): 72.
144. Herman Kahn, "Some Comments on the Archival Vocation," American Archivist 34 (January 1971): 5.
145. Roberts, "Much Ado About Shelving," 74.
146. Vollmer, Professionalization, 38.
147. Schellenberg, Modern Archives, 15.
148. The assumption that professionalism may be equated with rigidity, conservatism and self-interest would appear to be common in the client-centred world of the information sciences. This can be seen in several articles responding to the contention that librarians are chronic

'marginal professionals': William F. Birdsall, "Librarians and Professionalism," Canadian Library Journal 37 (June 1980): 145-150, and Gardner Hanks C. James Schmidt. "An Alternative Model of a Profession for Librarians," College and Research Libraries 36 (May 1975): 175-187.

<sup>149.</sup> John Roberts, "Archival Theory: Myth or Banality," American Archivist 53(1990): 111.

<sup>150.</sup> Terry Eastwood, "Education and the Profession - Counterpoint," Archivaria 1 (winter 1975-1976): 106.

<sup>151.</sup> Peterson et. al., "Professional Archival Training", 316. Practitioners and thoughtful students from Ernst Posner to Kaye Lamb have questioned whether archives can be taught: "No one can become an archivist just by frequenting a classroom; professional training must be associated with and based firmly upon practical experience." W. Kaye Lamb, "The Modern Archivist: Formally Trained or Self-Educated," American Archivist 31 (April 1968): 176.

<sup>152.</sup> Quoted in Terry Eastwood, "The Origins and Aims of the Master of Archival Studies Programme at the University of British Columbia," Archivaria 16 (summer 1983): 36.

<sup>153.</sup> Peterson et. al., "Professional Archival Training," 319.

<sup>154.</sup> Frank Burke, "The Future Course of Archival Theory in the United States," American Archivist 44 (winter 1981): 44.

<sup>155.</sup> "The tradition of independence from the traditional academic system has gradually given place to a transfer of training responsibilities from practitioners to academics: a shift which, in the case of relatively low-status 'minor professions', is reinforced by the expectation that graduate-level qualifications will enhance their standing in society. The resulting distinctions - between those who induct new recruits into the profession and those who practise it from day to day - pose questions about the nature of the knowledge base." Tony Becher, "Professional Education in a Comparative Context," in Rolf Torstendahl and Michael Burrage, ed. The Formation of Professions: Knowledge, State and Strategy (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1990), 134.

<sup>156.</sup> L.J. McCrank, "Prospects for Integrating Historical and Information Studies in Archival Education," American Archivist 42 (October 1979): 449.

<sup>157.</sup> The discussion was exemplified in the exchange between H.G. Jones, "Archival Training in American Universities, 1938-1968" American Archivist 31 (April 1968): 135-154, and T.R. Schellenberg, "Archival Training in Library Schools" American Archivist 31 (April 1966): 155-166. They were joined by many other observers concerned with the education and training question.

<sup>158.</sup> Burke, "Education," 58.

<sup>159.</sup> Margaret S. Child, "Reflections on Cooperation Among Professions," American Archivist 46 (summer 1983): 287.

<sup>160.</sup> Peterson et. al., "Professional Archival Training," 317.

- <sup>161.</sup> Philip P. Mason, "Report of the Committee for the 1970s," American Archivist 35 (April 1972): 207.
- <sup>162.</sup> Ibid., 209.
- <sup>163.</sup> Gillibrand-Swetland, "Provenance of a Profession," 165.
- <sup>164.</sup> The improvement in the graduate educational situation should not be overstated. No new autonomous MAS programs were established in North America after the introduction of the UBC program in 1981. In comparing the graduate courses listed in the 1978 and 1991 SAA education directories, Tim Ericson notes: "[T]he apparent growth in the number of multicourse graduate programs, from thirty to thirty-six is actually quite modest. Perhaps more significant is the fact that of the thirty programs listed in 1978 more than half have disappeared from the pages of the 1991 directory. Of the thirty-six programs listed, twenty-three did not appear in the 1978 directory. This is an alarming rate of turnover." Tim Ericson, "'Abolish the Recent': The Progress of Archival Education," Journal of Education for Library and Information Science 34(winter 1993): 30.
- <sup>165.</sup> Eastwood, "Origins and Aims of the Master of Archival Studies Programme," 40.
- <sup>166.</sup> Richard Cox, "Archival Research and Writing: Expanding Horizons and Continuing Needs, 1901-1987," in Cox, American Archival Analysis, 164-181.
- <sup>167.</sup> Ericson, "'Abolish the Recent'," 35.
- <sup>168.</sup> Burke expresses the concern of archivists that other fields are, sometimes opportunistically, "subverting the profession by taking over the scholarly training within it." Burke, "The Future Course of Archival Theory," 46.
- <sup>169.</sup> Hugh A. Taylor and Edwin Welch, "Association of Canadian Archivists: Guidelines Towards a Curriculum for Graduate Archival Training Leading to a Master's Degree in Archival Science, 1976," Archivaria, 16 (summer 1983): 49.
- <sup>170.</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>171.</sup> Welch, "Archival Education," 59.
- <sup>172.</sup> Taylor and Welch, "Association of Canadian Archivists," 46.
- <sup>173.</sup> Terry Eastwood, "The Origins and Aims of the Master of Archival Studies Programme at the University of British Columbia," Archivaria 16 (summer 1983): 36.
- <sup>174.</sup> It is no coincidence that the two authors of the guidelines were formerly archivists in the United Kingdom and had been exposed to graduate programs of education as professional qualification. Their British experience is clearly evident in the recommendation, under the nature of archives, of the inclusion of "Paleography and diplomatic with particular reference to the archives most likely to be encountered." Taylor and Welch, "Association of Canadian Archivists," 48.

175. Association of Canadian Archivists, Guidelines for the Development of a Two-Year Curriculum for a Master of Archival Studies (Ottawa: ACA, 1990), 1. Edwin Welch, one of the authors of the original guidelines stated: "One of the first goals of the ACA was to improve the quality of archival education in Canada. It was able to use a draft already prepared by two members of its Education Committee as a basis for its proposals. The revised draft has been accepted by the association, and the Education Committee now has the arduous task of convincing universities, provincial ministries of education and other interested bodies that it outlines the type of training and standards for all archivists in the future." Welch, "Archival Education," 57.
176. It may be noted that while the Association of Canadian Archivists did emerge from the Archives Section of the Canadian Historical Association, Canadian archivists were never as inclined to identify themselves as historians as were their American counterparts.
177. Philip F. Mason, "The Society of American Archivists in the Seventies: Report of the Committee of the 1970s", American Archivist, 53 (summer 1990): 462.
178. Society of American Archivists, "Guidelines for Graduate Archival Education Programs", Unpublished Report, 1977.
179. Terry Eastwood, "The Origin and Aims of the Master of Archival Studies Programme," 37.
180. James M. O'Toole, "Curriculum Development in Archival Education: A Proposal", American Archivist, 53 (summer 1990): 462.
181. O'Toole, "Curriculum Development in Archival Education," 463.
182. Tim Ericson, "Professional Associations and Archival Education: A Different Role or a Different Theatre," American Archivist 51 (summer 1988): 304.
183. Membership of the committee included Susan Davis, Richard J. Cox and Frederick J. Stielow.
184. Tyler O. Walters, "Overview of the SAA's Experience with Developing Guidelines for Graduate Archival Education in the United States", Paper delivered at the Association of Canadian Archivists Annual Conference, Ottawa, Ontario, May 25, 1994, 4.
185. Ibid.
186. Ibid., 5.
187. The frustrations of professional organizations in attempting to influence and control the actions of universities in the establishment of professional schools or programs is discussed in much of the literature on professionalization. The ACA's experience is indicated by Eldon Welch: "It is equally clear that in discussions about archival training programmes the professional association is not usually consulted by the university concerned and that consultation with individual archivists is on a selective basis intended to elicit approval of the university's own proposal. Negotiations with the professional organization usually occur only when the existence of proposals becomes known to it accidentally and then only on the

insistence of the association that it has a concern in the proper training of archivists.” Welch, “Archival Education,” 58.

188. The course was established with the support of the library school director, Roy Stokes, who had been an outspoken advocate of an academically oriented graduate education in librarianship independent of the direct control of the profession. Gerald Bromley, Apprentice to Graduate: A History of Library Education in the United Kingdom (London: Clive Bingley, 1981):

189. Eastwood, “Origins and Aims of the Masters of Archival Studies Programme,” 39.

190. Professor Eastwood, in commenting on the importance of archival studies connections with the emphasis on enhanced sources for Canadian studies in the 1970s, notes that: “Associating professional archival education with the areas of scholarship served by archives, however, did not prevent academic scrutineers of the program from doubting that there were sufficient academic grounds - enough intellectual substance - on which to establish a graduate program.” Eastwood, “Nurturing Archival Education,” 239.

Unfortunately there is little published contemporary analysis of the reaction of the Canadian or American archival community to the establishment of the UBC program, nor have there been articles since on the place of graduate programs from the perspective of practice.

191. ACA, Guidelines, 5.

192. Ibid., 9. The claim for autonomy is significant in itself, but in the context of the ACA document is given added significance by the recommendation that an archives school be “attached to a faculty or department” by virtue of the advantages to be derived by shared resources and interdisciplinary contacts.

193. Ibid.

194. The ACA Education Committee acknowledged that the Canadian guidelines were informed, “both as to their structure and content” by Michael Cook, Guidelines for curriculum development in records management and the administration of modern archives: a RAMP study. (Paris: UNESCO, 1982). ACA, Guidelines, 25.

195. The SAA Education Committee met in March, 1991, reporting that a “major order of business was to discuss new graduate archival education guidelines. Luciana Duranti of the University of British Columbia, presented the graduate archival guidelines adopted by the Association of Canadian Archivists, as a basis for discussion. In contrast to the SAA guidelines, which call for nine semester hours of graduate archival education, including a practicum, the ACA guidelines recommend a full two-year course in graduate archival education, including five courses per semester for three semesters; one semester devoted to writing a thesis; and a recommended for the summer between the two academic years. In addition, the ACA guidelines recommend that that a graduate archival program be autonomous, and that the autonomy should be attested by mention of the program in the official name of the university department to which it is attached.” “CEPD to Explore New Graduate Archival Education Guidelines,” SAA Newsletter (May 1991), 12.

196. The 1990 committee was composed of Frank Boles, Tim Ericson, Greg Hunter and two Canadians, Luciana Duranti and Bryan Corbett. It is not a coincidence that both Professor

Duranti and Bryan Corbett were active in the development of the ACA's curriculum guidelines, which appeared in 1989.

197. Ericson, "Abolish the Recent," 31.
198. Walters, "Overview of the SAA's Experience with Developing Guidelines," 8.
199. Society of American Archivists, Guidelines for the Development of a Curriculum for a Master of Archival Studies Degree (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 1994), 2.
200. Ibid.
201. Ibid., 3.
202. Ibid., 2.
203. Paul Conway, "Archival Education and the Need for Full-Time Faculty," American Archivist 51 (summer 1988): 261.
204. Walters, "Overview of the SAA's Experience with Developing Guidelines," 10.
205. Pederson, "Archival Education," 5.
206. Cox, "Archival Education in the United States: Old Concerns, But New Future?" in Cox, American Archival Analysis, 112.
207. This same phenomenon was experienced in library education as well as other fields with the establishment of one person schools under the critical eye of the profession. In Britain, shortly after the post-war creation of library schools, it was noted that the "staff of the library schools had little time to think deeply about the direction in which library education should be moving." Bromley, Apprentice to Graduate,
208. Eastwood, "Nurturing Archival Education," 235.
209. Terry Eastwood, "What is Archival Theory and Why is it Important?" Archivaria 37 (spring 1994): 124.
210. Duranti, "The Archival Body of Knowledge," 10.
211. Ibid.
212. Cox, "Archival Education in the United States," 100.
213. Duranti, "The Archival Body of Knowledge," 20.
214. Society of American Archivists, Guidelines, 4.
215. ACA, Guidelines, 19.

216. "Proposed Revisions to the Master of Archival Studies Curriculum Guidelines", Archival Outlook (November, 1993): 19.
217. Terry Eastwood, "Revised MAS Curriculum at UBC," ACA Bulletin 18:5 (May 1994): 14.
218. Abbott, The System of Professions, 239.
219. Eastwood, "Nurturing Archival Education," 241.
220. Ericson also found that 62% of archives courses were attached to history faculties. Ericson, "'Abolish the Recent'," 27.
221. Elio Lodolini, "The War of Independence of Archivists," Archivaria 28 (Summer 1989): 36.
222. "Not that Europeans have progressed much in the translation of their theoretical stance into real programs either. Some graduate programs have developed to a full maturity and closely reflect the aspirations of the archival theorists of the beginning of this century... But not many European archivists go through this kind of autonomous graduate program." Luciana Duranti, "The Archival Body of Knowledge", 18.
223. Eastwood, "Nurturing Archival Education," 295.
224. William L. Joyce, "Archival Education, Two Fables," American Archivist 51 (winter-spring, 1988), 21.
225. Neither guidelines recommend independent and self-contained archival programs as an ideal. Both seek to advise on the most appropriate "administrative" location of archival studies within the academic universe. The American document states, in non-judgemental fashion: "The interdisciplinary character of archival studies programs makes it possible to place them in a variety of settings, such as a school of library and information science, department of history, a law school, or a school of business administration. Archival studies programs might be administered jointly by two departments, thereby emphasizing the interdisciplinarity of the archival field. Regardless of the organizational setting, archival studies programs must be coherent, cohesive, and identifiable." SAA, "Guidelines", 6. The Canadian guidelines are more definite: "There are a number of options as to which department a graduate program could be attached. There is a strong case for associating archival and library programmes with a school for information studies. In fact, both programmes have the character of professional education, which embodies academic and practical elements; both are service oriented; they use the same type of pedagogical and informational technology; they have in common a large body of learning resources .... Finally, both can draw on the talents of the respective teachers for courses transmitting elements of the one specialized knowledge which can be used fruitfully by the other." ACA, "Guidelines", 9.
226. Ericson, "Professional Associations," 304.
227. At present, in North America, there remain two distinct educational cultures (one more pragmatic and workshop-oriented and the other more focused on education and archival knowledge, theory, and methodology) for professional archivists. Richard Cox, "Education and the Archivist: Views and Reviews", American Archivist 55 (Fall 1992): 526.

228. Eastwood, "Nurturing Archival Education," 249.
229. Frank G. Burke, "Letting Sleeping Dogmas Lie," American Archivist 55 (Fall 1992): 532.
230. Joyce, "Archival Education," 19.
231. ACA, Guidelines, 19.
232. Marc Porat, The Information Economy (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1977), 121.
233. Abbott, The System of Professions, 216.
234. Janet Fyfe, "Archival Education - Counterpoint," Archivaria 5 (1978): 185.
235. Abbott, The System of Professions, 239. Abbott goes on to note that "The intellectual approach to unification came from information science. The Knowledge supporting this claim for unification was extremely abstract; it comprised algorithms for dynamic structuring of information files, for automated indexing and searching of files, and for modelling the active information search of a fairly sophisticated user. Related to artificial intelligence, it employed a broad variety of fairly sophisticated statistical techniques, using computers not simply to speed up conventional storage and retrieval, but rather to reconstruct them completely." 243.
236. Richard Apostle and Boris Raymond, "Librarianship and the Information Paradigm," in Richard K. Gardner, ed., Education of Library and Information Professionals: Present and Future Prospects (Littleton, Colorado: Libraries Unlimited Inc., 1987), 17.
237. Ibid.
238. Ibid., 18.
239. Richard K. Gardner, "Library and Information Science Education: The Present State and Future Prospects," Ibid., 33.
240. Abbott, The System of Professions, 224.
241. Joshua Meyrowitz, No Sense of Place: The Impact of Electronic Media on Social Behaviour (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 317.
242. Fritz Machlup, The Production and Distribution of Knowledge in the United States (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), 9.
243. Basil Stuart-Stubbs, "Whither Information," in Durance, comp., The Management of Recorded Information, 19.
244. Vincent E. Giuliano, "A Manifesto for Librarians," Library Journal 104 (1979): 1838.
245. Jesse Shera, The Foundations of Education for Librarianship (New York: Becker and Hayes,



1966), 294.

246. Library and Information Services Council, Professional Education and Training for Library and Information Work (London: Library Association, 1986), 13.
247. A.E. Cawkell, "Job Identification and Education for the New Information Profession," in Michael Brittain, ed., Curriculum development in information science to meet the needs of the information industries in the 1990s. (London: British Library, 1989), 154.
248. Abbott, The System of Professions, 224.
249. Library Schools clearly regarded archives as a potential job-opportunity area and a clearly associated field. This view they shared with certain history departments, also faced with the challenge of placing graduates. As Burke has noted: "Historians are in abundant supply. They are seeking alternatives to classroom careers. Academic history departments, therefore, are reaching for ways to prepare students for the marketplace in adjunct field: archives, museums, historical societies, etc." Burke, "Future Course of Archival Theory," 45.
250. Randall C. Jimerson, "Redefining Archival Identity: Meeting User Needs in the Information Society," American Archivist 52 (Summer 1989), 338.
251. Tom Nesmith, "Introduction," in Nesmith, ed., Canadian Archival Studies, 6.
252. Kent Haworth, "The Principles Speak for Themselves: Articulating a Language of Purpose for Archives," in Craig, ed., The Archival Imagination, 100.
253. "Electronic Records Curriculum Conference," SAA Newsletter (May 1991): 12.
254. Richard M. Kesner, "Teaching Archivists About I/T Concepts: A Needs Assessment," prepared for the SAA Automated Records and Techniques Curriculum Project. Quoted in Toni Carbo Bearman, "The Education of Archivists: Future Challenges for Schools of Library and Information Science", Journal of Education for Library and Information Science 34 (Winter 1993): 70.
255. Jimerson, "Redefining Archival Identity," 334.
256. Barbara Craig, "The University of Toronto's Master of Information Studies Programme and Archival Education," ACA Bulletin 20 (September 1995): 13.
257. Robert M. Warner, "Archives and the New Information Age: A Reluctant Partnership," in Achleitner, ed., Intellectual Foundations, 78.
258. Cyril O. Houle, Continuing Learning in the Professions (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980), 38.
259. Tom Nesmith, "Hugh Taylor's Contextual Idea for Archives and the Foundation of Graduate Education in Archival Studies", in Craig, ed., The Archival Imagination, 25.
260. Eastwood, "Nurturing Archival Education," 238.

261. Ibid., 250.
262. Bernard Berelson, ed., Education for Librarianship (Chicago: American Library Association, 1949), 72.
263. All fields have had to accept strains and to recognize that there are extreme and even unrealistic positions. "In several countries the change of trends led to deep splits as well as to irreconcilable postures between conservative librarians and avant-garde information scientists. The conservative librarians keep themselves attached to rigid codes and rules and the later are fascinated by technologies not always adaptable to the current social reality." Antonio L. Carvalho de Miranda "The Role of Professionalism in Curriculum Development for Information Personnel: The Case of Brazil", in Ibid., 239.
264. Peter Meincke, "The Challenges of Information Sciences to the High Technology Disciplines", in Cynthia Durand, comp., Management of Recorded Information (Munich: K.G. Saur, 1990), 145.
265. Richard Cox spoke in 1989 of the "fact that so many of the concerns and issues about archival education have remained virtually unchanged for nearly half a century." Cox, "Archival Education in the United States," 98.
266. Frank Burke, "Education," in Robert L. Clark, ed., Archives-Library Relations (New York: R.R. Bowker Co., 1976), 58.
267. Herman Kahn, "Some Comments on the Archival Vocation," American Archivist 34 (January 1971): 5.
268. Peterson et. al., "Archival Professional Training," 318.
269. A. Fasick, P. Fleming, F. Halpenny, B. Land and N. Williamson, "Proposal for an Archival Studies Program in the Faculty of Library and Information Science at the University of Toronto," Unpublished internal University of Toronto document, January, 1992.
270. Michael Cook, The Management of Information from Archives (London: Gower Publishing, 1986), 9. Cook has become a leading exponent of harmonization, as evidenced in his "Combined Library and Archive Training Schools. A Commentary on Recent Trends," in Proceedings of the 10th International Congress on Archives (Munich: K.G. Saur, 1986).
271. Vollmer, Professionalization, 40.
272. Becher, "Professional Education," 142.
273. Ibid., 11.
274. Solon Buck, "The Training of American Archivists," American Archivist 4 (April 1941): 89.
275. Burke, "The Future Course of Archival Theory," 44.

276. Ibid., 42.
277. Luciana Duranti, "The Archival Body of Knowledge: Archival Theory, Method and Practice, and Graduate and Continuing Education", Journal of Education for Library and Information Science 34(Winter, 1993): 8-24. We are beginning to discover the value in translating the contributions of such contemporary European colleagues as Elio Lodolini, Michel Duchein, and Hans Booms. In a relatively recent Master of Archival Studies thesis, Richard Klumpenhower has indicated both the intellectual richness of European thought and how this wealth may assist North Americans to find some sense of cultural context and, indeed, a professional heritage. Richard Klumpenhower, "Concepts of Value in the Archival Appraisal Literature: An Historical and Critical Analysis," M.A.S. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1988.
278. Eastwood, "Nurturing Archival Education," 245.
279. Buck, "The Training of American Archivists," 84.
280. Hugh Taylor, "The Discipline of History and the Education of the Archivist," American Archivist 40 (October 1977): 397-402.
281. John Roberts, "Archival Theory: Myth or Banality?" American Archivist 53 (1990): 111.
282. Vollmer, Professionalization, 12.
283. Conway, "Archival Education and the Need for a Full-Time Faculty," 261.
284. Terry Eastwood, "Two Solitudes in Archives -- A Letter to the Editor," Archivaria 5 (Winter 1984-1985): 5.
285. Cox, "Professionalism and Archivists," 237.
286. Bearman, "The Education of Archivists," 71.
287. Eastwood, "Nurturing Archival Education," 241. There may be significant distinctions in attitude toward the content of archival work between graduates of archival studies programs and those trained on the job. This is another promising area of research.
288. Allan Du Pont Breck, "New Dimensions in the Education of American Archivists," American Archivist 29 (April 1965): 185.

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