

THE DECLINE OF DOCUMENTARY PUBLISHING IN CANADIAN ARCHIVES

1865-1984

By

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ABSTRACT

Documentary publishing by Canadian archives has declined noticeably over time. Today, few archives actively publish diaries, journals, or other primary documents. An analysis of the history of English language documentary publishing by Canadian archives and historical societies may suggest some reasons for this decline.

In order to trace the development and decline of documentary publishing, archives' and historical societies' publications will be examined. A list of these will be appended to the thesis and will form the basis for the discussion of the history and nature of the activity.

The older archives and historical societies saw publishing as an integral part of their activities. In Nova Scotia, Ontario, British Columbia and Manitoba, publishing documents was an important method of preserving and disseminating the historical record. The Public Archives of Canada, the Champlain Society, and the Hudson's Bay Record Society were especially active in the publishing field. But in each institution, with the notable exceptions of the Champlain and Hudson's Bay Record Societies, publishing eventually became subordinate to other forms of preservation and dissemination.

The newer Canadian archives did not accept publishing as a central archival activity. They focussed their attention on microfilming, records management, and other more pressing tasks. In Saskatchewan and Alberta

publications have only recently appeared. New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and the Yukon and Northwest Territories have yet to engage in any extensive publishing programmes. A survey of the Canadian Historical Review shows that documentary publication by the historical community has also decreased.

The reasons for this decline are many and varied. Economic change and technological development have both been very important. So too have the changing perceptions of archivists and historians about the role of documentary publishing in archives and in society.

Archives have turned away from publishing, but this is often not part of a stated policy. Archives need to decide if they will pursue a publishing programme or not. If they do, they must first decide why they are publishing, and for whom. Archives can publish historically edited documents for the scholarly community, or less comprehensive editions for the general public. Each option has its own problems and qualities. But whichever route archives choose, they must decide whether or not publishing is to be a part of their mandate. They must put an end to the unstructured, haphazard publishing activities of the past.

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INTRODUCTION

To many archivists the possibility of publishing some of the documents in their custody is an entirely academic question. They are not publishing documents, they do not plan to publish documents, they have neither the time nor the funds to publish documents.

J.K. Johnson (1)

Unfortunately, Mr. Johnson tells the somber truth about the state of documentary publishing in Canada. Virtually none of the archives in the country is actively publishing historical documents, few historical societies are involved in such publishing, and indeed very few independent scholars are engaging in historical editing. If it seems to have become an accepted state of affairs that Canadian institutions will not involve themselves in publications projects, then why even bother to discuss the matter? The issue is one worth examining. Without an understanding of the decline of archival involvement in documentary publishing, we cannot properly judge the role of archives in this field. In this sense, one can compare the decline of documentary publishing to the decline of the passenger train. When the passenger train was all but obliterated as a common form of travel with the appearance of the airplane, people continued to discuss the character and condition

of the railroad -- even if only in an historical context. Such discussion led to the preservation of railway depots, to conferences on railroad history, and to essays and books on the romantic history of the train. Like the passenger train, documentary publishing in Canada can be seen as a relic of the past, an activity eclipsed in importance by the diffusion of photocopying, microforms, and other reproductions. And like a conference on the railroad, an analysis of the nature and decline of documentary publishing, while it will not help to restore the past, may provide an understanding of the role such publishing has played in Canadian archival development, and may explain why it is no longer a central part of that experience.

For the sake of this analysis, documentary publishing is taken to mean the publication of edited or unedited historical sources, primary materials such as letters, journals, diaries, government records, and so forth. Calendars, indexes, and other descriptive tools, and histories based upon research in primary documents do not fall within this definition. Also excluded from this discussion are non-textual materials such as photographs, sound recordings, or cartographic archives, whose publication can be of a very different nature from textual documentary publishing. While one cannot examine changes in archival publishing in a vacuum, and while these other forms of publishing are significant, it is necessary here to set some limits. Consequently, while some other types of

publications may be mentioned in passing, the focus will be on published primary materials of a written nature.

The discussion will also be limited, by necessity, to English language documents published in Canada outside Quebec. To include Quebec and the vast French language publishing there and in the rest of Canada would involve analyzing and comparing two different languages, cultures and histories, a task too vast to be properly executed here. To examine only English language publications in Quebec would mean eliminating an integral part of that province's history, and would thus result in an incomplete analysis. For the sake of this discussion, Quebec's involvement in documentary publishing must be left out.

In order to examine the decline of documentary publishing in Canada it is necessary to establish a "data base", which will consist of the documentary publications, either in monograph or shorter form, produced by the major archival institutions in Canada. For the sake of comparison, similar publications issued by Canadian historical societies will also be examined. Bibliographies have been compiled for the provincial archives and major historical society in each province. As well, bibliographies have been created for the Public Archives of Canada, the Champlain Society and Hudson's Bay Record Society, and, for the sake of comparison, for documents published in the Canadian Historical Review. Using these bibliographies as the data base, the output of each of the provinces, and of the other institutions, will be examined.

(The titles of the documentary publications included in this data base can be found in the Appendix.)

The first chapter will examine the "old guard" archival institutions and historical societies. This "old guard" consists of the Public Archives of Canada, the provinces of Ontario, British Columbia and Manitoba, and the Champlain Society. In each of these provinces or institutions, documentary publishing was at one time important, both to the archives and the historical society. It is important to trace the development through the years, and to determine whether the archives or the historical society, or both, were involved in publishing. The object is to discover when and how these institutions turned away from documentary publishing in favour of other activities.

The second chapter of this analysis will deal with the newer institutions in the provinces of Saskatchewan, Alberta, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward Island, and in the Yukon and Northwest Territories. These institutions, both archival and historical, were founded more recently, and, in the case of the archives, responded to the problems of managing modern records and the persistent problem of preserving historical documents. These groups for the most part had no time in their early years to focus on documentary publishing, and even when they did, their priorities and programmes were different from those of their "old guard" counterparts. Consequently, these groups have a less impressive history in this field, although some

have begun to engage in such work in recent years. For the sake of comparison, chapter two will include an analysis of the documentary editions included in the Canadian Historical Review, in order to gauge the interest of the scholarly community over the years.

This initial analysis will try to outline the growth and decline of documentary publishing for each of these institutions. But this decline has many causes, complex and intertwined. It would be an exercise in futility to try and explain it for each institution in each province, and such an examination would bring us no closer to an understanding of the national situation. Consequently, the first section must consist only of a chronological history of sorts, pointing out the changes and trends, but avoiding simple explanations for a complex phenomenon. It is in the next, third, chapter that the truly thorny issues will be examined.

Once the decline in documentary publishing has been proved it is necessary to try to determine, on a broad scale, why there has been a decline. It would be easy to shrug off such a question with the answer that economic and technological considerations have been the sole factors. After all, on the one hand, such publishing is expensive, and archives and historical societies face a constant search for funds for a broad range of activities. On the other hand, public and scholarly access to archives has increased through improved means of duplication of records and greater ease of travel. Although these issues are of central

importance, they do not stand alone. We must also try to understand the changing perception of the role of archives in the field of documentary publication. What was the purpose of such publishing in the early years, and what is it today? How have archivists and historians perceived the role of documentary publishing over time, and why have their perceptions changed?

Once this decline has been traced, and some reasons for it examined, the question of the role of an archives in documentary publishing must be addressed. In the conclusion, the question to be addressed is should archives be involved in such publishing? To what extent and for whom? What is the role of the archives in society? Is it a government agency, in which case publishing would not be a central activity? Is it a haven for scholarship, where the dissemination of knowledge would be of paramount importance? Or does it have a broader cultural role? In light of the fact that today few Canadian archives are actively publishing documents, these are important questions to ask.

Once some answers to these questions have been discussed, then we should have a better sense of the history and present state of documentary publishing in Canadian archives. And then perhaps, like the conference on the passenger train, such an analysis will help us to decide if documentary publishing has a future, or only a nostalgic past.

Chapter One

THE OLD GUARD

The first archives in Canada saw publishing as essential to their very existence. Publishing was seen as a prime means of preserving the historic past, for the documents themselves seemed destined for eventual disintegration. Publishing was also seen as a means of disseminating original sources to a growing historical community. In a country as vast as Canada, publishing was an important means of providing historical material for research.

As these institutions developed and changed, their focus on documentary publishing shifted. Nova Scotia led the way for many years before turning away from the field. The Public Archives of Canada, long the focal point for documentary publishing, halted its programme rather abruptly, only to resurrect it briefly before halting it once again. Ontario's historical society began publishing very early in its history, but halted quite suddenly, never to renew its activities. In British Columbia documents were published sporadically by the Provincial Archives for years until a very recent change in policy. The Champlain Society and the Hudson's Bay Record Society have actively published documents since the former began shortly after the turn of the century; neither shows any sign of slowing its work. In Manitoba, the last of the "old guard", documents were published by historical societies from time to time until

the mid-1960's and more regularly since then. These were the groups that actively published in the early years, and these were also the groups who, when they decided to halt their programmes, did so suddenly, with little notice. Although some have resurrected old programmes or have instituted new ones, others have decided that the field of documentary publishing is no longer viable.

NOVA SCOTIA

A wise nation preserves its records, gathers up its muniments, repairs its great public structures, decorates the tombs of its illustrious dead, and fosters national pride and love of country with perpetual reference to the sacrifices and glories of the past.

Hon. Joseph Howe

It is fitting that any discussion of documentary publications in Canada begin with the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, and Joseph Howe's enthusiasm. The collection, preservation, and publication of archival material first began in Nova Scotia, and the archives surpassed the historical society in the field of documentary publishing.

Although Nova Scotians appear to have been well aware of the importance of their history as early as the 1700's, attempts to form archival institutions and historical societies were not successful until 1857, when the colonial government appointed Thomas Beamish Akins as the first records commissioner. Akins' task was to preserve "the ancient records and documents illustrative of the history and progress of society in this province...either for reference or publication."¹ Akins held his position as Nova Scotia's, and Canada's, first archivist for 34 years until his death in 1891.

In his annual reports, Akins consistently recommended documentary publication. In an article on Akins' activities, B.C. Cuthbertson argued that his "primary motivation was to make accessible to the general public

documents of the 'greatest interest and value.'"² In the early days of Canadian archives, the dissemination of information through publications was thought to be of primary importance. And while the motivation of increasing public awareness of history was certainly uppermost, it went hand in hand with the concepts of civic pride and loyalty. It was important for 19th century Nova Scotians to promote themselves and their history. In arguing for the publication of documents relating to the Acadian expulsion, for example, Akins' reasoned that it was:

a subject which has of late occupied the attention of writers both in England and America, and on which much has lately appeared in condemnation of the course pursued by the government of the day. The papers...throw some additional light on this interesting subject, which has now become a matter of American history, and for the credit of the province, all papers that may in any way discover the motives, views and conduct of those engaged at the period in the settlement of the country, and which may tend to contradict or explain partial statements, or put in a new light, transactions hitherto considered harsh and cruel, should be given to the public. (3)

Akins realized his ambition to publish documents relative to the history of the expulsion of the Acadians when he edited Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia, published by the Nova Scotia government in 1869.

Akins' good intentions in this field never again bore fruit. The next such publication did not appear in Nova Scotia until 1908, when Archibald MacMechan, a professor of history and president of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, edited the Original Minutes of His Majesty's Council at

Annapolis Royal, 1720-1739 for publication by the archives. MacMechan had previously compiled calendars and indexes of Nova Scotia documents, some of which were also published by the government.

The close ties between the provincial historical society and the archives seems evident, and it is interesting to note that the historical society seems to have left large documentary publications projects to the archives, perhaps edited by one of its members, but funded by the government rather than the society itself. The historical society, whose first Report and Collections appeared in 1878, counted as one of its objectives "the publication so far as the funds of the society will allow, of all such documents and papers as it may be deemed desirable to publish."⁴ The society published selected documents in its Reports. Most of the items concerned pre-confederation, indeed, pre-conquest, British personalities. "The Journal of Colonel Nicholson at the Capture of Annapolis, 1710," "Trials for Treason in 1776-77," and "Letters and other Papers relating to the Early History of the Church of England in Nova Scotia [1710]," were typical inclusions in the 19th century reports. The average length of these documents was from thirty to fifty pages, with some as long as 120 pages, others as short as five. There was no consistency in documentary publishing by the historical society and by 1892 the Reports were composed entirely of papers presented at the annual meetings. No documentary

editions were included.

Funding appears to have been a major impediment to publishing by the historical society. The 1878 report declared that "if we collect, preserve and publish the memorials of other days, the public will be sure to appreciate and assist us,"⁵ but the next year's report lamented that "they regret their inability to annotate as they would wish, the text of the documents herewith submitted." To this complaint they added that "the committee in conclusion beg to call the attention of the members to the mass of papers still on hand awaiting publication, and to suggest the formation of a publication fund."⁶ There is no evidence to indicate that such a fund was started, and the limited publishing record of the society seems to suggest that, although the society remained active, either its interest in or its capacity for documentary publishing declined over the years. In the early years of the 20th century, this might possibly be attributable to the increasingly active programme of Nova Scotia's Public Archives.

As mentioned above, there was little documentary publishing by the archives after 1908. The reason for this seems clear. After the death of Thomas Akins in 1891, the task of caring for the records was passed from one government employee to another for forty years. Although these men, Francis Stephen Beamish (1891-95), Edwin C. Fairbanks (1895-99), and Harry Piers (1899-1931) maintained the existing collection to the best of their abilities,

(considering the archives did not even have a building of its own), they were not in a position to pursue a publications programme. In fact, up to the end of Piers' supervision of the documents, the position of Archivist did not formally exist. Akins had been the Records Commissioner, but it is unclear whether his three successors even had titles. An archivist proper was not appointed until the 1930's.

In 1929, through the benevolence of W.H. Chase, a prominent Nova Scotia citizen, the province began construction of its own archives building. Although the official opening of the archives, on 14 January 1931, occurred more than seventy-five years after the appointment of the first records commissioner, Nova Scotia was still justifiably proud of its achievement. It boasted Canada's first public archives and first provincial archives building. On 3 August, 1931, with the appointment of Professor D.C. Harvey as the first Provincial Archivist of Nova Scotia, the province's archives entered into a new era.

It was under Harvey's direction that the archives began to expand in all areas, from collection to arrangement to public service and, especially, to publication.

Almost from his first days Harvey advocated a strong archival publications programme.

In the odd breathing spaces of office hours, I have been reading along certain specific lines; and, in the restless hours of broken slumber, I have been thinking about the most fitting publication that should be issued first with the imprimatur of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. (7)

Harvey finally recommended that "a complete collection of documents bearing upon the early settlement of Nova Scotia from the founding of Halifax to the arrival of the Loyalists, be prepared for publication." He lost no time in acting upon his resolution, in a series of monographs, shorter publications called bulletins, and documents published in the annual reports.

Most of the monographs consisted of diaries, journals or papers by specific individuals, such as Holland's Description of Cape Breton Island and Other Documents published in 1935, and Thomas Pichen, the Spy of Beausejour, An Account of his Career in Europe and America, with many Original Documents published in 1937. Occasionally, however, particular subjects were dealt with through the edition of documents, such as the landmark publication A Documentary Study of the Establishment of the Negroes in Nova Scotia between the War of 1812 and the Winning of Responsible Government completed in 1948. Grasping at such thorny political and social issues in documentary publications seems a clear indication of the forward thinking of D.C. Harvey and the archivists under his direction in Nova Scotia. Indeed, some of the bulletins also treated important themes, such as A Documentary Study of Early Educational Policy (1937), A Documentary Study of Provincial Finance and Currency, 1812-36 (1941), and A Documentary Study of the Origin and Distribution of the Arms Fund (1947) to name but three.

Between his appointment in 1931 and his retirement in 1955, Harvey supervised or was himself responsible for six monographs, six bulletins, and close to forty short documentary editions in the annual reports. Examples from the annual reports consisted of everything from "Early Descriptions of Nova Scotia" (1933) to "A Proposal to Change the Name of Halifax (1942) and "The Correspondence of the Nova Scotia Historical Society" (1945). The documents and commentary averaged about ten pages in length, with two or three in each report -- just enough to whet the historical appetite of a hungry readership.

It is clear Harvey wrestled with the question of the Archives proper role in Nova Scotia society. As early as 1931, he commented on a problem of public service. In his annual report he noted:

A number of inquiries have been answered to the satisfaction of the persons concerned; but this has raised the problem as to how far the Archivist can cater to this sort of work, rather than confine his efforts to encouraging the use of materials in the building. If an enquiry bureau is to be established it will involve the entire time and labour of a member of the staff, and also considerable expense. Perhaps some person who is specially interested in genealogy will endow such a department. If not, I am much concerned as to the proper course to pursue. (9)

It is interesting that a person so concerned about the diffusion of published information should resist the idea of public service for genealogists and the like. It is clear, however, that he saw documentary publications as a vital means to a momentous end. "It is unnecessary," he wrote, "to add that in addition to preserving the records of Nova

Scotia's colourful history, our chief duty is to organize these records and to transmute them into written history as fully and as rapidly as possible." ¹⁰ Harvey, who was an historian, author, and professor as well as an archivist, saw his contributions in areas such as documentary publishing, supervising theses, presenting papers, presiding over conferences and meetings, and writing articles and books about Maritime history, as essential to his duties. In 1942, he summed up his larger aim.

So far our official publications have been catalogues, calendars, and documentary studies of special subjects, designed to facilitate research or to throw light on various phases of our history, which could not be treated in such detail in a general history without clogging the narrative or getting out of perspective. None the less, all these by-products of more general studies have helped us to reach conclusions, which can be incorporated with confidence in these general works. The same is true of articles and papers, which we have published in historical or literary periodicals, or in the transactions of learned societies. They are all preliminary to a more comprehensive and definitive work. (11)

Harvey truly felt that the diffusion of documents to the public, and especially to interested scholars, was a way of preserving the information and providing the material of history for those intending to write broader, more comprehensive works.

When Harvey retired in 1955, his assistant, C. Bruce Fergusson, took over as Archivist. Fergusson followed his predecessor's footsteps very closely in the area of documentary publishing. He maintained the appendices to the annual reports, with two or three short documents in each, and he continued the bulletin series and the monographic

publications, still concentrating on pre-confederation, and especially 18th century, documents. Fergusson saw the importance of the preservation and dissemination of historical information; he saw the Public Archives of Nova Scotia as an "historical laboratory for the use of historical documents."¹² But Fergusson was the first archivist in Nova Scotia to feel the pressure of the new fast-paced society of the 1960's and 1970's. At one point he wrote "we in archival institutions must try to keep up with the times in procedures and techniques....There is need for speedy retrieval, arrangement, and analysis of records and data."¹³ Still, it was under Fergusson's direction that archival publications reached their peak. The archives presented itself to the public through the Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly, started in 1971, a journal which contained selected documents in various issues. Indeed, Nova Scotia's current archivist, Phyllis Blakeley, judges that "Fergusson gave the publications programme the highest priority sacrificing other programmes to it on the limited budget."¹⁴

With C. Bruce Fergusson's retirement in 1977, the publications activities of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia seem to have died a quiet death. Dr. Blakeley has written that "I would like to have an active publications programme but we have been under severe budgetary restraints since the summer of 1982 and the publications programme is one that can be postponed."¹⁵ Even the future of

the archives's journal is not assured. The Archives' annual report for 1983 states that "the financial position of the Review remains tenuous and only a special grant from the Department of Culture, Recreation and Fitness provided the necessary funds to publish the autumn 1983 issue. Funding is guaranteed for 1984, but a permanent form of funding will have to be found for 1985. This may entail a separate budgetary item in either the Archives budget or that of the Department of Culture, Fitness and Recreation." ¹⁶ Today, while Nova Scotia boasts a new, specially designed and equipped, archives building, and diverse and interesting technology, its once active publications programme has declined sharply. Since 1970, there have been two monograph length publications, one edited by C.B. Fergusson, on Clarkson's Mission to America, 1791-1792 (1971), and one a Census of Nova Scotia: 1827; Census of District of Pictou: 1817 (1979). There has been one bulletin length documentary publication. It appears that the historical society has contributed nothing to documentary publishing for many years, although its Collections, a compilation of papers presented at the annual meetings, continues today.

In Nova Scotia, it was the Public Archives rather than the Historical Society, that actively engaged in documentary publishing. Over time, the Historical Society left publishing to the Archives. Now that government funding is scarce, documentary publishing will likely take a back seat to administrative and other duties for some time to come.

THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA

In a country of such vast proportions as Canada, it is not possible to render the accumulations of the Archives Department accessible to all those who are, or who might be interested in them. It is desirable, therefore, to bring some of the representative documents bearing on the more important periods and problems of our history, within the reach of the rapidly increasing number of both Canadians and others who are manifesting an interest in our history and institutions.

Arthur Doughty (17)

The Public Archives of Canada has always been a leader among Canadian archives. It is the archives to which all other archives turn for guidance and information. In terms of its documentary publications, the Public Archives was a leader not only in demonstrating their importance and in initiating their production, but was also among the first to turn away from such publications in favour of other means of disseminating information about its holdings.

In June of 1872, armed with \$4000 and an appointment from the House of Commons, Douglas Brymner, a Montreal journalist, began the arduous and complex task of creating a Canadian national archives. His instructions were to "gather, classify and make available to researchers, the Canadian records."¹⁸ In his thirty years as head of the new Federal Archives, Brymner concentrated his efforts on gathering, copying, and consolidating as many records dealing with Canada as possible. As is natural with any new institution, the early emphasis was on creating a base, by gathering as much as possible. The organization and

dissemination of that information was of less importance than the collection of the actual materials. As Ian Wilson has said:

Brymner had done yeoman's service in laying a solid foundation for the Public Archives, but after his death in 1902, it remained for his successor, Arthur Doughty together with his close colleague and advisor Adam Shortt, to link both intellectually and in practice the requirements of the evolving professional historiography with the wide-spread vision of a national, unifying history. (19)

Under the leadership of Doughty and Shortt, the publication of archival materials became of prime importance to the Archives. Brymner had started a tradition of including selected documents as appendices to his annual reports. Doughty continued this practice by ultimately halting the publication of calendars and concentrating solely on the inclusion of full transcripts of important documents. These documents in the annual reports were long, often filling over 500 pages and leaving only a few pages for the report itself. There were at times as many as ten separate documents, all dealing with pre-confederation subjects, most with 18th century issues. "Plan of the Battle of Ste. Foy, in 1760," "Documents Relating to the War of 1775: Sentiments of the Indians," and "Memoranda Relating to the Church in Canada, from the Earliest Times to 1837" were typical documentary entries in the early reports.

Doughty also turned his attention to the publication of documents in monograph form. His most notable work was the multi-volume Documents Relating to the Constitutional

History of Canada, which was published over twenty years from 1907 to the mid-1930's. Concerning this work, Doughty wrote that:

In 1907 the Public Archives issued a volume of constitutional documents dealing with the years 1759 to 1775. This proved to be of such value to teachers and students that in 1914 the series was continued to 1818....It is now intended to carry on this work by printing a few documents in each annual report....This selection is not necessarily final as the documents will be published in book form at a later date. (20)

In the same report Doughty claimed that "calendars of papers serve a useful purpose, but well-edited collections of documents are more welcome to those who seldom have an opportunity to examine the originals."²¹ He felt that calendars were "at best subjective whilst publication of [calendars] tended to make the arrangement of documents inflexible,"²² and he proposed the publication of important documents in full.

In 1907, a Historical Manuscripts Commission was established by the federal government "to suggest methods for the publication of documents in Canada."²³ The Commission supervised publication of Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada. In 1915, the commission was disbanded, to be replaced in 1917 by the Historical Documents Publication Board under the chairmanship of Adam Shortt. This new board was given the power to select and publish "documents concerned with the history and development of the constitution, trade, commerce, finance, industries, and defence of Canada."²⁴

With Doughty's retirement in 1935, the Historical Board vanished, together with the Archives publications programme. Indeed most of the activities of the Archives were temporarily in limbo. James Kennedy, from the Historical Research and Publicity Division, took over as Acting Dominion Archivist, leaving his own division manned by only one clerk. Interestingly, Kennedy's solution to the problems of understaffing and increasing public use was to question the ability of the Archives to perform the latter service. As he noted in his report for 1935:

In accordance with the policy which the Public Archives has followed from the beginning, help is given whenever possible to every inquirer. To maintain this service, and also continue the publication of calendars and texts of official and historical records, it has been necessary to curtail or suspend some of the activities of the department, and thereby to impair its efficiency for the future. If present conditions continue, a reconsideration of the policy of gratuitous help to all bona fide inquirers may become unavoidable. (25)

With the appointment in 1936 of Gustave Lanctot as Keeper of the Public Records, the Public Archives publications policy began to shift, at first almost imperceptibly. In 1938 a new Publications Division was created, and, as Lanctot stated, it "comprises the following services: translation into English or into French, as the case may be, of historical documents, publication in English and French of the annual reports and of special works; the distribution of the various publications of the department." ²⁶ The publication of historical documents was slowly being replaced by the administrative activities of

government publishing. Monograph length publications continued, though slowed somewhat by the strains of wartime. As John Archer notes in his thesis on Canadian Archives, "while fully cognizant of the needs of his department, the Reports issued under [Lanctot's] name reveal his unwillingness to press claims for staff and space in the face of the stringencies of depression and war."²⁷ In 1940, Lanctot and the Public Archives published The Oakes Collection: New Documents by Lahontan Concerning Canada and Newfoundland, which contained both the original French version and an English translation. This publication appears to be the last monograph length work completed by the Archives until the 1960's.

In 1947, Lanctot's last year as Dominion Archivist, documentary editions in the annual report came to an end. Lanctot was perhaps foreshadowing the end of that aspect of the documentary publications activities when he said, "as usual, this year's report is accompanied by historical documents but rather few owing to the increased cost of printing and the smallness of the departmental appropriation."²⁸

With the appointment of W. Kaye Lamb as Dominion Archivist in 1949, the publications policies of the Archives shifted drastically. To Lamb, the development of systematic means to acquire public and private original documents and to microfilm collections held elsewhere, and particularly overseas, took precedence over documentary publication.

Lamb proclaimed the advent of microfilming with great enthusiasm. As he saw it, "the overall result of the change from copying by hand to copying by photography promises to be startling. Including the films produced by the cameras in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, at least a million pages of material should be received in Ottawa per annum, instead of approximately fifteen thousand pages as in recent years."

²⁹In 1950, the practice of appending documents to the annual reports was officially halted, with the statement that "the intention is that it should be printed in this way hereafter. Calenders, catalogues, guides, etc., will be published separately instead of as ³⁰appendices to the Report as heretofore."

By the mid-1950's the Publications Division was concentrating its efforts on inventories and guides, and documentary publishing seemed to be a thing of the past. But such was not to be the case. Kaye Lamb retired in 1968, and the new Dominion Archivist, Wilfred Smith, noted the revival of documentary editions. In the first annual report since 1959, he wrote:

The reorganization of the Publications Service in 1963 marked the resumption of a more active and varied publications program after a period during which attention had been confined to the publication of inventories. Publications since 1967 have included the first volume of the Papers of the Prime Minister's Series, The Letters of Sir John A. Macdonald, 1836-1837, Nouveaux Documents sur Champlain et son époque, and the Canadian Directory of Parliament, 1867-1967. (31)

Smith also envisioned a broadening of the Archives' activities in the area of dissemination. Rather than focus

exclusively on the scholarly researcher, Smith turned his attention to the needs and desires of the general public. In his 1969 annual report, he commented that:

The much wider public use of the holdings of the Public Archives should be promoted. A program designed to project the Public Archives, its functions and treasures, is being developed in co-operation with the National Film Board. The product will be a set of slides for loan or showing in "Vistasells." Also it is proposed to provide for the distribution of documents, paintings, photographs and maps. Although the chief function of the Public Archives is to provide a central resource collection of historical materials, its much broader use, through exhibitions, television, film and other media, should be promoted. (32)

The greatest and most ambitious publications activity under Smith's leadership was the Prime Minister's Series. Work had commenced on the editing and compilation of the letters of Sir John A. Macdonald in 1964, under the direction of J.K. Johnson, but the first volume was not published until 1968. The French translation of the first volume was available in 1972. A second volume in English, with its French translation, appeared shortly thereafter, but then the project died a quiet death unmentioned ever again in annual reports.

In the meantime, however, Wilfred Smith continued his ambitious and aggressive publicity campaign for the Archives. In 1972, he stated that:

careful consideration has been given in the last two or three years to the development of a program for the dissemination of archival materials. Such a program would implement the government's cultural policy which is being applied to museums; but in the archival field it is a revolutionary

concept. Instead of serving only adult historians and post-graduate students who can come to Ottawa it would aim at taking archives to the greatest possible number of interested Canadians by means of microfilm copies, exhibitions, facsimiles, slides, publications and the mass media. Such a program will require additional funds but the increased benefits will amply justify the modest budgetary increases which will be involved. (33)

With the centennial of the Public Archives in 1972, the issue of public service became of central importance. Smith noted that "this has been a Janus year for the Historical Branch. We have looked backward over 100 years of steady growth...we are looking forward to a bright future...to the diffusion program which will bring our resources to far more people in an attractive way."³⁴ One of the publications of the centennial which served to promote this idea of the diffusion of information was a catalogue-cum-documentary publication entitled Archives: Mirror of Canada Past. The work, artistically designed and well layed out, was prepared by the members of the archives staff, with twenty-five supervisors overlooking the different sections of the book. Such a large scale effort by the Archives, its last to date, far surpassed the earlier editions by Shortt and Doughty in the manpower involved, but the success of the publication seems not to have generated more documentary publications by the Archives. The diffusion programme, outlined in the annual report for that centennial year, promised the "publication of a series of volumes (some of which are in conjunction with exhibitions) prefaced by short introductions which will present primary text complemented

by pictorial record in an exciting mix designed to appeal to the reader who is interested in appreciating history and the historical record without too much of the historian's gloss." ³⁵ The resulting publications included exhibit catalogues and inventories, but the expensive and time-consuming documentary publications of the past were notably absent.

In the mid-1970's the Publications Division became Information Services Division, a change in more than just name. Information Services became responsible for brochures, pamphlets, the annual reports, inventories, newsletters and so forth; no documentary editions as such were published or even planned. Also in the mid-1970's, restraint reared its unwelcome head, and in adjusting to financial stringency, the Archives was forced to reduce such secondary activities as publications and public relations. By 1981, the Archives reported that "the economic situation is causing grave concern in all parts of the world," and the Dominion Archivist took the opportunity to redefine the role of the Public Archives, a role which would now focus more on government records and custodianship than on the dissemination of information.

The mission of the Public Archives was defined as the systematic preservation of government and private records of Canadian national significance in order to facilitate not only the effective and efficient operation of the Government of Canada and historical research in all aspects of the Canadian experience, but also the protection of rights and the enhancement of a sense of national identity based on archives as the collective memory of the nation. (36)

The Public Archives of Canada, always a leader in archival activity, was leading the nation away from old concepts of dissemination of information through publication. Instead, the Public Archives has turned its attention to records management, to the provision of services to the government and the public, and to the collection of archival materials relating to all aspects of Canadian life. Today, the Public Archives of Canada produces no documentary publications. A new series of guides is being published to reveal, in general terms, the holdings of each division of the Archives. Exhibits remain important, and the attendant catalogues provide some opportunity to reveal individual documents, but edited documentary compilations seem to now be an archival dinosaur of sorts.

ONTARIO

The time has arrived...when...the Society may legitimately engage in the publication of documents relating to the history of the province as a whole....For the preservation of such documents, as exist only in manuscript form, printing is unquestionably the greatest service that an historical society can render to the state and the student.

E.A. Cruikshank, President of the Ontario Historical Society, 1921 (37)

In discussing documentary publishing in Ontario, one must discuss the activities of the Ontario Historical Society. Not only was this society the first and most active group in Ontario to engage in the publication of primary source material, but it was also the driving force behind the establishment of a provincial archives in Ontario. It may perhaps be that the lack of publications by the Ontario Archives is a direct result of the active policy pursued by the Historical Society.

The Ontario Historical Society was founded in 1888, the last and most successful in a long line of historical associations, beginning in 1843 with the Toronto Literary and Historical Society, and including such groups as the British North American Historical Society (1875) and the Pioneer and Historical Association of Ontario (1888). According to the records of the Historical Society of Upper Canada, formed in 1861, the historical society's job was to

preserve "a unifying 'sentiment of nationality' rooted in an understanding of the Upper Canadian past....In these years, when the integrity of the Dominion seemed to be at stake, the quest for a cohesive national heritage stands out as the fundamental reason why people formed and joined historical societies."³⁸

In 1899, the Ontario Historical Society began to publish its Papers and Records series. The Society's first president, James Coyne, claimed that "through this publication, the Ontario Historical Society would preserve and circulate rare documentary sources, encourage the writing of history of a higher and more exact character, and generally stimulate interest in Ontario's past."³⁹ The first issue of the journal included no less than twelve separate documents, a total of 66 pages. Although many documents were published without substantial editing or annotation (mostly documents such as registers and other records), editing of diaries, journals and letters became popular after the turn of the century. Such documents as the "John Richardson Letters," "An Old Family Account Book," and "Collections of Historical Material Relating to the War of 1812," were edited by historians both amateur and professional. E.A. Cruikshank, one time president of the association, and also keeper of military records at the Public Archives of Canada for many years, himself edited eleven entries for the journal between 1905 and his death in

1939. In fact it was Cruikshank who established the Historical Society's tradition for documentary publications by editing The Correspondence of Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe, which was published in five volumes between 1923 and 1931, and The Correspondence of the Honourable Peter Russell, which appeared in three volumes between 1932 and 1936. Cruikshank's efforts in documentary publishing had the desired effect; such publishing became the Ontario Historical Society's life line, its raison d'etre. The Department of Education, which subsidized many of the activities of the society, had indicated that it would not support the museum and archives activities of the society, but it would assume the cost of printing the society's publications. Cruikshank realized, quite rightly, that the route to survival for the society therefore lay in an expanded and aggressive publications programme.⁴⁰ As Gerald Killan states in his history of the Ontario Historical Society, "as Cruikshank expected, the Department of Education looked favourably upon the project and committed itself to publishing the Simcoe Papers without cost. For its part, the Ontario Historical Society promised to distribute the volumes as widely as possible by selling them⁴¹ at the nominal sum of one dollar apiece."

It would appear, with the benefit of hindsight, that this 'nominal sum' may have caused, indirectly, the downfall of the monograph publications programme of the society. In the midst of the Great Depression, the Department of

Education was forced to reassess its position regarding the Ontario Historical Society. As Killan asserts:

The Department of Education had informed the executive that the necessity of strict economy obliged the government to withdraw the practice of printing the society's literature at public expense. Although the small annual grant would be continued, the Papers and Records, the Annual Report, and the documentary history series would have to be paid for out of the Ontario Historical Society's own funds....The programme had gone beyond the society's means. No choice remained but to postpone indefinitely the documentary history series. (42)

Attempts were made to keep the publication alive. The 1945 annual report contained the plea, "we have a Cruikshank revolving publishing fund which it should be possible to keep replenished by the sale of publications. If the Strachan volume could be got out of the way, and sold, another could be produced....Publication of such works is a real and easily achieved function of the Society and the appearance of such a volume in addition to the Papers and Records would be evidence of a really active body....Provincial history and local history can be alive.⁴³ We must not let it stagnate."

At a dollar a copy, stagnate it did. In fact, the publications, in spite of their ridiculously low price, became a sore spot for the society rather than a source of pride, and in the middle of the Second World War the worst of all possible consequences occurred. President C.W. Jeffreys announced rather abruptly that:

In the emergency, I took it upon myself to move a resolution which passed unanimously to clear out 1000 sets of the Simcoe Papers and have them chopped up for pulp....It will still leave on our hands an ample supply for all future generations. I hope General Cruikshank and Mr. Hunter will not turn in their graves, but the idea of an edition of 2000 was absurdly extravagant at the outset, even though the government paid the bill and we now have an elephant on our hands which will eat more storage hay than we can afford. I am prepared to urge further eliminations of the same kind with regard to some of our other publications and to be ruthless with regard to the library. (44)

In spite of having sent hundreds of books to the shredder, the society was able to pull together and squeeze out The John Strachan Letter Book, 1812-1834 in 1946. But for the most part the society turned away from monograph length publications and concentrated on documentary entries in its Papers and Records. There was a marked decrease in the number of documentary editions in each issue; in the 1930's there were about two or three in each volume, rather than ten or twelve as before. In 1947, the journal changed its title to Ontario History and, interestingly, there was a surge in documentary publications in the 1950's, with each volume containing from three to six entries filling between twenty and thirty pages per issue. This upswing led to 38 documentary entries in Ontario History between 1950 and 1959, but it was followed by a dramatic decline; between 1960 and 1981 there have been only 16 documents published in the Historical Society's journal. According to one analysis, the reason for the change was an "enlightenment" on the part of the editors.

Valuable as these documents were from a scholarly point of view, the editors recognized that such volumes, made up predominately of primary sources, were not likely to send readers into paroxysms of patriotic fever, which, after all was one of their aims. Nor were ponderous tomes of documents likely to appeal to many Ontarians.... Seeking to popularize their publication, the editors turned to the example set by their American counterparts, and began to include more narrative history in the Papers and Records. (45)

It is at this point, finally, that the provincial archives became a factor in the issue of documentary publications. The Ontario Archives had been established under the wing of the Ontario Historical Society in 1903. The society had wanted a state-supported archives under its control, but such was not to be. The archives evolved independently as a government department, and continued quietly to acquire materials and provide public service. The archives was involved in a documentary publications programme of its own. The annual reports contained "nothing but source material, principally such material as journals of the legislative council and assembly, land books, and minutes of the courts of quarter sessions."⁴⁶ As John Archer has noted, "the policy of reproducing historical documents in the printed reports issued proved to be very popular."⁴⁷ Even so, this practice was stopped in the mid 1950's, when the Archives decided to publish inventories rather than documents, thus making a knowledge of holdings available to students more quickly."⁴⁸ Today the Archives of Ontario no longer includes documentary reproductions in the

annual reports. The Ontario Historical Society had just about given up its idea of documentary publications when, in 1957, a deal was struck between the Champlain Society and the government of Ontario. For a set fee, the Champlain Society agreed to publish documents relating to the history of Ontario, "to be issued by the Champlain Society under the sponsorship of the Ontario Government, which has generously promised the Society a grant of \$5,000⁵⁰ a year for the next four years for this purpose." The Ontario Historical Society, whose publishing future seemed dim, quickly rationalized its own activities in this area. "The appearance of volumes of primary sources published by both the Ontario Archives, established in 1903 and the Champlain Society, founded two years later, facilitated the decision to lighten the documentary content of the Papers and Records."⁵¹ Although the Society seems to have assumed that the Ontario archives was directly involved in the new venture, it would appear that this was not true. The documents were edited by Ontario historians, but there is no indication in prefaces or elsewhere that the Archives was in any way responsible for the edition of the materials. In any case, this series, numbering eleven volumes and still active, is now the focus of publishing activities in Ontario. The Historical Society has not published any documents in its journal since 1973, and there appear to be no plans for documentary monographs, although the society is

active in the publication of brochures, guides, booklets and bibliographies. The Archives generates a short annual report and virtually nothing else.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

In British Columbia, the Provincial Archives took the lead in documentary publishing, although the provincial historical society did become associated with the Archives efforts. Archival activity in British Columbia began in the 1890's in a modest way. In 1894, the government appointed R.E. Gosnell, a journalist, as its first legislative librarian. Gosnell's mandate gave him the authority "to collect and compile data relating to the history of the province."⁵² He and his successor E.O.S. Scholefield carried on a programme to collect archival material until 1908, when an appropriation for archives was passed by the Legislature and Gosnell was appointed Provincial Archivist. Since 1908, even though there has never been legislation mandating the Provincial Archives, it has developed an active programme of acquisition and dissemination of archival documents.

In the early days of the Archives, Gosnell and Scholefield concentrated on acquisitions. In a letter to his colleague, Judge F.W. Howay, Scholefield wrote that he intended to have "all likely places...ransacked for documents relating to the fur trade and colonial days," for, as he said, "I am making the collection of books and documents relating to our province, and the study of its history, my life work."⁵³ Scholefield was also quick to seize the opportunity to publish documents, first in the annual reports of the library and archives, where he attempted to include documents in the annual reports,

However, only a few of the reports were actually published; the others remained in manuscript form. He had more success with the Memoir Series, begun in 1914. Among the early publications were the Minutes of the House of Assembly of Vancouver Island, and Menzie's Journal of Vancouver's Voyage. The first publications were paid for by the Kings' Printer, but after 1918 the costs were covered by the Archives itself. In justifying the publication of the documents of British Columbia's pioneer legislature, Scholefield referred to their fragility and to his desire for their accessibility. "If by any unhappy mischance," he wrote, "the originals were destroyed, the earliest pages of the Parliamentary history of British Columbia would be forever lost. The documents in question deserve, therefore, very special consideration. In passing, it may be observed that one of the most pressing obligations of the Department is the publication of original material in the form of bulletins, for it is only by such means that the resources of the archives can be made generally accessible."⁵⁴ The annual reports also included such documents as "Papers Relating to Nootka Sound and to Captain Vancouver's Expedition," and "Papers Relating to the Colonization of Vancouver Island." Interestingly, many documentary editions were really compilations of various documents around a theme rather than as part of a coherent series. The 1913 report included eleven separate groups of documents -- a total of 125 pages. But this effort was not repeated, and the annual

reports quickly became accounts of the administration of the department, rather than vehicles for the dissemination of documents. Indeed, by this time they were rarely published. Scholefield's successors, John Forsyth (1921-26) and John Hosie (1926-34) continued the Memoir Series, but with the appointment of W. Kaye Lamb as Provincial Archivist in 1934, the Archives set out in other directions.

Upon his arrival, Lamb discovered that financial stringency had ended any thought of continuing the Memoir Series, but he was reluctant to give up the idea of publicizing the Archives' holdings. With the aid of amateur historians like Robie Reid and the British Columbia Historical Association, he founded the British Columbia Historical Quarterly. In his editorial introducing the first issue, Lamb focussed on the importance of publishing documents.

Those well qualified to judge have upon many occasions emphasized the value of the great store of books, manuscripts, pictures and relics which are preserved in the Provincial Archives....Research students and others able to visit the Archives in person, have long been aware of this; but the department has lacked any means of making its resources known to a wider circle. It is hoped that the British Columbia Historical Quarterly will go far to make good this deficiency. Important manuscripts, hitherto unpublished, will appear regularly in its pages; and it is hoped that the prospect of publication in permanent form, which the Quarterly is able to offer, will encourage the writing of worth-while articles upon many aspects of British Columbia's history. (55)

The Quarterly did indeed carry on a series of publications of documents on such subjects as "The Census of Vancouver Island, 1855," (1940), "Gold Rush Days in

Victoria, 1858-1859," (1948), and "Record of a Trip to Dawson, 1898: The Diary of John Smith," (1952). The documents averaged between twenty and thirty pages; some were annotated, others left unedited. Out of a total of 36 documentary publications in the Quarterly between 1937 and its sudden demise in 1958, four were edited by the British Columbia historian W.N. Sage, four by Scholefield's friend, Judge F.W. Howay, and five by Willard Ireland, who succeeded Lamb as Provincial Archivist in 1940. Lamb himself contributed three edited documents. While these numbers may not seem high of themselves, it must be remembered that these same men also contributed articles and notes based on their own research, as well as actively pursuing archival and historical activities away from the journal. Indeed Ireland's importance cannot be understated. Ireland worked closely with Lamb to edit the Quarterly after Lamb left the Archives, and took over as editor in 1946. In a case of historical paradox, the Quarterly effectively died in the year of the centennial of the establishment of the Colony of British Columbia. Although it was not issued until 1962, the issue for 1958 was the journal's last. With so much of his time taken by this centennial work as well as by his daily tasks as Archivist, Ireland was unable to continue to work at full capacity on the Quarterly, and, with its main driving force gone, the journal died. It was replaced some ten years later by B.C. Studies, an independent journal funded by subscription and by government

aid, but this journal has nothing to do with either the Archives or the British Columbia Historical Association. The Association itself has not entered into any major documentary or other publishing programme since the demise of the Quarterly. Thus, although British Columbia's publications activities were rather active in comparison with some other institutions, publications appeared from time to time and not as part of some plan or programme by the Archives. The current Provincial Archivist, John Bovey, has summed up the history of the situation rather neatly, saying:

there has been no on-going publications policy, in the sense of a precisely defined verbal statement, for this institution since its establishment. The Memoir Series has been published occasionally from 1914 up to the present. From the 1930's to the 1960's the Provincial Archives published the British Columbia Historical Quarterly in cooperation with the British Columbia Historical Association and during the past decade we have published the Sound Heritage Series, which will be suspended indefinitely after the imminent distribution of Issue No. 40. Sound Heritage is a casualty (perhaps a temporary one) of the Government's current restraint program. (56)

Sound Heritage is a publication comprised of articles drawing primarily on the resources of the Archives oral history collection and is not a documentary publication in the traditional sense. Its existence is an indication of the Archives movement away from publishing documents to other methods of disseminating information about British Columbia's history.

THE CHAMPLAIN SOCIETY
and
THE HUDSON'S BAY RECORD SOCIETY

In the Spring of 1905 in conversation with some University men interested in history, the suggestion was made that the time had perhaps come in Canada when we might hope to have a society for the publication of historical works similar to the Navy Records Society, the Royal Historical Society, the Prince Society, etc. This of course would depend on whether there were in Canada a sufficiently strong sentiment in favour of work similar to that which had been accomplished successfully in countries more thickly populated and wealthier than Canada. I had confidence enough personally to think that 250 people could be found who would be willing to pay \$10 a year if we could promise that we could produce works equal in every respect in editing, historical interest and mechanical make-up to the best publications of historical societies elsewhere.

Sir Edmund Walker, first
President of the Champlain Society (57)

One is sorely tempted at this point to say, "and they lived happily ever after." Indeed, they did. The Champlain Society has been an unqualified success since its appearance in the fifth year of the twentieth century. Perhaps a look at its history will give some clues to its prosperity in the area of documentary publishing.

The Champlain Society was formed in 1905, and by 1907 it had received over \$2,000 in membership fees. Each member was promised two limited edition volumes of documentary publications, bound in red buckram, numbered and with the seal of the society on the spine. In 1907 the first volume appeared; The History of New France by Marc Lescarbot,

edited by W.P. Grant and H.P. Biggar. Two volumes followed in 1908, and one each year between 1909 and 1912.

The Society suffered to some degree during the First World War. The executive wrote in the annual report for 1916 that "unfortunately a difficulty in regard to procuring paper has arisen since the outbreak of war. The price has become so exorbitant that it may be out of the question, for the time being, to go on with the publication of the volumes in the hands of the publishers....In addition to the rise in price, paper is very difficult to procure at all in England, the Government having restricted its supply and distribution."⁵⁸ By 1918 the Society lamented that its activities "have been practically paralyzed by war conditions."⁵⁹

Not one to stay down for long, the Champlain Society began publishing in earnest again in 1920, although it was forced to reduce the annual production from two volumes to one. The executive regretted the decision, but felt that little could be done. "Looking back from the conditions of today," the annual report for 1920-22 stated, "it seems scarcely possible that two of the beautiful volumes published by the Society could have been furnished for a single subscription price of ten dollars. Those days may come again. In the interests of knowledge it is to be hoped that they will, for scholars are now handicapped by the heavy cost of books."⁶⁰ After the shift to one volume per year, the Society was quickly back on track financially, and

production continued smoothly. Most volumes dealt with pre-confederation subjects. William Wood edited four volumes on The Canadian War of 1812 (1920), W. Stewart Wallace contributed John McLean's Notes of a Twenty-Five Years' Service in the Hudson's Bay Territories (1932) and F.W. Howay edited The Journal of Captain James Colnett (1940). The Great Depression seemed to make no dent in the Society's activities. In fact, the Champlain Society can be said to have contributed in its own way to alleviating the Canadian financial crisis when in 1929 it transferred its actual printing activities from Britain to Canada. In 1931, perhaps in defence against the crumbling economic scene outside, the executive stated that "the finances of the Society [are] in...a sound and flourishing condition."⁶¹

In 1935, the Champlain Society completed a coup of sorts in the historical world; it secured the right to publish the documents of the Hudson's Bay Company, material that had previously been kept under careful guard by Company officials. The president's announcement barely contained his excitement at the prospect:

It is with great pleasure that I am able to report that, after negotiations extending over the past year or more, in which His Excellency the Governor-General, on this side of the Atlantic, and Sir Campbell Stuart, on the other side, have taken a direct interest, the Council of the Champlain Society has been able to come to an agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company whereby the Champlain Society is to have the exclusive right of publishing the wealth of original documentary material relating to the history of Canada contained in the archives of Hudson's Bay House....The Council of the Champlain Society feels that in placing at the disposal of the

Hudson's Bay Company its facilities for publication, it is performing a service of great value and importance for students of Canadian History. (62)

The first volume, Simpson's Athabasca Journal, edited by E.E. Rich, became available in 1938. It would appear that after the Champlain Society's initial involvement in funding and coordinating the organization and publication of the first volumes, it gave way to a separate body, the Hudson's Bay Records Society, but continued to inform its members of the volumes and supply them with copies.

The two societies continued to work together during the difficult years of the Second World War, both making a conscious decision to continue publishing. Indeed a review of the Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1671-1674, edited by E.E. Rich in 1941, remarked that, "though the war must have disrupted most of the Company's plans during the entire period...still the work of preparing a volume of records every year went patiently, dauntlessly on." 63
Shortly after the war, however, the Hudson's Bay Records Society decided that it could continue to work patiently and dauntlessly on without the aid of the Champlain Society. The latter seemed somewhat disgruntled at the break. In regretting the "parting of the ways," the President of the Champlain Society reported that "the Hudson's Bay Company is apparently prepared to meet any deficits incurred by the Hudson's Bay Record Society, and the Champlain Society has therefore fulfilled its chief function in helping to get the

Hudson's Bay Record Series started."

The Champlain Society continued its active publishing programme, completing a new volume about every year or two. In 1954, the Champlain Society struck the already mentioned agreement with the Ontario government, and the Ontario Series was launched in 1957 with The Valley of Trent edited by E.C. Guillet. The Champlain Society and the Ontario government continue to enjoy a profitable relationship. In addition to the eleven volumes already published, the Champlain Society is planning one on the Upper Canadian Rebellion, one on the Bank of Upper Canada, and one concerning Ontario During the French Regime, all to be published within 1984 and 1986.⁶⁵ The Society itself has more than nine separate volumes in various stages of production, including The Journal of Alexander Henry the Younger edited by Barry Gough, to be published in 1985 and 1986 in two volumes, and The Records of the Glasgow Colonial Society edited by Elizabeth McDougall, due out in 1987. The membership of the Society, once set at a firm 500 members, now boasts a membership of 1,175. There is no question that the subscription method of publishing has flourished in this case.

The Hudson's Bay Record Society, on its own since 1950, also seems to be thriving. It published one volume a year from its creation to 1961, when it reduced its output to one volume every two years. Unlike the Champlain Society, which seems to attract editors with projects from all parts of

Canada and elsewhere, the Hudson's Bay Record Society could perhaps be referred to as the "E.E. Rich Editions." Professor Rich, a distinguished academic in England, received credit as editor for nineteen of the Society's thirty volumes. He would perhaps have edited all of the volumes, had he not decided to retire (but only after completing a two-volume history of the Hudson's Bay Company, published in 1958 and 1959). Actually, though no one would deny Professor Rich his due as General Editor of the Hudson's Bay Series, many of the notes, annotations, and most of the introductions were written by other historians. Rich's assistant, Alice M. Johnson, was Assistant Editor from 1948 to 1968, and in 1967 produced her own edited volume of Saskatchewan Journals and Correspondence. The contributions of other scholars in the form of introductions was deliberate, and one could argue, highly successful, for they lightened the actual work load for all concerned, and they called upon people particularly knowledgeable in a field to introduce and discuss a work, rather than having the editor write something himself. But even within the confines of strict schedules and voluminous documents, these editors have approached their task from the perspective that properly edited documentary works require the efforts of educated, scholarly people, working carefully under the guidance of a knowledgeable general editor and with a focus on well-edited volumes rather than superficial treatments.

The Hudson's Bay Record Series and the Champlain Society both continue this successful tradition of thoroughly edited documentary publications.

MANITOBA

...to rescue from oblivion the memory of the early missionaries, fur traders and settlers of the aforesaid lands and territories, and to obtain and preserve narratives in print, manuscript, or otherwise of their adventures, labors and observations; to ascertain, record, and publish, when necessary, information with regard to the history and present condition of the said regions.

C.N. Bell, first President of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, 1889 (66)

To tell the story of documentary publications in Manitoba is to tell the story of the Manitoba Historical Society. As in Ontario, it was the historical society in Manitoba that served as that province's archives for many years, and that eventually prompted the government to appoint a full-time archivist. Since its formation in 1879, the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba has led the way in archival, library, and museum collecting, and especially in documentary publishing.

The Society was formed just as Manitoba evolved as the latest "frontier of Empire."⁶⁷ Just as the Nova Scotia Historical Society had developed some fifty years earlier, the Manitoba Society grew with the perspective that their activities and publications were tools of education and civilization; showing the new western society, and the eastern establishment, that "our North-West is destined to be one of the most important parts of the globe...and with the older eastern Provinces...will soon be the right arm of

the British Empire." The Society held regular meetings of its membership, and the papers read at those meetings were printed as Publications and later Transactions of the society. In the first years, the name of George Bryce kept appearing on the title pages of the papers. By 1910 Bryce had presented some seventeen papers; his wife had even presented two herself. It is fitting then that Bryce should have been the first to present and publish, with his associate C.N. Bell, the "Original Letters and Other Documents Relating to the Selkirk Settlement," read before the Society on 17 January 1889.⁶⁹ George Bryce published two more documents in the Transactions of the Society, one in 1890 on Louis Riel, and one in 1903 on Alexander Ross, went on to complete several historical studies of Manitoba, and has been credited with presenting an early "western interpretation" of Canadian history.⁷⁰ But in spite of the efforts of such men as Bryce and Bell, the Manitoba Society floundered and in 1910 finally succumbed to a steadily declining membership and decreasing government support.

In 1926, Bell revived the Society, but it was a pale version of its predecessor, and published only "three slim papers"⁷¹ Fortunately, it was third time lucky. A meeting in 1944 under the guidance of historian W.L. Morton led to the founding of the Manitoba Historical Society. In 1946, the Society succeeded in having James A. Jackson appointed as the first, albeit part-time, archivist for the Province. In 1952, Hartwell Bowsfield took over Jackson's job, and was

named the first full-time archivist. However, it was not until 1975 that the Provincial Archives received a building of its own, and its publications policy seems not to have developed, yet.

In 1946, the Historical Society established a journal, Manitoba History, to supplement its Transactions series. This journal was to be devoted almost exclusively to documentary publications. In the initial issue, it was stated that "in the archives of the Provincial Library, as of the Historical Society, there lie hundreds of documents, letters and records not easily accessible to the general reader. By means of this monthly publication some of the interesting material contained in these records will be made available first of all to the schools and then to those of the public who may be interested to know them."⁷² The journal only lasted for three numbers and less than a year, not an auspicious start to a publications programme. Perhaps as a result of this singular failure, or perhaps for other reasons, the Manitoba Historical Society turned away from documentary publications, and focussed its attention of the publication of historical articles in its Transactions. Then, the idea was revived in 1958-59 when "it was suggested that a Manitoba Record Society be formed, under the auspices of the Manitoba Historical Society, to publish annually out of print books, records or unpublished manuscripts relating to the Red River-Lake Winnipeg Basin, Hudson Bay and the Province of Manitoba."⁷³ It is interesting to see that the

members of the Society thought of full length documentary publications as worthwhile. Perhaps they thought that anything less would not be a valuable addition to historical scholarship.

In any event, this plan did not succeed right away. It was not until 1960 that the funding for the project was settled with "a commitment of at least \$5,000.00 from the Manitoba Historical Society." ⁷⁴ In reality, the Record Society's first publication did not appear until 1965. Shortly before its completion, the Society gave its members an overview of plans for the new editions.

Turning to the future, the Manitoba Record Society, an independent body which receives financial assistance from this society, will shortly be appealing for members. The first in this series of publications of rare manuscripts from Manitoba's past is expected in 1965. The first volume will be "The Birth of Manitoba" (Documents of 1870) edited by W.L. Morton. Other volumes that are now being prepared are "The Papers of James Wicks Taylor," edited by Hart Bowsfield, "Colin Robertson's Journal," edited by Mrs. A.E. Brown, "Dafoe and Prairie Politics," by Ramsay Cook, and "A Work on the Troubles of the Red River of the 1840's," by W.D. Smith. Further volumes are being considered. (75)

The works by Morton, Cook and Bowsfield were the first three publications of the Records Society, coming out in 1965, 1966 and 1968. The other two mentioned have yet to be published. In 1974, The Diary of Reverend Henry Budd appeared, and in 1979, Alan Artibise completed Gateway City: Documents on the City of Winnipeg. Nothing has been published since the Artibise volume.

Interestingly, just one year after the publication of this latest in the documentary series, the Manitoba Historical Society ended its Transactions and started a new magazine called Manitoba History, which has a separate and regular "Documents" section. This section consists of one or two page documents with a brief introduction. Thus the Manitoba Historical Society, between its Records Society work and its documents in Manitoba History, is at present working towards a programme of continuing documentary publishing.

The Provincial Archives itself, having taken no part in the documentary publications of its provincial history as yet, may be inching towards such a programme, if the words of the present Archivist, Peter Bower, may be taken liberally. In an interview Bower commented:

Archives have a major role to play in contributing to lifelong education of our people, both in stimulating a desire for knowledge and in helping to satisfy this need. For example, I wish that more school age children could use our resources effectively, though here again, the fragility and uniqueness of our holdings militate against youngsters being allowed to handle the documents freely....If, as I argue, archives are a fundamental and even the most intimate expression of society, there must surely be some mechanisms found whereby we can place at least adequate facsimiles of original documents in the hands of school-age people. I know this has been attempted on modest scales, but neither the quality nor quantity provided is really adequate or right on target in substance. I am not suggesting that everyone is, can be, or should be an historian or archivist, but I do think that exposure to primary research -- even in modest form -- can help people in handling information, discovering broad purposes, and in generating self-knowledge or identity. (76)

It may be that published documents are the very tools needed for this educational role envisaged by Bower for the Archives.

Chapter Two

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR ARCHIVES

The archives that emerged in Canada during the post World War Two period followed paths quite different from their predecessors. Records management became an integral part of archival activity, new technologies and a multi-media approach led to a diversification of services, and limited finances forced archivists to make some hard choices. Publishing documents was decidedly of secondary importance to many of these newer archives.

Saskatchewan made a conscious decision to continue documentary publishing, at least as part of its regular journal. Alberta's archives was slow to organize its activities, but in recent years has concentrated on disseminating information about its holdings in guides and inventories, a growing trend. The Alberta Historical Society has been more involved in documentary editions. In New Brunswick, neither the century-old historical society nor the very young archives have been active in publishing. Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and the Yukon and Northwest Territories have only recently opened archives, and have not had time to consider extensive publications activities. In an interesting comparison, the Canadian Historical Review, the national historical journal, has radically changed its policy of publishing documents.

For these newer archives, documentary publication has never been considered a vital activity. Although some archives are beginning to publish sporadically, they see it as a dispensible enterprise. They have no qualms about cancelling such programmes in the face of budgetary restrictions, and are turning their attention more often to other methods of disseminating information about their holdings.

SASKATCHEWAN

Archives and historical societies came late to the province of Saskatchewan. The Provincial Archives was not begun until 1945, but since its inception the archives has felt a responsibility to publish documents. Historical Societies, by contrast, have not been involved in publishing to any extent, and indeed only warrant passing mention.

The Saskatchewan Historical Society was formed in June 1936. Its objects were:

1. to gather and correlate everything having to do with the history of the province and of that portion of the North West Territories from which it was created at the time of the provincial establishment in 1905;
2. to assist in the formation of local historical societies and committees at strategic points;
3. to gather relics of historic interest. (1)

Nowhere in the objectives of the Society does the issue of documentary publishing appear, and the Society appears not to have become involved in publications of any kind, perhaps as a result of the activities of the archives, perhaps for reasons of its own.

As early as 1938, the provincial government appointed Professor A.S. Morton to be the "keeper of the public records." The Canadian Historical Review, which deplored the neglect of historical records on the Prairies, commended Saskatchewan for its initiative.² Seven years later the government passed legislation bringing the Saskatchewan Archives Board and a full-fledged provincial archives into being. Not content to simply keep the records, the newly created Saskatchewan Archives immediately turned its

attention to the dissemination of information. "There is no point in merely preserving records unless such records are to be used," the first annual report stated. "Their chief use is not simply for the purposes of occasional reference, though this is by no means unimportant, but rather as a basis for systematic historical study." In keeping with this policy, the Archives Board quickly focussed upon documentary publications.

The first Provincial Archivist, George W. Simpson, who was also head of the Department of History at the University of Saskatchewan, was "authorized to investigate the question of publishing material which would be of assistance in the teaching of Western Canadian history in the schools." At the same time, the Archives Board adopted a policy to publish documents in the annual reports. The second report, for 1946-47, contained "Selected Records of the Department of the Attorney General of the North West Territories," which covered 44 pages. However, by the time of the third report, the policy had changed. The Provincial Archives began publishing documents in its new journal, Saskatchewan History. The first issue of the journal appeared in 1948, and contained three documentary collections in a separate section devoted to "Archives Studies," later called "Documents of Western History." Thereafter, each year's issue contained at least one document, some edited by contributors, some by the editor of the journal. The first editor was Lewis H. Thomas, a prominent historian who replaced Simpson as Provincial Archivist in 1948. Of the 42

documents published in the journal from 1948 to 1970, Thomas edited nine himself, and as editor undoubtedly had a hand in others. After 1970 there was a notable decrease in documents included in Saskatchewan History, there being none in the volumes for 1971, 1973, 1975, and 1977.

It is worth noting that although the Archives has itself not issued any separate documentary editions, it has from time to time published reference works, such as an Historical Directory of Saskatchewan Newspapers, 1878-1950 (1950), a Directory of Saskatchewan Ministries (1954), Exploring Local History in Saskatchewan (1980) and A Guide to Collecting and Processing Oral History (1980). Recently, it has been possible to support reference works like these with the revenue from special ventures into publishing. As the current Provincial Archivist Ian Wilson explains it:

For the past few years, the Saskatchewan Archives has acted as the author of three commercially published books. In each case we took the initiative in beginning work on a book, obtained funding where necessary and approached a publisher, Western Producer Prairie Books. We signed with usual author-publisher agreement, retaining copyright and with royalties of 10% of sales being paid to the Archives Board. These royalties are now funding the Saskatchewan Archives Reference Series. (5)

Three books are Pages from the Past: Essays on Saskatchewan History edited by D.H. Bocking, archivist and editor of Saskatchewan History since 1962, Saskatchewan: A Pictorial History, and Saskatchewan: A History, written by John Archer for Saskatchewan's 75th anniversary. The last two titles have, according to Wilson, sold respectively 11,480

and 10,000 copies, and the revenue generated from the sales has helped the Archives to fund other publishing activities.

ALBERTA

As applied to the study of history the use of documentary studies has a significant role in imparting knowledge of the historian's craft, and in stimulating enthusiasm for historical enquiry.

Lewis H. Thomas in the
Alberta Historical Review, 1969 (6)

In Alberta, the provincial historical society had little difficulty in agreeing with Thomas's statement about the importance of documentary studies; however, the Provincial Archives has yet to become heavily involved in documentary publications.

The Historical Society of Alberta was incorporated by Provincial Statute in 1907, was reorganized in 1919, and was revived in 1947. By 1953, the Society was well on track, and indeed had started its own journal, after many years of trying. Support for the new Alberta Historical Review came from the Provincial Department of Economic Affairs. The journal was well received. As the Canadian Historical Review noted:

It is a pleasure to call the attention of our readers to the appearance of the Alberta Historical Review, volume 1, no. 1, of which is dated April 1953. With its appearance Alberta becomes the last of the Western Canadian Provinces to have embarked upon publication in the local history field....This publication aims to print first-hand accounts interpretive of the life of the Province and hopes to encourage the collection and preservation of historical material relating to Alberta and the Canadian West. (7)

Most of these "first-hand accounts" consisted of reminiscences and oral history interviews, for one of the aims of the Society was "the preservation of the stories of

the oldtimers before it is too late." However, the editor began to include documents in many of the volumes, albeit in a somewhat irregular fashion. And just as Lewis H. Thomas had almost singlehandedly edited many of the documents as well as the journal itself in Saskatchewan, editor Hugh A. Dempsey was responsible for the vast majority of documents in the Alberta journal. Between 1953 and 1982, he edited 35 of the documents, on subjects ranging from "Smallpox Epidemic of 1869-70" (1963), to "Thompson's Journey to the Red Deer River" (1965), and "Letters from Elliott Galt, Travelling the Prairies, 1879-80 " (1978).

The Historical Society of Alberta did not stop at the publication of a journal however. In 1957 a separate publication, The Early West, edited by Dempsey, appeared. The work contained documents relating to the early history of Alberta and the Prairies. This publication stood alone for almost 20 years, and it appeared the Society had decided not to embark upon the publication of larger works. But in 1977 The Rundle Journals, 1840-1848, also, it should be no surprise, edited by Dempsey, appeared. This was followed in 1979 by Job Reed's Letters: Life in Lethbridge, 1886-1906, and The Formation of Alberta: A Documentary History, and in 1981 by Pioneering in Alberta: Maurice Destraube's Story. In fact, the last two publications were published not by the Historical Society but by the Alberta Records Publication Board. Although in reality an offshoot of the Society, this new Board added a certain permanence to the concept of documentary publications, by indicating its continuing

involvement in the work. The Historical Society continues to flourish, and appears to be heavily committed to its documentary publishing plans.

The same cannot be said for the Provincial Archives, which, after years of existing as a pale appendage of the Legislative Library, was finally established in 1963 as part of the Provincial Museums and Archives of Alberta. The Archives now has the mandate to publish documents, as stated in the Historical Resources Act.⁹ The Archives has not as yet acted on that mandate. Rather, it has "concentrated on the production of leaflets, Occasional Papers, guides or finding aids, and manuals. The overall focus of our publication program is designed to reflect, improve and extend our programs and services and meet identified needs."¹⁰ To date, the archives has published a guide to sources of women's history, a departmental history series, surveys of oral history in Alberta, a guide to local histories in Alberta, a guide to preserving historical photographs, a survey of government records collections, a booklet on writing local history, and a publication of historical photographs.¹¹ In all this activity, one almost overlooks the fact that only one documentary publication has been issued by the Archives. The Letters of Lovisa McDougall, 1878-1887 was edited by Elizabeth M. McCrum as the Archives first Occasional Paper, in 1978. In introducing the Occasional Papers series, the editors noted that "these Occasional Papers are designed to permit the

rapid dissemination of information resulting from Historical Resources' programmes. They are intended primarily for interested specialists, rather than as popular publications for general readers. In the interests of making information available quickly to these specialists, normal production procedures have been abbreviated."¹² The publication is a paper cover volume, typed rather than typeset. The Archives has no plans for further documentary publications at this time.¹³

NEW BRUNSWICK

The successive administrators of New Brunswick have honestly earned a fine reputation for neglecting official records of the Province. Masses of departmental correspondence and other documents and papers have been picked up in the country by the Dominion Archives. (14)

Unfortunately for New Brunswick's history, the neglect of historical records and the lack of an archives must be accepted as a hard reality of the province's past. Although an historical society was formed in 1874, the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick did not begin operating until 1967. Consequently, documentary editing efforts have taken a back seat to other more pressing needs attendant upon establishing the Archives' programmes.

The New Brunswick Historical Society held its first meeting in 1874. The first volume of the Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society published twenty years later summed up the proceedings:

It was then decided that the time had arrived for the formation of a Historical Society for the Province of New Brunswick, by which the documents and publications relating to the early history of the province should be collected and preserved, and also for carrying out the purposes of such a Society, by collecting and publishing information on matters of interest with regard to historical events in connection with the discovery and settlement of the Province by the French and early settlers from Massachusetts, and also with reference to the coming here of the Loyalists in 1783, some of whose early experiences were amongst the most interesting episodes in the history of New Brunswick. (15)

This first volume of the Collections contained three documents, a total of ten pages, concerning 18th century New Brunswick history. The Society continued to publish the

Collections on a fairly regular basis, although both personnel and funding were problems. In 1894 the Society noted that the government was no longer providing the grant of \$125.00 it had been giving to the group. "Of late years this [grant] has been withdrawn, whereby the Society has been seriously hampered in the matter of publishing their papers, and they sincerely trust that the government may see its way in the future to restore the grant." ¹⁶ At the turn of the century, an expanded publications programme caused problems for the Society. "An interruption in the publication of the Papers of the Society," it was reported, "occurred through their undertaking the editing and publication of the Letters and Papers of the Hon. Edward ¹⁷ Winslow, Judge of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick." This effort at documentary publishing was never repeated, and after the publication of the Winslow Papers in 1901 the Society limited itself to documentary editions in its Collections series. William O. Raymond, the editor of the Winslow Papers, was one of the men whose name continued to appear amongst the publications and presentations. Another man involved in documentary editing was J.C. Webster, who at one point was Honorary Curator of the Canadian History Department of the New Brunswick Museum. Indeed, in 1901, Webster edited a short document for publication by the Museum, the closest the government came to an archival publication until 1972. However, it was W.F. Ganong who seems to have remained a central figure in documentary

publishing by the Society in these early years. Ganong edited eight of the twenty-four documents published in the Collections between 1894 and 1930, and even started a regular section entitled "Historical-Geographical Documents Relating to New Brunswick." For unknown reasons, the Society, or at least its Collections, faded from view from 1930 to 1955, just as occurred in Manitoba and Ontario at roughly the same time. The Collections was briefly revived in 1959, but thereafter the efforts of the Society have been nil.

However, the Historical Society shines brightly in comparison with the Provincial Archives. The situation for many years was one of complete neglect. In the first years of the twentieth century, the Public Archives of Canada stepped in to secure records that they felt were in physical danger, and were criticized by provincial authorities for their actions. In 1911, Arthur Doughty wrote: "it has never been any part of our intention to ask for the removal of provincial and local records, from the provinces to which they belong, to this office. Our principal object is, rather, to obtain authority to search for such records, and to ensure their removal wherever or whenever necessary, from an unsafe to a safe place of keeping."¹⁸ Many groups urged the provincial authorities to act to preserve the historical records, but, in spite of all the clamour among the historical community and others for an archives in New Brunswick, little was done until the Public Documents Disposal Act of 1963 was passed. This policy, concerning

the destruction of records, approached the problem from the newer records management perspective. In 1966, when W. Kaye Lamb was asked to prepare a report on the need for an archives in New Brunswick, he recommended that an archives and a records centre be established to complement each other; consequently by the time the archives became a reality, it was established with a strong records management mandate, which may account for a lesser degree of activity in such areas as documentary publications. As the province's first archivist, Hugh Taylor, has stated, "most provincial archivists are concerned to control and process their record as quickly as possible to make them available to the public through effective and carefully considered inventories and checklists. The days are long past when an infinity of time can be spent on one collection while the rest of the records would remain gathering dust."¹⁹

Since its opening in 1968, the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick has issued three publications of a documentary nature. All three are sections of the New Brunswick Census of 1851, one for Carleton County, one for Albert County, and one for Charlotte County. The last of these was completed in 1975. There have been no signs of more publications activity since the mid-1970's. It would appear that the new Provincial Archives is still in the process of getting things in order, and that with its built-in records management function, something most earlier archives did not have, it is devoting much of its time to the systematic control of government records.

NEWFOUNDLAND

By focussing public attention, our Society has made us aware of the precious legacy of their past which is not ours to dispose of as we wish but something that must be passed along intact to the generations of the future.

Paul O'Neill on the Centennial of the
Newfoundland Historical Society, 1980 (20)

The Newfoundland Historical Society, founded in 1881, has always had as its central goal the preservation of Newfoundland history. However, the Society, like the Provincial Archives, which was established in 1959, has had a rather shaky career.

The Historical Society has held as its aims and objectives: "the preservation of all printed books, manuscripts, records (or copies of such manuscripts and records, properly authenticated) having reference to the history of the Colony and its dependencies, in respect of its tradition, folklore, and local nomenclature; its fauna²¹ and flora and physical geography." Try though it might, however, the Historical Society has had a hard time making a success of its efforts. First started in 1881, it was gone by 1882. It started again in 1905, only to cease activities during the First World War. In its next revival it was quiet. From 1962 to 1966 it was again defunct, only to be brought to life yet again in 1966 under the presidency of none other than provincial Premier Joseph Smallwood. With such a checkered history, the Society has had little time to concern itself with documentary or other publications. In 1966, a plan was developed for the preservation of oral

history, and for the collection of diaries, business records, ship's logs, photographs, paintings, correspondence and other historical documents and materials. "The program would undertake as completely as possible the recreation and reclamation of Newfoundland history available today. The material would be deposited, edited and filed in the [Society's] archives. It would form the basis of Newfoundland studies at the University. What was worthy of publication would be utilized and should be a great spur to further research." ²² The Society busied itself in the 1960's and 1970's with this all-encompassing task, helped along by the generous support of the provincial government, quite possibly through the continued prompting of President Smallwood. In the late 1960's the government provided a grant of \$5,000 a year for the Society; by 1972 this had ²³ been reduced to \$2,500. Spurred on by the available funding, the Society began a publications series of pamphlets on local history in 1974. These all seem to have been narratives rather than documentary history. The Society has recognized the importance of the written record in history; recently it instituted a Heritage Award "to be presented annually, if and when deserved, to a person who, in the judgement of the Society, had made a significant contribution to the preservation and/or dissemination of the written record on any aspect of Newfoundland and Labrador ²⁴ history." It seems that the Society, while aware of its documentary heritage, has chosen to avoid overextending the already limited financial and other means in the area of

documentary publishing.

The Provincial Archives has been in existence for only 25 years, 75 less than the Historical Society, and it appears that the Archives has still to come to grips with documentary publishing. The province's archives were placed under the wing of the Colonial Secretary at the turn of the century. The responsibility was turned over to the Department of Home Affairs in 1934, and to the Department of Provincial Affairs in 1949 when Newfoundland joined Confederation. Little was accomplished prior to 1959 when the Smallwood government established the Newfoundland Archives under the Historic Objects, Sites and Records Act. The Act proved deficient, and in 1973 was changed to embrace "all matters...relating to the management of the public records of the province."²⁵ Consequently, until the 1970's, the Archives has had little time or funding to consider any extra activities such as publishing. In 1971, the Archives began to publish both documentary materials and narrative history. In that year, five publications appeared, including "Newfoundland Coastal Tour 1883, Notes from the log of the H.M.S. Foam," and "The Sealfishery Reprinted from Evening Herald 1916." In 1972, four publications appeared, including "The Labrador Parson by Rev. Henry Gordon, 1915-1925," and "The Story of Colonial Buiding [1850-1960]." Only one item was published in 1974, titled "Charles Lench Missionary -- Hector Swain, and there appear to have been no publications since then. The

Provincial Archivist, David Davis, has stated that "we have not had a publication program for some time....our policy is an ad hoc one and probably will continue so for some time."²⁶ As can be seen, both the Historical Society and the Provincial Archives in Newfoundland, for many varied reasons, seem to not be active in documentary publishing.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

There is very little publishing activity by the Archives and historical society in Prince Edward Island. Although a Prince Edward Island Historical Association was formed over one hundred years ago, in 1882, tracing the group's activities to the present is difficult, and there appears to have been little action over the years. In 1970, the Prince Edward Island Heritage Foundation was formed, and in 1976 the magazine The Island first appeared. This magazine is well designed and appealing, but appears to contain no original documents, at least not as part of any consistent practice of documentary publishing.

The Public Archives of Prince Edward Island was formed in 1964, and has devoted little attention to publishing. As the current Provincial Archivist sums up the matter, the Archives "has not entered into the publishing field other than for the odd brochure. This reflects the priority assigned to it and a lack of available staff. The situation is such that no precise publication policy has been developed."²⁷ It appears that Prince Edward Island, like Newfoundland and New Brunswick, has concentrated most of its archival activities in organizing a newly established government department, and has left the other activities such as publishing to historical societies, which in this case seem not to have had the time, inclination or money to publish documents.

YUKON AND NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

Both the Yukon and the Northwest Territories archives are very new establishments -- the former opening in 1972, the latter in 1979. Neither institution has developed any set policy. The Yukon Archives does involve itself in a major display once a year, based upon a Yukon theme, and it sponsors a lecture series on Yukon history using local speakers and archival sources. The displays travel to outlying communities and the speeches are broadcast by the C.B.C. This activity does give some indication of the Archives' interest in or awareness of public relations activities. There is also a Yukon Historical and Museums Association, but it has not engaged in publishing of any magnitude. The Northwest Territories Archives has not yet matured enough to consider documentary publication, and no historical society has yet been established to support such an endeavour.

CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

[The Review] will extend the work of the earlier periodical by serving as a medium for the publication of original articles on Canadian history and allied subjects, of important documents, and of correspondence relating to the questions of interest to students of Canadian history. (28)

After having looked at the publications activities of the various historical societies and archives in Canada, it is worthwhile, for comparison's sake, to look at the activities of individual historians and academics in the area of documentary publishing. One of the best ways to gain an understanding of the activities of the historical community in general is to look at the documentary publications contained in the most prominent historical journal, the Canadian Historical Review.

The Canadian Historical Review succeeded the Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada; its first volume appeared in 1920. Although the Review linked its subscription activities to the Canadian Historical Association in 1925, it is not and never has been a publication of that association; it remains today an independent journal. As mentioned above, the Review saw an important part of its mandate to be the publication of "important documents." In the early years the publication of original material was regular. The first issue in 1920 contained six separate documentary publications, a total of 46 pages. The next year saw five documents published, edited by a multitude of scholars. Topics included "Eye-Witness Accounts of the British Repulse at Ticonderoga," and "The

Petition of the City of Quebec to Queen Victoria in 1857." A total of 57 pages were occupied by documents.

This level of documentary publications continued throughout that decade; in 1924 there were seven documents published, in 1926 there were six, and in 1928 there were five, including "Testimony taken in Newfoundland in 1652," and "A Philadelphia Laywer and Early Lower Canada Law." Interestingly, since the journal was "national" in character, and not limited, as archives' and historical societies' publications were, to a particular region, the subject areas for documentary publishing were broad and diverse, limited only by the interests and initiative of the contributors. With time, these interests changed. In the 1920's and 1930's the topics remained focussed on pre-Confederation days. Of the six items in the 1934 edition, three centred on early Nova Scotia, one on Montreal, and two on western exploration. This was a typical range of subjects for the time. Of the eight documents published in the 1937 volume, four are concerned specifically with the 1837-38 period, and others also deal with pre-1850 subjects; only "Edward Blake's Interview with Lord Cairns on the Supreme Court Act, July 5, 1876" involves a later time.

The major change in the 1940's is in the quantity of documents published. In the 1930's, 41 documents were published, an average of four per year. In the 1940's, 19 documents were published, an average of two per year. By the 1950's the number of documents again declined to fourteen

for the decade. There were no documents published at all in 1955, 1956 and 1958. By the end of the 1960's, virtually no documents were published; there were only six for the decade, and none from 1970 to 1982. The trend away from documentary editing in the 1950's, 1960's and 1970's has been translated into a policy by this and other journals to exclude documents from their pages.

Chapter Three

DOCUMENTARY PUBLISHING AND ITS DECLINE

The decline of documentary publishing is an accepted fact of Canadian history. Few archivists today see their role as including historical editing; changing economies, improving technology, and diversified job descriptions have led the keeper of the record into new and different historical pastures. Indeed, in the Canadian literature, only three articles have been written on the role of the archivist in documentary publishing. The subject has commanded little attention by archivists, or indeed, by historians.

This neglect of the subject is in marked contrast to the American situation, where historical editing and documentary publishing have been issues central to archival and historical writing for years. South of the border, the issue of the publication of historical documents arose even before the beginning of the American Revolution, when in 1774 Ebenezer Hazard first conceived of A Collection of State Papers, Intended as Materials for an History of the United States of America. When this work was finally published in 1791, Thomas Jefferson urged Hazard and others to continue such work, saying, "time and accident are committing daily havoc on the originals...let us save what remains; not by vaults and locks, which fence them from the

public eye and use in consigning them to the waste of time, but by such a multiplication of Copies as shall place them beyond the reach of accident."¹ With these words began a tradition of American documentary publication that continues to this day, with learned scholars devoting lifetimes to the annotation of the papers of major figures such as Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and other founding fathers. While the collections of other, lesser known figures are also edited for publication, the American tradition of the "great man" has overshadowed most other work.

In spite of valiant attempts by a few historians and archivists north of the border, Canadian historical editing has never reached the level of productivity or expertise achieved by the Americans. One could argue that we do not have enough great men. There may be some truth in this jest, but there is much more involved in the story of Canadian documentary publishing.

In examining the involvement of archives and historical societies in documentary publishing, four central elements emerge. Each element, in varying degrees at different times, has had a hand in the decline. Changing economies and improved technology have both affected the nature and scope of archival editions. More importantly, the attitude of archivists and historians towards historical editing and documentary publishing has changed with time, and with that change have come redefinitions of the roles of the archivist and of the historian in society.

THE GOLDEN YEARS: 1865-1930

In the years before the Great Depression historical editing was at its height, and archivists and historians were equally involved in producing documentary editions. Both professions were only just emerging in society, and the boundaries and definitions of each were not yet entrenched. With the growing interest in "scientific" history and the fear of loss of these precious original documents, the historical community saw publishing as a means of preserving the primary sources and bringing them to a growing audience. The economics of the matter and technological development played only minor roles in these early years.

Between 1869 and 1930, close to twenty documentary publications were produced by archives and historical societies, not including the eighteen published by the Champlain Society. These publications included The Canadian North-west, its Early Development and Legislative Records from the active Public Archives of Canada, The Correspondence of Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe, from the emerging Ontario Historical Society, and The Logs of the Conquest of Canada, and The Canadian War of 1812, by the ever active Champlain Society. As well, archives' and historical societies' annual reports contained historical

documents, often comprising hundreds of pages, and new journals such as the Canadian Historical Review contained lengthy and diverse edited documents.

These documents were published for an historical community quite different from that of today. To be an historian in the 19th and early 20th centuries in Canada was to be interested in, to read and research in, and to write about history. In this era, historians teaching in the universities and archivists working in established archival repositories were only beginning to emerge. Initially at the universities little Canadian history was studied. It was left to men such as Thomas Akins, a lawyer, E.A. Cruikshank, a soldier, and Arthur Doughty a drama critic, to promote Canadian history and archives.

In many ways, the Public Archives of Canada took the lead in the field of Canadian historical scholarship. To Chester Martin, an early historian, "the Public Archives became, for a whole generation of young scholars, the clearing house of Canadian history."² For another historian, A.S. Morton, "the teaching of Canada's history [was] being transformed [at the University of Saskatchewan] by the material which the Archives has placed at its disposal in one way or another."³ Not only historians took note of the work of the Archives. As the Ottawa Journal editorialized in 1931 about the Public Archives of Canada:

Nothing more interesting is to be seen in Ottawa. It can be sampled by anybody; no official place here or elsewhere is more free from red tape; the hospitality of the Archives building is open and wide. The Dominion Archivist seems to be obsessed

by the idea that he is a public servant, that his great charge is public property, and that the public ought to be made welcome to see what they have got in the Archives.(4)

In 1922, Lawrence Burpee, president of the new Canadian Historical Association, emphasized the importance of historical research as a means of fostering national feeling in Canadian citizens. He advocated:

the encouragement of historical research and of intelligent public interest in the history of our country, as well as the coordination of the effort of provincial and local historical societies throughout the country. Not the least important object of the Association would be to associate itself with other patriotic agencies in bringing into more perfect harmony the two great races that constitute the Canadian people.(5)

Documentary publishing developed in this atmosphere of open and growing scholarship and burgeoning patriotism. Another incentive to publish documents, although rarely elucidated, was that, with interested historians and expanding universities emerging across the country, access to the original materials was awkward and difficult. This was especially true for students and the public at large who could not make the annual summer excursion to Ottawa that became the habit of the university scholar. The archives and historical societies saw it as their task to provide the raw stuff of history to these students across Canada. In 1905 Arthur Doughty wrote that:

Our literary men, for the most part, are able to devote only a portion of their time to building up a national literature, and the least that we should do is furnish them with documents of a public character...in a country of such vast proportions as Canada, it is not possible to render the accumulations of the Archives Department accessible to all those who are, or who

might be interested in them. It is desirable, therefore, to bring some of the representative documents bearing on the more important periods and problems of our history, within the reach of the rapidly increasing number of both Canadians and others who are manifesting an interest in our history and institutions. (6)

Such publications as the Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, published by the Public Archives of Canada, the Original Minutes of his Majesty's Council at Annapolis Royal, by the Nova Scotia archives, and the House of Assembly Correspondence Book, from British Columbia's archives, were aimed at bringing the important historical documents to the student and public. As the Canadian Historical Review noted, such publications "would develop in consequence among the Canadian people a greater interest in, and knowledge of, the history of their country."⁷

Central to the concept of documentary publishing in these early years was the notion that well edited, printed documents were as valuable as, if not more valuable than, the originals from which they had been drawn. The Constitutional Documents series, for example, was viewed as fully comprehensive, covering every important aspect of Canadian constitutional history and providing historians near and far with the primary materials vital to their work. The series proposed to provide comprehensive documentation of all important aspects of Canada's history, including municipal development, indian relations and exploration, agriculture, and postal development. As Adam Shortt, editor of the series, explained, "when this programme has

been carried out, Canada will have a documentary history such as very few countries possess; and students of Canadian history, of whatever grade, will no longer have to go to secondary compilations for their facts, but will be able to go to the primary documents themselves."⁸

This concept of comprehensive edited documents led to unavoidable problems and conflicts. Since the published documents were intended to be as accurate and useful as the originals, consistency in editing and precision in transcription were vital. And more importantly, the selection of documents for publication required sound and objective judgement, and an inclination to be all-inclusive. These stringent requirements inevitably led to criticism of the choice, editing, and transcription of the records.

The very first extensive documentary edition in English Canada, Thomas Akins' Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia, fell victim to severe criticism. In his preface, Akins stated that he had selected documents which "could in any way throw light on the history and conduct of the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia," because "the necessity for their removal has not been clearly perceived and the motives which led to its enforcement have been often misunderstood."⁹ Despite his disclaimer, Akins was "accused of suppression and partiality in the selection of documents relating to Acadians in his Selections."¹⁰ The debate over Akins' publication stewed in Nova Scotia for several years. One historian, writing in

1895, claimed that the documents "have been selected with the greatest partiality, and with the purpose, poorly disguised in the very preface, of getting together such papers as might justify the deportation of the Acadians."¹¹ Clearly, the issue of historical editing was not as straightforward as it appeared.

As historians continued in their quest for scientific, accurate history their standards and expectations for publications rose, and the issue of accuracy became of paramount importance. A review of the Champlain Society Volume Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812 is over 5 pages long. The reviewer was E.A. Cruikshank, who was at the time engaged in the publication of the Simcoe papers for the Ontario Historical Society. Cruikshank noted the importance of accuracy when he wrote, "the most sedulous care has been exerted to reproduce the capitals, punctuation and spelling of the source-document, whether an original or a transcript." He applauded the inclusion of documents never before in print, and commented on the impartiality of the editor, noting that "a sincere attempt has been made to present both sides of the controversy." The last paragraph of the review lists over a dozen errors in names, and concludes with the statement that "these trifling inaccuracies in so careful a compilation are only mentioned in the hope that it may be helpful in the preparation of a table of errata in the final volume. In all other respects the proofs have been admirably corrected, as the only error¹² observed is thought for through on page 305, line 6."

Such attention to minutiae bespoke the sense of importance these editors felt about their work.

Cruikshank himself was at the receiving end of the reviewer's fire when his Simcoe Papers first appeared. The reviewer, William Renwick Riddell, an Ontario lawyer and historian, wrote of the Simcoe Papers that:

the selection has been well made, but it must be admitted that there are omissions much to be regretted....The notes chiefly biographical, are helpful: in general, they are as accurate as was to be expected....Some of the nods are probably due to defective proof-reading, but some are more serious....I venture to suggest that it would be of assistance if the volume and page in the Dominion Archives whence the documents are taken should be given.(13)

Such a concern for accuracy only confirms the attitude of the time that such printed documents were to be replacements for the fragile originals.

In these prolific, early years of documentary publishing, financial considerations do not seem to have deterred most projects. At the Public Archives of Nova Scotia under Harvey, and at the Public Archives of Canada, publishing was a top priority, in part because of the archives' desire to serve the growing historical profession and in part because of the fragility and uniqueness of the documents. When questions of funding were raised, publishing budgets were left intact; the importance of such work was obvious to all concerned. However, it was not all smooth sailing, as when the Ontario government cut its grant to the Ontario Historical Society in 1924.¹⁴ But, like other archives and historical societies at this time, Ontario's

historical society did not allow government cuts to hinder its task of bringing documents to the scholar. As one historian noted about a 1927 publication, "nothing could be more satisfactory than the editing; and one marvels how a volume so creditable to all concerned in its production, editor, illustrator, proof-reader, printer, and binder can be sold for so low a price as one dollar."¹⁵ Indeed, that publication was the ill-fated Simcoe Papers, which ended up in the shredder several years later. Ironically, although economics would not play a major role in the decline of documentary publishing for many years, one can see already a self-defeating trend emerging. Archives and historical societies, intent upon bringing their documents to the public, and sacrificing other fields of endeavor in the process, often priced their publications so low, often providing them free, that they undersold themselves. Although publication costs remained low in these early years, the archives and historical societies never seem to have considered that the publications might generate a revenue and thereby aid the funding of the institution. However, in these "golden" years, documentary publishing flourished in spite of, or perhaps because of, low sales prices.

In the first decades of the twentieth century new technologies began to have an impact on the work of archives. By 1912, photographic reproduction, which would eventually replace transcription of documents by hand, had

just appeared on the scene. The Dominion Archivist boasted in that year's annual report that "by the use of the photostat now in operation at the Archives, copies of documents can be made by photography at a great reduction of time and labour, with the additional advantage of an exact reproduction of every feature of the original."¹⁶ By 1928, close to four thousand photostatic and photographic prints were being made each year for reserchers visiting or writing the Public Archives of Canada. In 1926, A.G. Doughty described the method of creating a microprint edition to the Canadian Historical Association. At the annual meeting:

The academic side of the program began with an address by Dr. A.G. Doughty, describing a new device -- still nameless -- for the reproduction of documents. This invention, which is an improvement on the photostat, makes it possible to produce exact copies of historical texts in any quantity, and the copies may be so reduced in size that a whole number of Punch is contained on a single piece of paper. The text may then be read by means of a magnifying glass, or may again be enlarged to any size desired. Dr. Doughty suggested several ways in which this important device might be used to facilitate research.(17)

But the real impact of these technological marvels was still in the future, and their appearance in these early years seems to have had little immediate effect on documentary publishing.

Thus, in this first period, archives and historical societies were active in the publication and distribution of primary sources for both the public and the growing scholarly community. The emphasis of documentary publishing began to change with time, however, as budgets tightened during depression and wartime restraint, as

techniques of reprography improved, and especially, as an expanding historical profession and ever-increasing quantities of historical records forced historians and archivists to reevaluate their roles in society.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE ARCHIVIST: 1930-1960

The Great Depression of the 1930's and the World War that followed certainly must have hampered efforts by archives and historical societies to broaden some of their activities. Although one can find few statements to confirm it, it is probable that the economic stringency of these years was one of the important factors leading to the marked decline in documentary publishing. Only scarcely more than a dozen monograph length documentary editions appeared between 1930 and 1960 under the direction of a Canadian archives or historical society. In marked contrast, the Champlain Society produced 23 volumes in those years, and the newly formed Hudson's Bay Record Society published 21 editions. Of the archival publications, four were produced by the Public Archives of Canada, including more in the Constitutional Documents series and the Elgin-Grey Papers, and half a dozen were published by Nova Scotia, among them Holland's Description of Cape Breton Island and The Journals of Beausejour.

While the audience for these publications was still primarily the scholarly community, that audience was changing in its nature and needs, and these changes had

their effect on the publication of original documents. Not only were historians becoming more professional in their approach, but the paper boom of the wartime and post-war period also necessitated a refining of their activities. And, as the demands on archivists increased, they were forced to reconsider their role in historical scholarship and in society.

The level of historical scholarship had continued to increase with time as historians became better educated, secured permanent university work, and increased the production of narrative and analytic histories based on original documents and printed sources. This shift in perspective reached its climax in the post war period, but there had been signs in the early years that scholars were beginning to view their work in a different, more sophisticated, light. When Burpee addressed the Canadian Historical Association in 1922 he emphasized the importance of history to national sentiment; scarcely two years later, the same society was striving "to ensure the preservation of historical records relating to Canada and to render them available to the society for the purpose of its publications."¹⁸ By 1934, the historical profession had a firm grasp on how their world had changed. As Duncan McArthur explained in his presidential address:

During the past twenty years the problems confronting the investigator in the field of Canadian history have assumed new and different aspects. The volume of original documentary source-materials has become so great as to baffle completely the industry and the ability of the single working man. The investigator must be

content with making himself familiar with a limited period or with a single phase of the larger development. Our scholars have accepted this limitation and have devoted themselves to the intensive cultivation of the smaller plot.(19)

Not only had archivists like Doughty and Akins succeeded in repatriating early Canadian historical records from Britain and France, but the records of more recent historical events had also become so vast as to overwhelm the historian. Of necessity, the writing of history changed focus. Scholars began to analyze specific subjects or time periods rather than writing broad national histories, and they were more selective about the documents they used. This changing emphasis by historians had its effect on documentary publishing. Edited materials were no longer able to fully replace the original documents; the quantity of records involved had become too great for such a comprehensive treatment, and scholars could no longer rely on printed editions of selected records. The documentary editions themselves began to change.

Rather than publish vast collections such as in Akins' Selections from the Public Records of the Province of Nova Scotia, editors were now concentrating on specific subjects and people, or on limited bodies of records. Often they published a single, extensive document by itself to illustrate a particular event. Holland's Description of Cape Breton is such a document, as is the Provincial Archives of British Columbia's publication The Overlanders. By shifting the focus of their publications, the archives were accepting the changed, more academic role of the historian,

and were redefining their role accordingly. As Dominion Archivist W. Kaye Lamb put it in 1949, the Public Archives evolved a publications programme "with research and university use primarily in mind."²⁰ The fact is that by the 1950's archivists had come to see themselves more as servants of the historical profession rather than as leaders of a broadly based historical community.

In addition, to keep up with the demands of ever more sophisticated scholarship, archivists also began to prepare calendars and descriptive guides rather than documentary editions; they saw the former as a better and more efficient means of serving the historians. As volumes of documents appeared, and historical research grew more active, archivists began to turn away from publishing to faster means of disseminating information. As the historian G. de T. Glazebrook noted, "some scholars hold that a calendar is a dangerous guide since it is almost impossible for one person to make, in a short space, a safe precis of a document which may touch on a number of subjects. Others -- and probably the majority -- welcome the short cut through masses of papers."²¹ And thus, the two major reasons for the decline of documentary publishing, the changing needs of the researcher, and the growing amount of documentation, come together neatly, and the archivist, ever anxious to serve his public, responded to the new conditions.

In truth, the archivist did not make the shift away from documentary publishing without reason; he was faced

with seemingly insurmountable problems of his own. In this period during and after the Second World War, archivists, spurred on by historians, governments, and their own changing sense of what was needed, took on the job of records management as a vital part of their archival programmes.

As early as 1935, historian George Brown had lamented the state of provincial archives in Canada when he wrote:

The provinces are morally at least, responsible to themselves and to the people of the whole dominion to see that these essential records of Canada's development are not neglected. Some of this material is already in archives. All of it will eventually be archival material, and should be transferred after a suitable lapse of years from the individual departments of government to an archives, where it can be classified and preserved.(22)

Brown illuminated his argument in 1944, when he spoke again about Canadian archives, which situation he saw as²³ "lamentable, and even disgraceful." He wrote:

There is, and has been, in Canada a serious misconception in this matter that lies at the root of our difficulties. It is that archives exist in the first instance to serve historians or other individuals interested in historical inquiry: that they are, in other words, little more than an antiquarian's happy hunting ground. On the contrary, an archives should first of all be a public records department for the preservation of the non-active records of the government.... If this practical purpose is achieved, other historical interests will be served in their turn, and the archives will cease to be regarded merely as a kind of academic luxury which should be neglected in preference to almost any other interest which comes to the government's attention.(24)

Far from demoting archives to the role of stagnant government records depositories, Brown was really arguing

for a greater role by archives in government, therefore making them indispensable to that government and more useful to historians. What Brown argued for has in large measure come to pass in the post-war period, as federal and provincial archives have adopted measures to regulate the disposition of public records, some more successfully than others.

The effect of records management on documentary publishing was dramatic. Of the seven archives established in this period, only Saskatchewan engaged in any form of publishing from its inception. The Saskatchewan archives, from an administrative point of view, is an oddity, for it has the status of a university department, and is not directly subordinate to a government official. Therefore its budgetary and administrative decisions are its own, and its administrators decided from the beginning that publishing would be an important function of the archives. The other archives, however, were established as government agencies, rather than as separate historical institutions, and in these institutions, documentary publishing has never gained the momentum it reached in the archives and historical societies in the 1920's.

This decline in documentary publishing may also be attributable to technological development. By the late 1930's, microfilming had become such a growth area that several articles and books were devoted to it. Indeed, in the United States in 1938 a Journal of Documentary

Reproduction was begun, "a quarterly review of the application of photography and allied techniques to library, museum and archival science."²⁵ As an author in the first volume of the journal noted, "microphotography, a big word for a small body, has become the talk of the town, and rather suddenly so. It is essentially a development of the present decade, and particularly of the past triennium."²⁶ This highly technical journal flourished for a few years, but died in 1942, a casualty of the war. But in spite of its short life span, it certainly gave an indication of the interest in microfilming in North America.

An American archivist was the first to question the future of documentary publishing in light of the new work in microphotography. Christopher Crittenden noted that "formerly it was a question of printing or nothing. Now, however, these cheaper methods would seem to make unnecessary the printing of certain large bodies of source materials which nevertheless ought to be reproduced in some way." He voiced the opinion of many archivists and historians when he added that "it would seem unfortunate to relax our efforts toward increasing the amount of documentary publication merely because new inventions and new techniques are forcing us to reshape some of our ideas on the subject."²⁷ By 1950, however, Canadian archivists were impressed by the impact of reprographic technology, and especially admired the capacity of the microfilm machines. "The overall result of the change from copying by hand to copying by photography promises to be startling," noted the

Dominion Archivist. Not only was this growth in microfilming important as a new means of publishing, or disseminating, information, it was also vital to a reevaluation of the need to publish from the perspective of preservation. Now that microfilm could capture the exact documents on a photograph, the fate of the original was not cause for undue anxiety. Publishing was no longer the only way to ensure the preservation of that original. And with the development of photocopying devices, on-demand copying was possible, and publishing became less important. While one cannot provide statistical or documentary proof that microfilming or xeroxing prompted the decline of documentary publishing, it would be hard to argue against their influence.

Thus, from the start of economic decline in the 1930's, to the flurry of wartime administrative activities, to the post-war records boom, documentary publishing by archives rapidly decreased in importance. Tighter budgets, changing research demands, expanding records management needs, and increasing numbers of technological alternatives to publishing, all steered the archivist away from publishing, and into a more government- and service-oriented role. W. Kaye Lamb summed up the new role of the archives when he stated that "one must never lose sight of the basic fact that the role of an archivist is essentially that of a

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trustee." In fact, because of these various pressures, archivists were coming to view themselves as custodians of

records who had a prime responsibility to see that records were preserved and made available for use. Their role as interpreter of the record was declining in importance over time.

Ironically, however, in the 1960's and early 1970's, documentary publishing by archives and historical societies enjoyed a brief renaissance. The reasons for this fleeting resurgence are varied. Not only did economic and technology play a part, but the role of the archivist continued to be the centre of attention.

A BRIEF RENAISSANCE: 1960-1975

Between 1960 and 1975 close to twenty documentary publications appeared from archives and historical societies. As usual, the Champlain Society and Hudson's Bay Record Society carried on unimpeded, adding another twenty-three titles to their lists. The archival publications included such titles as Clarkson's Mission to America, 1791-1792 in Nova Scotia, Lady Franklin Visits the Pacific Northwest, by British Columbia, and The New Brunswick Census: 1851, the first publication by the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick. The Manitoba Historical Society inaugurated its Manitoba Records Society Series which published three volumes from 1965 to 1968 and one volume in 1974. Much of this recent activity continued the trend of publishing documents such as diaries or journals, with an introduction and annotations. Notably, whether by circumstance or design, these editions began to appeal to a

general audience as well as the academic historian.

By the 1960's and 1970's the archivist was still struggling with the issue of records management, his role as record keeper versus scholar, the increase of microfilm production and other technological activities, and the changing economics of publishing. But documentary publishing, rather than being ignored or dismissed as it had been in the earlier, dormant period from the 1930's to the 1950's, was in the 1960's and 1970's a subject worth discussing. Indeed, two archivists and one historian wrote the first articles on documentary publishing in Canada.

These authors bemoaned the lack of resources for documentary editions. In 1967, Edith Firth wrote,

In recent times the cost of book publishing has increased tremendously. No longer can the average historical society sustain a systematic programme for the publication of documents, particularly when it has other pressing demands upon its time and funds....The main reason for the decline of document publication is that it is now economically impossible to produce a book with a probable sale of only a few hundred copies.(30)

Robert Ruigh, an historian, also pointed to economics as a main factor in the decline of publishing, but he raised other points as well, some of which were apparent in the period between the 1930's and 1960's. He wrote:

Undoubtedly the cost of printing -- the economic factor -- is the main deterrent to publication, but the increasing volume of records, the lack of competent editors and the variety of demands made by researchers occasion grave doubts about the advisability of continuing the serial publications originated in the 19th century. Now, more than ever, there appears to be a discrepancy between the utility of a publication and the cost of its preparation.(31)

This is indeed true; in the early days when publishing was the means of preserving the unique document, and when it was the only way to bring history to the distant scholar, economic factors did not have such a negative effect. But by the 1960's, with improved conservation techniques, environmentally controlled archives buildings, microfilm production and interlibrary loan, the expense and work involved in producing historical editions seemed moderately futile. But still for some reasons there was a brief resurgence in publications activity.

One of the central factors in this renaissance seemed

to be linked to the archivist's perception of his role in society. W. Kaye Lamb had stated in 1953 that the archivist was a "trustee"; by 1966 he had commented that "it should be recognized that work with records and manuscripts can be done well and expertly only by a trained archivist. By and large the amateur should keep out."³²

In the 1960's the definition of a trained archivist was that he was trained in history and had practical experience in archives. One archivist wrote, "the fact is that both in historical origins and in the functions he performs the archivist is not a mere caretaker of the paper residue of the past but a person with scholarly proclivities and, at best, a scholar himself. And his field of scholarship,³³ however narrowly or broadly defined, is history." At this point, the interrelationships of archivists, historians and records managers became increasingly complex and unsettled. The archivist was especially uncertain about his role in society. Clearly, in spite of the trend towards records management, there still was an historical strain in the profession, and one outlet for this historical interest was documentary publishing. Archivists may have always felt that their roots were in history. Perhaps the sophistication and specialization of modern archives, with records management, multi-media archives, and increased government use, placed a strain on the archivists and forced them to reevaluate their activities and goals. As a result, archivists began to examine their various tasks and started to develop areas of expertise or study. Some archivists

turned their attention to documentary publishing and began to examine their role as editors and publishers. J.K. Johnson, the General Editor of the Papers of the Prime Minister's Series, and the editor of the first volumes of the John A. Macdonald papers, wrote at length about the role of the archivist in documentary publication.

I believe that fundamentally two kinds of training are essential to an archivist: historical training and practical, or on-the-job training. Of the two the former often seems to me the most important....an archivist ought to begin with as much historical training as he can get, and in becoming a qualified archivist, he ought also to become an historian. If he does not he becomes neither one nor the other....Only when an archivist is thoroughly soaked in history...does he become a really useful archivist. He knows the significance of his documents and he can help others to an understanding of them. It seems to me that an archivist of this kind is better suited to the task of publishing documents than is the conventional sort of historian. His historical knowledge may well equal the conventional historian's, but he has the added advantage of greater familiarity with documents and a greater knowledge of the available sources.(34)

Johnson, believing his words that the archivist was well suited to historical editing, worked steadily to produce the first volumes of the The Letters of Sir John A. Macdonald, which were published in 1968 and 1969. It is an unfortunate quirk of history that, in spite of his sentiments, Johnson's project failed, being cancelled with little publicity in the early 1970's.

It has been suggested that the Papers of the Prime Ministers Series failed because of the tremendous, prohibitive cost and time involved in producing a bilingual

work. There is no question that this is an important factor in the decline of documentary publishing, especially by the Public Archives of Canada, whose national focus requires a bilingual approach. The necessity of having to publish in two languages is ironic in documentary publication. If the documents were edited for the serious historical scholar, surely he would have to be competent in the language of the records in order to fully understand their meaning? And if the documents were edited for a general audience, one could argue that extensive editing, annotating and translating would be a hindrance rather than a help. As the question of bilingualism grows in importance across Canada, this issue will continue to surface, and may result in an end to documentary publishing, at least on a national scale.

But problems of language cannot alone account for the cancellation of the Public Archives series. Technological advances emerging in the 1960's also aided in the demise of that and other publishing projects. J.K. Johnson unwittingly described the seeds of his project's destruction when he wrote:

We do not plan to print in full every letter which we have found, but only those deemed to be of historical significance. There are, of course, very good practical grounds for this procedure, but in any case we are guarding ourselves against the possibility of excluding anything of value in three ways. First, we are defining historical significance quite broadly; second, we are providing within each volume a complete finding aid, or calendar, of the letters not printed in full; and third, we plan an equivalent series of microfilm copies of all the original letters which will be available to anyone who wishes to see anything not printed in full. The use of calendar

entries and complementary microfilm copies solves, I think, as much as it is possible to solve, the problem of complete publication. Incidentally, these means allow us to keep down the cost of publication and to avoid publishing trivia.(35)

After the publication of two volumes of the correspondence, and two translations into French, this series simply disappeared. By the mid-1970's the Public Archives had begun a diffusion programme, whereby microfilm copies of the historical records, including the papers of the Prime Ministers, were deposited in all the provincial archives. Johnson's programme of publication was fully and effectively replaced by microfilm diffusion.

Edith Firth summed up the situation when she said, "our choice at the present time is between microfilm and book publication. Because of its relative cheapness microfilm would seem preferable for copying large collections indiscriminately and completely. For collections with a high incidence of crucial material, or for topical selections, publication would be more satisfactory." ³⁶ In any event, in spite of the brief surge of documentary publications at this time, microfilm was surpassing publishing as a form of disseminating records. The latter was no longer seen as the only way to provide copies of the original records to the waiting public miles away. That public could now be on the doorstep of the archives in a matter of hours and could be served at home through interlibrary loan of microfilm.

But beyond these rather obvious influences lay the underlying truth. History had changed from the first

"golden" years of documentary publishing. By the 1970's, the serious researcher had developed such a narrow speciality that the small plots Duncan McArthur believed historians were cultivating in the 1930's had become samples of dirt under a microscope by the 1970's. Few historians were writing biographies of great men, and if they were, then they had every intention of travelling to Ottawa to make use of the originals. Moreover, it was far more difficult to conceive or to produce documentary editions to satisfy the needs of scholars studying ethnic, social, sexual, labour, industrial, and other historical specialties for which a broad range of records found in various places were needed. Consequently, the grand editions of the past, such as the Prime Minister's papers, were passe by the 1970's. Editing was an expensive and time consuming activity, perhaps not suited to the busy schedules of archivists. In spite of the sense that their historical training should be put to use, archivists began to see that some of their editorial efforts were ineffective for their purpose. Microfilm was a preferred medium, letterpress publishing was increasingly expensive, and the traditional audience was no longer interested. Why spend years editing and annotating, only to have volumes like those of the Simcoe papers eventually be discarded through lack of sales? Many archives and historical societies had already come to this conclusion, and were publishing works such as journals and census returns, in an effort to attract the attention of the

general public, which had been lost in the shuffle fifty years before. This shift in emphasis would, in the late 1970's and early 1980's, end in an almost complete halt to documentary publishing, for interesting reasons.

THE BITTER END?: 1975-1984

By the end of the 1970's, documentary publishing by archives and historical societies had virtually ended. Between 1975 and 1984, the Public Archives of Canada published one edited document, Overland to Oregon in 1845, (1976), which contained plates of watercolours and sketches as well as journal entries, and as such was more than simply an edition of written documents. In 1979, Nova Scotia published the Census of Nova Scotia, 1827. In 1980, British Columbia published through the Queen's Printer the Journals of the Colonial Legislatures of the Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, 1851-1871. This publication marked the end of an era in printing by being the last work printed by the government of British Columbia on hot metal type. Manitoba's Historical Society published Documents on the City of Winnipeg in 1979, and Alberta's archives published the Letters of Lovisa McDougall in 1978. And those bastions of subscription publishing, the Champlain Society and the Hudson's Bay Record Society, continued their publications activities without interruption. Many of these societies and institutions have indicated that these publications will be their last for a long time. Economics

and technology have doubtless played important roles in this most recent decline. Little has been said about the continuing use and improvement of microfilm, with one notable exception. In 1979 the Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions was formed, in order to place on microfiche rare published materials, in order to "improve access to and ensure preservation of Canadiana printed before 1900 located in Canada and elsewhere."³⁷ Although this project is dealing with already printed material, rather than documents, it is important here because its purpose focusses on preservation of the items through microreproduction as much as it does on accessibility. Preservation had been a prime reason for publishing documents half a century before, and it has emerged again with film as the medium. However, aside from this signal effort, the use of microfilm as a means of preserving and disseminating documentary evidence, while it has continued apace, has received little notice or discussion.

On the other hand, the economics of the matter has received especially intense scrutiny, although the archives themselves have been close-mouthed about their ever-shrinking budgets. Nova Scotia and British Columbia have both openly commented on the lack of funds for publishing activities; the Nova Scotia Historical Review published by the former lives with the threat of cancelled funding, and the latter has had one publication of oral history cancelled owing to budget cuts. At the Public Archives of Canada, economic restraint has posed severe problems. In 1975 and

1976 the archives reported that "In the immediate future,³⁸ additional resources will be minimal." By 1981-82, the Archives reported that "the economic situation is causing³⁹ grave concern in all parts of the world." Some of the most significant comments about archival economics have come from the government itself.

Ever since the Massey Commission reviewed the state of Canadian culture in the 1950's, government has been aware of the existence of cultural and heritage groups. The authors of the 1982 Report of the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee noted that "federal involvement in the heritage field...could be characterized as negligible commitment⁴⁰ rather than wilful neglect." This group saw little relief from the inevitable restraint measures, and saw cooperation among institutions such as archives as essential. In addition, they spoke of the need, never before recognized, that cultural institutions should be as eligible for grants as are independent scholars and institutions. They recommended that "recognized national heritage service associations should be eligible for financial assistance⁴¹ toward the cost of annual meetings and publications." Traditionally, archives, like other government-run institutions, have never been able to receive funding for such activities as special projects, exhibits, and so forth. In terms of publications, therefore, archives were forced to rely on their ever-decreasing budget, and as a consequence they could, and can, rarely afford to engage in such work.

Another report, written in 1980 and dealing specifically with Canadian archives, detailed their financial woes. In Canadian Archives, the Consultative Group on Canadian Archives wrote, "we found a sense of crisis in Canadian archives today. Our survey indicated that despite the enthusiasm of their staff and the interest of a growing public, most archives are financially insignificant. Half of Canadian archives have annual budgets of less than \$20,000. Only 30 exceed \$75,000⁴² annually." This report also mentioned the issue of grants for archives, saying "on occasion, archives may be the appropriate institutional base for a major scholarly research and publication projects. We urge that archives be considered as eligible institutions for the Council's large scale negotiated grants on the same basis as universities and other institutions."⁴³

The appearance of reports specifically discussing archival economic problems indicates not only an awareness of the tough times, but also a sense of archives as places with painfully small budgets, and real financial problems. Economic restraint hit archives hard since the 1970's, and documentary publishing programmes, already decreasing, have been the first to go. But in spite of the severity of budgetary difficulties, another factor needs to be examined as perhaps even more important in the decline of documentary publishing in Canada.

As mentioned above, the archives and historical societies subtly redefined their publishing priorities in

the 1970's. Seeing the academic market as difficult to satisfy within the bounds of available resources and growing responsibilities, these groups directed at least some of their publishing efforts towards a more general audience. The editors of the Letters of Lovisa McDougall openly stated that their work was published for "interested specialists," and consequently was not surrounded by expensive typesetting, binding or illustrations. But this archives appears to have been an exception to an unstated rule. Such publications as census returns were obviously aimed at genealogists, and the other publications, with the notable exception of Hendrickson's Journals of the Colonial Legislatures in British Columbia, were designed with an awareness of a less academically inclined readership.

Historians were also examining the role of documentary publishing. And their conclusions were surprisingly negative. One historian wrote, "little is being done among students of history at either the undergraduate or the graduate levels to stimulate and encourage historical editing as a legitimate concern of the profession. Only occasional efforts are made to breach the wall of prejudice that separates historians and editors."⁴⁴ Indeed, some Canadian historians seemed to doubt the place of historical editing in scholarship. Donald Creighton offered a slight to historical editing, referring in a seemingly degrading fashion to "the definition and annotation of existing texts⁴⁵ (as) essentially editorial in character." Even J.M.S.

Careless viewed the inclusion of documents in early issues of scholarly journals as more a matter of necessity than desirability. In 1970 he wrote about the Canadian Historical Review, and indicated that documentary editions were really nothing more than "fillers" to be included when other articles were lacking. "'Notes on the Quebec Conference, 1864,' by A.G. Doughty," Careless noted, "was an edited version of A.A. Macdonald's notes as a delegate to that meeting. However valuable, it was really no more an article than those items which followed it under the specific heading of Documents; a sign perhaps, that the new Review had already encountered the problem of filling space with available submissions -- the editor's old feast-or-famine dilemma."⁴⁶ The fact is that such documents were not included in the Review in order to fill space, but to fill a need that historians and archivists at that time thought was vital. But by 1970 this perception had so changed that to consider documentary publishing and historical editing at all was to consider them as uncreative work of second rate historians. As J.M. Bumstead wrote recently, "the historical Editor has always been the poor stepchild of Clio.... To edit -- even brilliantly -- a lengthy manuscript or a collection of papers is regarded by most followers of the Muse as uncreative hackwork, requiring far less originality and imagination than writing a journal article,"⁴⁷ much less a real book."

It is hard to discern a reason for this distaste for historical editing. Could it perhaps be because archivists

have been doing the work, and archivists today are often rated as second-rate or failed historians? Could it be because the quality of documentary editions has declined over time, or at least that the vast horizons of their subject matter have lessened considerably?

It is thus interesting and illuminating to reflect on the historians' reactions to documentary publications, in light of their opinion of historical editing. In the early days, editors were asked to remain aloof and impartial, yet provide a comprehensive outline of the period involved and full descriptions of all events mentioned. And errors of fact were unpardonable. In the late 1970's and early 1980's, one gets the interesting and impression that the historians are now perhaps asking for the impossible: complete annotation of the text, without too much intrusion by the editor; a proper balance of documents, with nothing dull or pedantic, but nothing historically important omitted; and an explanation of all facets of the times involved, without misinterpreting the record.

One historian wrote of Gateway City, edited by Alan Artibise for the Manitoba Historical Society, "if there is a problem with this collection, it is that it serves no clear purpose...it is puzzling the editor did not choose instead to focus on a single theme illustrated by a broad presentation of related documents, or to present sequential

annual reports from a single organization. Certainly either decision would have produced a collection of substantially more use to those without ready access to Winnipeg documents." ⁴⁸ In spite of the improvements in microfilm, loan procedures, and all other archival diffusion activities already discussed at length, the historian here still sees the publication as the means of providing true copies of original material to those unable to use the documents themselves. If such a comment is true, then this documentary edition serves no audience well, whether general or academic.

Another reviewer asks for more annotation, in discussing the Journals of the Colonial Legislature, published by British Columbia's archives. He writes, "it is a pity...that more explanation of the text is not provided in these volumes...there is little elucidation of the documents....It can be argued...that the publication of the text alone will serve to stimulate scholarship but, given the current interests of many historians working in British Columbia, ⁴⁹ this seems an unlikely prospect." This reviewer, provided with a complete text, wants more notes and explanation, and is not happy that the editor did not intrude himself into the work. Such a commentary can leave archivists as well as historians puzzled as to what course to follow: full annotation of documents, which takes years of effort and vast amounts of funds, quantities which the archives finds especially difficult to muster, or bare bones reproduction of series of documents, which could more easily

be accomplished through microfilming.

Two reviews of independently published documents brought this issue of the quality of editing to a fever pitch, and provide an interesting comparison with archival publications. In the review of God's Galloping Girl, The Peace River Diaries of Monica Storrs, 1929-31, edited by W.L. Morton for the University of British Columbia Press, Gail Brandt of York University wrote, "it is unfortunate that the present editor did not exercise his prerogative by eliminating those letters which are repetitious and even monotonous in their content."⁵⁰ Veronica Strong-Boag reviewed A Pioneer Gentlewoman in British Columbia: The Recollections of Susan Allison, edited for the same publishing company by Margaret Ormsby. The reviewer's comments illustrate in the extreme how much the role of the historical editor has changed over time:

The Introduction is, nevertheless, disappointing. Professor Ormsby, the respected historian of her native province, provides the reader with a considerable amount of detail on the settlement of British Columbia....Unfortunately, these events...are presented with relatively little editorial comment....Workers in the new field of women's history would have liked other questions asked....Why was she so unprepared for her first pregnancy, did it change her response to her husband, to sex, to her other children? Were all husbands as unsympathetic as John appeared at childbirth?...How was her attitude to the Indians influenced by her appreciation of the status of their women? (51)

As an interesting and illuminating aside, this book, published in hard cover in 1976 and in paper cover in 1977 has, as of January 1984, sold over 1600 copies in hard back,

and almost 3500 copies in paper. Considering that a Canadian best seller is defined as a book that has sold between 4000 and 5000 copies, sales of this work have certainly not suffered from a lack of any editorial acumen.

After reading such a review as the above, however, one would venture to say that such demands have never before been placed on the historical editor. This in itself may be a reason for the decline of documentary publishing; how could an editor possibly please such diverse historical interests and remain true to the documents, the latter function having been close to sacred in the early years of historical editing? These demands on historical editors may alone be the cause for the decline of publishing by archives. Why try the impossible within the bounds of a limited and decreasing budget, when other work is less time consuming, more rewarding, and more archivally acceptable?

As a result, today, as J.K. Johnson stated, the question of documentary publishing by Canadian archives is quite academic. They have claimed, quite honestly, that they have no funds for such publishing, do not foresee engaging in such publishing for a long time to come, and may perhaps never resume such publishing.

And so, as we look at the situation in Canada in 1984, the picture looks very bleak. The purpose of documentary publishing appears to have become hopelessly muddled over time. Originally a means of preserving the fragile document and making it available to those otherwise unable to study the raw material of history, these publications gradually

became a vehicle for presenting a glimpse of history to the public, and were criticized in that role by academics, who still wanted accurate and complete editions, scholarly yet interesting and informative, and dealing equally with all levels of society and all aspects of history.

So, whither goest the documentary publication? Is this indeed the bitter end? What is the future for this perhaps archaic activity? Will it again emerge as a viable historical accomplishment, or will it remain in the barrel of historical endeavor, ever closer to the bottom? If we look at the situation in 1984, we may be able to tease out some suggestions about where archives perhaps should be headed in the field of documentary publishing.

Chapter Four

ARCHIVES AND PUBLISHING

In 1984, in a time of phenomenal technological change, complex bureaucracies, and an increasingly "instant" society, such time-consuming and expensive work as documentary publishing is understandably difficult, but the fact is that few archives in Canada have ever established a policy either in favour or against. Most activity has been sporadic and seemingly undirected. It is time that archives addressed the question of their role in this area. Should they publish or not? If so, for what purpose, and for what audience?

Archivists who consider publishing documents to be a viable or appropriate activity are faced with some important problems. If archives are going to publish, they are going to have to commit time, manpower, and money to the cause. Throughout history Canadian archives have made this commitment on a piecemeal basis. The time has come for them to establish a firm policy regarding the issue. There are two obvious options open to the archives. They can either publish well-edited works for a scholarly audience, or they can publish popular editions for a general public. Both types of publishing are valid, and are not mutually exclusive, but each type has its own unique qualities that deserve analysis.

The archives that chooses to publish for a scholarly audience must make some important decisions. First, it must decide why it is publishing for scholars. Is it providing historical documents not otherwise available? Or is it aiding historical knowledge by providing comprehensive editions of significant sources? If the archives sees its job only as disseminating information, then it might as well provide microfilm copies as publish letterpress editions. While many years ago publishing in book form was the only way to preserve and distribute the historical record, today new technologies have eclipsed publishing in these areas.

However, if the archives sees its job as conducting historical research, on a par with university-based historians, and sees documentary editing as a way of providing historical insight into the records, then it will choose the published book as the medium. And when the archives makes that decision, it enters into a complicated and demanding world.

When the archivist decides that the mandate of his institution includes high level historical editing, the first problem encountered is money. How will the archives fund such an extensive project? The research, annotation, and editing of the documents can be the most expensive part of the entire project. The archives needs not only staff and space, but also a knowledgeable and capable editor to supervise or conduct the research. And scholarly editing of a comprehensive body of documents can take years to

complete. The first volume of the Public Archives of Canada's Papers of Sir John A. Macdonald, for example, took a full time editor and an assistant some three years to complete. And not only do the costs of supporting the basic project have to be paid, but the editor or editors would also have to receive a salary. If a staff member is given leave to undertake the project, he will need compensation, and a replacement would have to be hired to continue his archival duties. If a freelance historian is hired, he must be paid. If a university-based scholar becomes editor, it will generally be at the expense of his university, a hidden cost. The archives might decide to allow an archivist to conduct the research as part of his daily duties, but the reality of historical editing is that, even working full time, such comprehensive editing can take many years. And if the archives has decided that its goal is a comprehensive, definitive edition, then it has added even more time and expense to the project. Obtaining all relevant documents, conducting thorough research, editing the actual documents and preparing a typescript, writing introductions, and so forth, all take time and cost money.

Increasingly, historical editing projects are turning to the government, either federal, provincial, or municipal, for financial support to prepare documents for publication and subsidize printing. It has become an accepted fact that such undertakings rarely pay for themselves. However, archives are not eligible for the vast majority of government grants, either for research or for publication,

often because they are in effect government agencies. And archival employees hesitate to apply individually, for they rarely have the time outside of their working day, and if they conduct any research on the job, even as part of their required duties, they can be accused of conflict of interest. Consequently, many archives wishing to publish edited documents are halted before they even begin by the complexities of financing such projects.

However, perhaps the archives does decide to pursue its project, and does find the resources to complete the editing. Then it is faced with the question of publication itself. An archives has to decide whether it will be the publisher, raise funds to underwrite the printing, and accept the responsibility for marketing and distribution, or whether it will turn to a private company to assume the burden of publishing. If the archives decides publish on its own, then, in effect, for that one work at least, the archives must become a publishing company. It must deal with the production of the work from manuscript to book and with sales, marketing, distribution and storage of the published work. The archives will have to hire staff trained in the various aspects of book production, hire freelance help, or divert its own staff to the job from their normal duties. The archives that begins an historical editing project with the belief that it is working for scholarship and the historical community may not wish to enter into the publishing end at all.

If the archives turns production over to an independent publishing company, it relieves itself of the burden of supervising the manufacture of the product and limits its direct involvement to the production of a manuscript for publication. As such, the archives becomes the 'author' of the book, entering into an author-publisher contract for publication and leaving the problems of production, sales and distribution to the company.

However, in today's unpredictable economic climate, few publishing companies can undertake large scale projects such as extensive documentary editions without some form of subsidy, either from private or public funds. Most scholarly books published today do not sell enough copies to cover the costs of production; consequently, the publisher will often enter into a contract on the condition that funding is available. The archives, if it cannot provide the money itself, must apply, or have the publisher apply, for a grant or loan. And again, the archives may be ineligible for government funding because of its status as a publicly supported institution.

Assuming that the archives finds money for the research and for the production and the work is published, then the archives is faced with the issues of marketing, distribution, and revenue. If the archives decides to undertake production itself, then it also accepts the responsibility to market and distribute the work. Perhaps a factor in the decline of documentary publishing is that archives, eager to produce works of scholarship at a low

price, have been editor, publisher and salesman. But most archives today are not equipped to conduct the kind of marketing and advertising necessary to sell enough copies of an expensive edition to recoup investment. The issue at stake is, again, the reason for publishing. If the archives has decided to publish in order to add to historical knowledge, then its concern for sales figures, marketing strategies and so forth will be minimal. But in order to be able to afford to produce such expensive works, an archives will have to pay some attention to the fate of the book after it is published. No longer can such books be sold for a dollar a copy. They will inevitably be expensive if they are to be produced in the traditional fashion, with hard cover, with glossy jacket, illustrations, extensive footnotes, and so forth. The irony is that while publishers, scholars, universities, and even archives, have all accepted that the fully produced book is the proper end result of scholarly research, these same groups will not or cannot buy the books because they are so expensive. Even libraries, which often account for more than half of scholarly book sales, cannot afford to purchase the expensive volumes that are being produced today. As an aside, the Provincial Archives of Alberta's one documentary edition, The Letters of Lovisa McDougall, was published for a scholarly audience, and, according to the editors, was therefore published in typescript, and soft cover. It is the only archives to suggest that documents need not be

traditionally produced editions in order to be valuable to a scholarly audience. Most other members of the scholarly community, however, hold fast to the notion that scholarly editions must be thoroughly edited and expensively produced in order to be of value. Therein lies the downfall of scholarly historical editing, especially for archives. Archives are not in the business of publishing, but in order to meet the requirements of their historical community, they would have to make publishing a top priority. Today's busy and diverse archives simply cannot devote so much time and money to extensive projects, and dismiss them as outside their purview.

The archives can relieve itself of this burden of post-production work by entering into an agreement with a publisher. Supposing the archives has signed a contract, arranged the funding, and completed the manuscript. It is free to move on to other editing or archival projects and leave the sales and distribution to the publisher. However, by accepting the role of author, the archives foregoes any profit on sales beyond the royalties, which are usually ten per cent of the price of the book. The archives that has chosen to publish scholarly works for an historical audience may not be as concerned with financial gain as with producing a valuable addition to scholarship. But it should be aware that it will forfeit potential revenue.

Not all archives have, or perhaps should, accept only royalties if they enter into a contract with a publishing company. The Saskatchewan Archives Board, for example,

entered into a publishing agreement with Western Producer Prairie Books, but the archives retained copyright on the works. Thus, the publishing company has agreed to publish and distribute the books, but pays the archives royalties and leaves them the authority to reprint, revise, or otherwise change the finished book. Saskatchewan has received over \$50,000 in royalties from its publications, and that money is being used to fund other publications projects.

But this case is an exception, for the publications are not documentary in nature, but are narrative histories aimed at a popular audience, and, again, Saskatchewan is unique among archives. Other archives, even if they were to publish, retain copyright, and receive royalties, would not be able to receive the revenues themselves. Any income to government institutions such as archives goes to the Receiver General. Thus any income the average archives makes never returns directly to it. If an archives were able to generate revenue, perhaps it would more readily consider publishing. However, if the archives has decided to publish heavily edited works for a scholarly audience, then it need not concern itself with receiving revenue, either through contractual agreement with a publisher, or through its own publishing efforts, because chances are good that it will not see any income from its publication.

The sad fact is that many scholarly publications do not sell well. Part of the reason is that, even with government

subsidies, many scholarly works must sell for \$30 or \$40 or more, just to break even. The high price is a result of the extensive, and expensive, research and editing involved in simply preparing the manuscript, and of the high costs for copyediting and production by the publishing company. If the archives' intention in publishing is to aid scholarship and not make money, it can turn over production to a publishing company and let them worry about marketing, sales and distribution. And any revenue from the work would be a bonus.

But surely there must be a way for an archives to successfully engage in historical editing and scholarly publishing? It must be possible for an archives to publish scholarly works and at least recoup its investment, if not make a small profit. Indeed, there seems to be a way, if one examines the activities of some of the historical societies in Canada.

The best example is the Champlain Society. Active since 1903, the Champlain Society has rarely missed a projected publication date, its finances are sound, and it has not slowed its activities in the face of recent recessions. What is the key to its success? After all, it is engaging in historical editing and documentary publishing for a limited scholarly audience. And it is publishing traditionally produced hard cover editions, which regularly sell out. How can the Champlain Society afford to publish when independent publishers, archives, and other historical societies have been forced to cancel their programmes

entirely?

The answer is deceptively simple. The Champlain Society operates on a subscription basis. It has in effect sold all its books before they have been published. By establishing a membership list and charging each member a set fee, equivalent to the cost of the published book, the Society guarantees that its funds are available before production begins. Also, the Society is not really a society as such; it holds no meetings of the general membership, and it provides none of the social or academic activities a traditional society undertakes. Its sole purpose is to publish historical documents, and it guarantees its success by selling memberships and sending its publications only to its members. It need not rely heavily on government support, or depend on limited bookstore sales to return its investment. Of course, the individual editors are not paid directly for their efforts, and there are most likely certain hidden costs that are not covered by the Society itself. But in general, the Society has managed to keep editorial costs low and has ensured high sales. The Hudson's Bay Record Society operates on the same subscription basis, and the Manitoba Record Society has been encouraging membership sales. And these are among the few historical societies in Canada that are still actively publishing.

Could an archives produce scholarly editions under a subscription system? There is no reason why it couldn't, as

long as it could provide the product, the documentary publication, that would be the basis of its membership programme. However, the archives, being a government-funded institution, would enter into a difficult area if it tried to sell publications whose editing had been completed by government paid archivists on government time. The archives would need a general editor, some staff, and people willing and able to edit the documents. As such, it would need to enter the field of publishing. If all this activity were to take place as a government sponsored activity, it would be politically difficult for the archives to justify charging a membership fee as well, for the scholars would feel that they had paid twice for their publication. In this case, for an archives to engage in a viable membership-sponsored publishing programme, its best approach would be to enter into a partnership with an historical society. The society could provide the manpower for editing, and the staff to manage the membership lists. The archives could provide the records, the expertise and advice, and the institutional name. While this would be feasible, some archivists could argue quite effectively that in this case, the archives need not be involved at all in the enterprise, but should leave the historical society to carry the responsibility for publishing.

The question of publishing for a scholarly audience is complicated, and there is no ready answer. If an archives chooses to engage in scholarly editing and publishing projects, then it must come to grips with the practical

problems of money, time, and the purpose and value of the work. In today's economic climate, it is no wonder that most archives have dismissed this level of documentary editing as beyond their scope.

However, archives can approach documentary publishing from a different perspective, one that appears to have been rarely considered in Canada. Archives can publish for a general audience, for the public at large, with the intention not of providing comprehensive editions for scholarly research, but of producing popular editions of documents for the entertainment and enjoyment of the general public. In this case, the motivation of the archives could involve raising its public profile within the community, interesting its citizens in their history, and, perhaps, generating some level of profit for the archives, in order to help fund projects or offset deficits. Some of the problems related to this type of publishing are similar to those for scholarly publishing, but some of the solutions are different.

When an archives decides to publish for a general audience, it has the option to decide the level of editing, production, and so forth to be involved. Editions for a general public need not be as comprehensive as for a scholarly audience, thus the archives can choose special documents, rather than having to compile a comprehensive edition. The editing itself can be less extensive, thus taking less time. Rather than providing full identification

of all people, places and events mentioned, the editor need only provide a background to the document through an introduction and identify the key issues or events. The documents chosen can be short, perhaps only article length. They can be on any subject, any theme or person, and need not make a claim to being all-encompassing. Once the archives states that its purpose is to publish for the entertainment and edification of a lay audience, it is effectively let of the hook as far as scholarly expectations are concerned. That is not to say, however, that scholars will not be critical; as we have seen, they can be.

Funding is still a problem for archives. Just because their focus and potential audience have changed does not mean that their financial situation has improved. Archives will still need to find money, perhaps from government. However, if the publication is less costly, can be produced faster, and has more sales potential, government loans may be available, rather than the usual grants, and perhaps archives will only need funding to get started and will be able use revenues to support future publications. Of course, this again introduces the problem of archives receiving revenues from their publications. But if the archives does decide to enter into publishing for a popular audience, whatever the revenue situation, it can produce the work itself, or it can enter into a joint venture, perhaps a partnership with an historical society.

An historical society can help the archives to prepare documents for publication. It has a ready and willing

membership, often happy to volunteer for any such editing work. And when publishing for a lay audience, academic training or university experience are less important than enthusiasm and a willingness to work. The editing need not be extensive and can be done competently by these volunteers. The chance to work with the "stuff of history" may itself be an incentive for people to involve themselves in their historical society, and an archives that generates such interest and enthusiasm will raise its standing and profile in the community. As well, involvement with an historical society will lift some of the burden from the archives, for it can provide the research facilities, materials, and expertise, and leave the production work to the society. The partnership may also aid in generating sales, for there would be a ready market for subscription sales among the society's members.

Whatever the method and whoever the editors, once the documents have been chosen and prepared for publication they still must undergo a production process. As mentioned, this can be very expensive and time-consuming. However, if a publication is short, with fewer notes and a less complicated format, perhaps soft cover rather than hard, with a glossy cover rather than a jacket, or as an article in an historical magazine or journal, the final production costs can be considerably lower. The edition could be produced more quickly, as part of an exhibit, event, or anniversary, thus generating some sales. There would appear

to be potential for sales in this area. Canadians are buying history books, and certain sorts of documentary editions, such as diaries and journals, have sold well. The aforementioned sales of close to 5000 copies of Pioneer Gentlewoman: The Recollections of Susan Allison is but one example. Saskatchewan's three publications, while not documentary, are aimed at a general audience, and have combined sales of over 20,000 copies. And the less complicated the project, the more can be done, and the more money can be made. And if the publishing activity generates revenues, more money will be available to direct into other publications to disseminate records or information about holdings. However, if archives are faced with the problem of being unable to receive revenues, the monetary impetus for popular publishing is diminished substantially.

But of course, money is not the only object at stake here. An archives which engages in activities for the general public cannot but heighten public awareness of its existence, thus generating more users, more activity, and perhaps more donations of private papers. The potential is limitless. And at the very least, the archives will be bringing a little piece of history to the public, making them more aware of their country's past.

However, there is an important consideration that an archives thinking of publishing for the public must ponder. If the aim is to provide information for the general public, is documentary publishing the best means of doing that? Would not more people be attracted to an exhibit? Would

they not prefer to see an historical television show using documentary film footage? Or hear a radio broadcast of oral history or sound archives? Or buy a book of documentary facsimiles or historical photographs? There is a valid argument that while documentary editing for the scholar is too expensive and time-consuming, publishing documents for the general public has been surpassed by other media and other approaches to history. An archives must come to grips with this issue when deciding whether or not to publish for a general audience.

There is no question that in 1984 archives are overwhelmed by the demands of government, historians, genealogists; by the rapid changes in technology, media, preservation techniques, and archival theory, and by the constraints of shrinking budgets and expanding needs. But in spite of all the urgent problems archives face each day, it is vital that they consider their role in society very carefully. They must ask themselves who are they serving? Government? Scholars? The public? How can they best serve that public? Archival administrators must take time out from their busy day and ask themselves what are the goals for their archives? What should they be? Archives must decide where they want to be in five, ten, twenty years, in terms of all their activities. Giving some thought to the question of documentary publishing, rather than just dismissing it as an activity of another time, will help archivists to examine their role in society. Whatever

they decide about publishing, archives must decide something. They must put an end to the disorganized, unstructured activities that have characterized the profession for over 100 years. One can argue that there is a valuable place for publishing in today's archives, especially as a means of bringing history to the general public. Microfilm, computer technology, and the changing needs of historians and archivists, have all but eliminated comprehensive historical editing from the archival scene. But publishing for a general audience can draw them into archives, involve them in historical societies, show them a part of their society that they might not otherwise have seen. This can, however, be done through other media. It is up to each archives to consider its options and to make a decision. But it is incumbent upon the archives to make that decision and to not allow documentary publishing to continue to wallow about in an historical limbo.

Documentary publishing has declined over time, there is no question of that. But all things change, and there is no reason why documentary publishing cannot emerge again in Canada, in a new and revitalized form, for a new and different group of Canadians. It is up to the archives to make a decision about their role in society, and the function of publishing for their institutions. It is inevitable that the old order changes; archives must determine the direction of that change.

NOTES

Introduction

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NOTES

Chapter One

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13. Letter to the author from W. Brian Spiers, p. 1.
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18. Taylor, "The Provincial Archives of New Brunswick": 75.
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20. Paul O'Neill, "The Newfoundland Historical Society," Newfoundland Quarterly 76 (1980): 6.
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23. George W. Brown, "The Problem of Public and Historical Records in Canada," CHR 25 (1944): 1.
24. Ibid., 1-2.
25. Journal of Documentary Reproduction 1 (1938): cover.
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29. W. Kaye Lamb, "The Federal Archival Scene," CHAAR (1953): 63,67.
30. Edith G. Firth, "The Publication of Documents in Canada," Canadian Archivist, (1967): 13.
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Archives of Ontario Annual Report 1904-1930
British Columbia Historical Quarterly 1937-1958
Champlain Society Annual Report 1905-1983
Canadian Historical Review 1920-1982
Manitoba Historical Society Transactions 1882-1979
Manitoba History 1980-1982
New Brunswick Historical Society Collections 1894-1959
Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly 1971-1980
Nova Scotia Historical Society Report and Collections 1878-1977
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Ontario History 1947-1981
Public Archives of Canada Annual Report 1882-1983
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APPENDIX

Select List of Titles of Canadian Documentary Publications

(published by archives and historical societies)

The following is a select list of documentary publications by Canadian federal or provincial archives or historical societies. It is provided to illustrate the changes in and decline of such publishing in Canada. The titles are listed chronologically, beginning with major monographs and including documents published in the major journal of each institution. While the list is as complete and accurate as possible, it is intended only as a guide and not as a comprehensive bibliography.

NOVA SCOTIA

Public Archives of Nova Scotia

1869.

Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia. Edited by Thomas B. Akins.

1908.

Original Minutes of His Majesty's Council at Annapolis Royal, 1720-1739. Edited by Archibald M. MacMechan.

1935.

Holland's Description of Cape Breton Island and Other Documents. Compiled with an introduction by D.C. Harvey.

1937.

Diary of John Thomas. Journal of Louis de Courville. Edited by John Clarence Webster.

1937.

Loyalists and Land Settlement in Nova Scotia. Compiled by Marion Gilroy.

1937.

Thomas Pichen, the Spy of Beausejour, An Account of his Career in Europe and America, with many Original Documents. Translated by Alice Webster, edited by John Clarence Webster.

1947.

The Evolution of the Halifax Fortress, 1749-1928. Edited by G.M. Self with the assistance of P. Blakeley, under the direction of D.C. Harvey.

1948.

A Documentary Study of the Establishment of the Negroes in Nova Scotia between the War of 1812 and the Winning of Responsible Government.

1958.

Sketches of Cape Breton, and Other Papers Relative to Cape Breton Island. Edited by C. B. Fergusson.

1965.

The Diary of Adolphus Gaetz. Edited by Charles Bruce Fergusson.

1967.

Minutes of His Majesty's Council at Annapolis Royal, 1736-1749. Edited by Charles Bruce Fergusson.

1971.

Clarkson's Mission to America, 1791-1792. Edited by Charles Bruce Fergusson.

1979.

Census of Nova Scotia - 1827; Census of District of Pictou - 1817. Compiled by Allan C. Dunlop.

Public Archives of Nova Scotia Bulletin

1937.

A Documentary Study of Early Educational Policy. Edited by D.C. Harvey.

1939.

Letters of Rev. Norman MacLeod, 1835-51. Edited by D.C. Harvey.

1941.

A Documentary Study of Provincial Finance and Currency 1812-36. Prepared by J.S. Martell.

1947.

A Documentary Study of the Origin and Distribution of the Arms Fund. Edited by D.C. Harvey.

1953.

Journal and Letters of Colonel Charles Lawrence. Edited by D.C. Harvey.

1956.

Journal or Diary of James Boutineau Franklin. Edited by D.C. Harvey.

1957.

Glimpses of Nova Scotia 1807-24. Edited by Charles Bruce Fergusson.

1959.

Letters and Papers of Hon. Enos Collins. Edited by C.B. Fergusson.

1960.

The Life of Johnathon Scott. Edited by C.B. Fergusson.

1972.

"The Old King is Back": Amos "King" Seaman and his Diary.
Edited by C.B. Fergusson.

NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Report and Collections

1878. Volume 1.

"Journal of Colonel Nicholson at the Capture of Annapolis,
1710." pp. 59-104.

"An Account of Nova Scotia in 1743." pp. 105-10.

"Trials for Treason in 1776-77." pp. 111-18.

"Diary of John Thomas." pp. 119-40.

1879-80. Volume 2.

"Journal of John Witherspoon." pp. 31-62.

"The Acadian French." pp. 129-60.

1882-83. Volume 3.

"Journal of Colonel John Winslow (1755)." (Second Part) pp.
71-196.

1884. Volume 4.

"Papers connected with the Administration of Governor
Vetch." Edited by George Patterson." pp. 64-112.

"Journal of Colonel John Winslow (1755)." (First part) pp.
113-246.

1885-86. Volume 5.

"Copy of a Journal kept by ---- Gordon (1758)." pp. 97-153.

1887-88. Volume 6.

"King's College and Episcopate in Nova Scotia (1783)." pp.
123-35.

1889-91. Volume 7.

"Letters and other papers relating to the Early History of
the Church of England in Nova Scotia (1710)." pp. 89-127.

1892-1977. Volumes 8-39. 0

Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly

1971. Volume 1.

"Two Letters on the 'Pacification of Nova Scotia.'" Edited
by D.A. Muise. pp. 11-25.

1972. Volume 2. 0

1973. Volume 3.

"A Journal of the Proceedings...(Sir William Phipps
Expedition to Port Royal, April 23 - May 30, 1690)."
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