The Crisis in Urban Documentation: "The Shame of the Cities" Revisited

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Article abstract

Despite the importance of local public records as a resource for the research interests of many different disciplines, general literature suggests that there is currently little effort being made to ensure the preservation of these documents for both current and future use. Unless this gap is bridged in the near future, locally generated records will be a lost resource. Traditional reliance on archivists for the care and preservation of these materials is misplaced, given the problems which currently beset the archival profession. An interdisciplinary initiative is required if the crisis in local government records is to be met. In the hope of encouraging others, this paper reports on one such initiative. The Vancouver Island Project is a systematic inventory of surveying all local public records on Vancouver Island. When completed, the Project will provide a machine-readable, updateable, descriptive/evaluative list of this material. In the process it will attempt to encourage the development of better maintenance of these documents by their local custodians. The Project will provide a structure from which classification and retention programs can emerge.
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Despite the importance of local public records as a resource for the research interests of many different disciplines, general literature suggests that there is currently little effort being made to ensure the preservation of these documents for both current and future use. Unless this gap is bridged in the near future, locally generated records will be a lost resource. Traditional reliance on archivists for the care and preservation of these materials is misplaced, given the problems which currently beset the archival profession. An interdisciplinary initiative is required if the crisis in local government records is to be met. In the hope of encouraging others, this paper reports on one such initiative. The Vancouver Island Project is a systematic inventory of surveying all local public records on Vancouver Island. When completed, the Project will provide a machine-readable, updateable, descriptive/evaluative list of this material. In the process it will attempt to encourage the development of better maintenance of these documents by their local custodians. The Project will provide a structure from which classification and retention programs can emerge.

Local government bodies produce a rich variety of records: routinely-generated material such as tax and assessment roles, building permits, land records, school and hospital statistics provide data for social and economic studies of local communities; correspondence, petitions, minutes and resolutions provide insights into the mentalité of local people and the internal operations of local governments. Historians, political scientists, public administrators, urban planners, geographers, educators, sociologists and heritage planners can benefit from the study of materials created by those public agencies closest to the activities of the average North American citizen.

Despite their potential importance, such sources currently fall within a category of “endangered species.” While it is not our intent to present a systematic overview of the state of municipal archives in Canada — indeed, it is our...
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hope that this paper will encourage others to report on conditions in their region — it seems clear that few local governments have adopted a consistent policy towards the retention of these public records. One “generous estimate” puts the number of North American municipalities with records management or archives programs at 1 per cent. At the very time when academic disciplines have begun to appreciate the importance of understanding regional and local identities, when national governments have become more concerned with developing regional policies and devolving administrative and fiscal responsibilities, when concerned citizens are forming activist groups to lobby for preservation or change in local living conditions, the maintenance and control of the records which would help sustain such varied activity virtually escapes notice. Public administrators and record managers have focussed on the management of current or active records — inactive files languish in neglect. Heritage planners have concentrated on the preservation of physical artifacts — the conservation of buildings, streetscapes and neighbourhoods. The printed records which provide so much essential and complementary information are not their prime interest. Canadian regional planners have been “innovative” at the institution building level but have demonstrated a marked lack of “substantive knowledge” of the local conditions that underly the problems that confront them. Municipal records, hitherto ignored, could provide substance to regional policy initiatives.

This neglect of the state of local public records is perhaps most surprising in the case of the historical profession. Currently riding a wave of methodological and theoretical change, historians are increasingly examining the experience of the general populace. The nature of the evidence involved and the type of questions and methods applied to it, have led them to focus more on local communities and regions and less on large states and nations as their units of analysis. Yet, while occasionally pointing out that something should be done about the lamentable conditions of local public records, they, themselves, have done little.

And the little that has been proposed, has been either ignored, or, despite the best of intentions, found to be flawed in design and impractical in reality. The ideas of the American urban historian, Sam Bass Warner Jr., are a case in point. Convinced that space, budget and personnel constraints would not permit the preservation of all public records, he argued forcefully for the establishment of special subject archives. As he put it “San Francisco might establish a business archives, Detroit a labour archives, Los Angeles a housing archives, Boston an education archives, Atlanta a health archives, and so forth.” Archivists have been virtually unanimous in dismissing the solution as both impractical — how would the allocation of subjects be decided — and as methodologically unacceptable — such collection fragmentation would violate the cardinal archival principals of provenance and original order. From an historical point of view, the assumptions underlying Warner’s proposals are equally suspect. He assumed that all cities were sufficiently similar to enable historians interested in writing “accurate histories of the American urban experience” to simply integrate material from the various subject archives and thereby create the urban history. This assumption can only be understood in the context of the time when it was first put forward. In the late 1960s and early 1970s “new” urban historians were more concerned with parts than the whole. Mobility, labour and ethnic studies dominated. The city itself generally appeared as a setting within which some more interesting theme or happening occurred. As one reviewer has noted the “subject matter [of the new urban historians] though found in cities was curiously enough not of them.” As we now know this perspective has led to much soul searching and, it is fair to say, precipitated a crisis in the practice of urban history. In Canada, Gilbert Stelter has demonstrated that it is essential to be aware of national and regional variations in urban development. In the United States, Kathleen Conzen has closely dissected recent historical work in community and urban studies and concluded that “despite the nationalizing character of economic change and massive migration, local economies and local cultures apparently mediated structural change in such a way that present methodologies have been unable adequately to measure.” As a result “some of the new urban historians are perforce beginning to make a virtue of necessity and to burrow more deeply into the minutiae of local culture; others see the solution in greater theoretical sophistication.” In either case it is clear that Warner’s vision is inappropriate to modern practice. Comprehensive, not selective, control of particular urban and local records is an essential prerequisite if the aims of the new urban history are to be realized.

The fate of a pioneering proposal more in sympathy with the requirements of the new urban history, The Landon Project, is also instructive. The core of the Project was the systematic collection of “a unified regional body” of documentary materials all of which would be microfilmed, some of which would be published in edited volumes and some of which would be utilized by scholars for publication in a projected monographic series. This Project combined an awareness of the needs of the “new history” with a sensitivity to the collective worth of local public documentation. After failing in two major attempts to receive funding from the Canada Council, and after having (thanks to support from the University of Western Ontario) microfilmed and compiled machine-readable lists of some local sources and produced several excellent analyses of relevant routinely generated material, the Project disbanded, its major goals unfulfilled.

It is interesting to note the Canadian archival community’s reaction to the goals of the Landon Project. Most worrisome was the fact “that a non-archival organization . . . moved into the acquisition field with objectives,
methods and a life expectancy not coincident with those of archives.” Peter Bower, an archivist with the Public Archives of Canada, went on to warn that “such relatively ephemeral schemes as the Landon Project are no substitute for a rationally-developed, sustained, archivally-based system of selecting, organizing, describing, keeping and providing access to records and manuscripts.” He did state, however, that the Project had the virtue of underlining “the crisis” within archives, a crisis “still wanting . . . solutions.”  

It is fair to say that both the fate of the Landon Project and archival reaction to it has reinforced an already existing consensus among local public record users that some other discipline or profession can, will or should assume responsibility for document retention and upkeep. Following Peter Bower’s views, it is most often assumed that archivists will take up this challenge. For several reasons this viewpoint is unrealistic. It is the contention of this paper that the North American archival profession, when viewed from a practical and more fundamentally, a theoretical and methodological perspective, is currently unable to handle, singlehandedly, “the awesome problems of . . . local government records.” If these records are to be preserved, the disciplinary imperative which separates concern, and responsibility for, from use of documentary materials must be transcended.

In both Canada and the United States, the archival profession is severely underfunded. In a recent report to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (S.S.H.R.C.) by the Consultative Group on Canadian Archives, the Group’s chairman, Ian Wilson, made the valid point that “anyone who has spent any time in Canadian archives can only wonder how so much has been done for so little.” The total budget of all Canadian archives (excluding the Public Archives of Canada) is less than the individual budget of several Canadian university libraries. It is instructive to examine how this limited budget is spent. Only 20% of Canadian archives spend over 10% of their budget on the acquisition of material. Over 40% spend no money at all in this area. Equally interesting, Canadian archives have little money to spend on public relations: these institutions average only 2.5% of their budgets in this sector. As Wilson notes, this, of course, creates a vicious circle: already suffering from a low profile, archives find it almost impossible “to attract the public interest which might bring on more resources.” Slim budgets, space constraints and increased staff cuts within the archival profession point to the necessity of an interdisciplinary initiative to confront the crisis in the area of local public records.

The national structure of Canadian archival institutions and the related general acquisition policy followed by them make such an interdisciplinary response even more essential. Canadian archives are heavily centralized at the federal and provincial levels. These repositories account for the expenditure of 81% of all archival budgets and 64% of all paid archival staff in Canada. Dependant on funding from their respective parent governments, these institutions orient their collections and preservation policies towards documents generated by those governments. This “mandate” has led to the collection of information which focusses on great men and great events and to the neglect of much material which focusses on the lives of ordinary individuals. In particular it has led to the neglect of data created by decentralized public agencies.

Partly as a response to diminishing space and partly in recognition of the value of this overlooked material, the archival profession, in both the United States and Canada, has begun to argue for and in some cases establish a system of decentralized archival repositories at a regional and local level. Nine states in the United States currently operate some form of state archival network and, to varying degrees within each state, local public records are accorded recognition.

In Canada, the Wilson Report has firmly called for an end to archival centralization and isolation. It recommends the establishment of regionally based cooperative archival systems. A short seven years ago many Canadian archivists considered such proposals to be only a little short of heresy. Even today, reaction is guarded. The Provincial Archivist of Ontario, for example, has reiterated that his main priority is the acquisition and preservation of provincial government records and he holds out little hope that he will have the time, money or staff resources to assist in the formation of a coordinated provincial network. Similarly, when asked to rank their priorities for the expansion of Canadian archives, only 4.2% of archives put decentralization as one of their top three concerns.

As an indication of what is envisaged, the Wilson Report pointed to the Archives Nationales du Québec which has established a series of regional centres which liaise with a central office. While this initiative is praiseworthy, in the sense that it brings records closer to the localities from which they originated, it is not at all clear that it addresses the issue under review here: the fate of unorganized local public government records.

A second, what might be termed grass roots initiative, seems closer to the problem at hand. Led by the Toronto City Archives, a Toronto Area Archivists Group (TAAG) of more than 130 members has been established. In addition to publishing a series of inventories, this group is beginning to develop a comprehensive plan for the upgrading of their local holdings. The central component of this strategy is an emphasis on the importance of record management. They believe that as information managers, archivists can best convince municipal managers of their utility. This ambition of integrating archive and record management under one department has been most successfully realized in Toronto where R. Scott James was both Director of Records and City Archivist.
The practical aspects of this initiative are compelling. For many, if not most archivists, however, the theoretical implications are disquieting. Within the North American, and especially within the Canadian archival profession, there has been a tendency to define the archivist as a special kind of historian. While all the implications of such a definition can not be explored here, one, in particular, merits comment. The lead article in a recent issue of Archivaria, The Journal of the Association of Canadian Archivists, put the issue most succinctly when it referred to “the struggle between the historical and the modernist (Library Science and Records Management) camps” within the archival profession. If the author, George Bolotenko, opposes the “ilk of records managers and super-clerks,” R. Scott James can be equally declaratory:

Archivists who see themselves as antiquarians or historians or “manque” will become extinct, but those who can see the value of the archivists’ special skills and perceptions in the world of information management will thrive and contribute to the creation of the vast network of record agencies which is needed to serve institutional and community needs.

One Canadian archivist has commented that “there is no visible agreement on the mechanism that will be used to achieve the desired end” of networking. This seems to understate the problem. The deep methodological and perceptual split within the Canadian archival profession has profound implications for the immediate establishment of a regionally based network of local government archives. Quite clearly some interdisciplinary initiative is required: given the practical, methodological and perceptual problems currently engaging the Canadian archival profession, it is unrealistic to expect that body to confront, without assistance, the crisis in local government records.

A somewhat broader perspective suggests that, with effort, there is reason for optimism. In both Great Britain and New Zealand, national acts have been passed which provide some degree of protection for local government records. In both countries a national network — while, as yet far from comprehensive — has been established. Recent legislation in Quebec has also helped facilitate a movement towards the better preservation of municipal records in that province.

It is encouraging to note, too, that money does exist for some aspects of local preservation in Canada. The past decade witnessed a dramatic increase in heritage and conservation awareness. In 1973 the Heritage Canada Foundation was launched and during the past ten years this and many similar provincial foundations and associations, have done much to promote a balanced, thoughtful and consistent approach to historic preservation. The flaw in this program is, of course, the fact that the records necessary to identify, document and interpret historic buildings are usually ignored and left in a poor state. From this perspective the task, then, becomes one of convincing local authorities and general funding agencies of the importance of a key heritage asset — archival records.

The recent report of the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee (the Appelbaum-Hebert Report) does demonstrate some recognition of this linkage through its recommendation for the establishment of a National Archives Records Commission which would be, administratively at least, associated with the Canadian Heritage Council. In a more immediate sense, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council has also recognized the legitimacy of this argument. After a series of meetings with archivists, librarians and bibliographers, the S.S.H.R.C., funded under its Strategic Grants Program, a “Research Tools-Canadian Studies” theme. The first competition was held in late 1981. Since that time there have been two further competitions and it is expected that the program will continue throughout the decade.

This grant program provides a great opportunity for interested academics and professionals from various disciplines to undertake systematic remedial work in the area of local government records. The competition is not limited to archivists and/or librarians. In fact, the Provincial and National archives are forbidden to apply. The Canadian Studies designation underlines the interdisciplinary intent of the program. Two of its primary goals — making “accessible hitherto not readily available materials in libraries and archives” and providing “access to sources . . . considered of first importance for advanced research in Canadian Studies” — are admirably met by focusing on collections of local government records.

A brief outline of and commentary upon one ongoing project which is attempting to meet these goals and in the process create a model for dealing with unorganized local public records follows. It is our hope that the report will stimulate critical debate, help break down the disciplinary myopia which has led to a separation between use of and care for local public records and encourage similar activity in other regions.

The Vancouver Island Project (V.I.P.) has as its basic aim the preparation of a machine readable research tool covering all public repositories on Vancouver Island (total population, c. 500,000). The resource tool will include brief histories of the organizations and functions of the agencies examined and will provide descriptive/evaluative surveys of holdings at both a general and in many cases more detailed level. The Project will ultimately make available in an updateable, machine readable and hard copy format an annotated survey of the Island’s five cities, eight district municipalities, four towns, twelve villages, thirteen school districts, six regional districts, seventy-five improvement districts and approximately fifty other repositories including museums, historical societies and businesses.
The variety of local government bodies found on the Island makes this area suitable for a microcosmic study. Ironically, the condition in which the majority of these records are kept also reflects the larger national situation. Many records are stored under inadequate and frequently dangerous conditions; others are being casually destroyed; and still others are unavailable for public use because there are no points of access to them. In many instances local officials simply do not know what records they have in their possession. As of this writing, no municipal body on the Island has passed any specific legislation regarding planned record retention.

One of the fundamental objectives of the V.I.P., therefore, is the creation of a new awareness, on the part of both government officials and the general public, of the value of orderly and systematic organization and preservation of local records. Such an objective is more easily stated than accomplished. Simple surveys of deplorable conditions have not proven to be effective catalysts to action in the past. The Vancouver Island Project’s “survey,” however, is of a significantly different sort than those which have preceded it. It is less a critique of an existing situation and more an assertive attempt to work with and within local realities. It assumes that before municipal record holders will exercise any remedial action, a systematic and analytic listing of local holdings must be made available. Only when municipalities become aware of the nature of their archival holdings — and the majority of the municipalities surveyed by the V.I.P. have no idea as to the extent of their records — can they be persuaded to upgrade record care and to integrate record management into their general managerial concerns. As one step toward this end, the Project intends to donate the final draft of each repository’s holdings to the respective municipality or society surveyed.

The Project also intends to provide general guidance and assistance to local officials in the care and management of their records and to encourage them to adopt generally recognized records retention schedules and methods. We can report that our first effort in this direction — in the Municipal Corporation of the District of Saanich — has met with success. The Mayor has requested assistance in drawing up a record retention by-law which will be introduced in Saanich Council in 1983.

In taking these initiatives, it is our intention to “sell” archival conservation and preservation on two levels. Culturally, archival records must be seen as the gift of one generation to another. Without them, research on and understanding of a region’s institutions, architectural heritage, and culture is impossible. The extent of care given to archival records is, then, a good measure of the concern a region has for its heritage. In addition to these cultural arguments there are strong financial and policy benefits to be reaped from an upgrading of local archives. An integral part of such a program is a detailed archival survey and records management plan, a strategy that can — among other things — reduce employee time in filing and retrieval; improve file equipment; and make the best use of vault and storage area. And at a more general level, archival development can be expected to play an important role in the continuing growth of this region’s most important industry — tourism.

It is important to emphasize that the Project does not simply make available an inventory of resources at individual repositories. Here, too, it differs from many of its predecessors. A system of subject access links hitherto unconnected and often unknown local holdings into a consolidated whole. It facilitates immediate access to data of use to a wide range of disciplines and professions. The completion of a comprehensive, centralized machine readable inventory of local records can, in fact, be viewed as the first step in the creation of a regional municipal archival network.

Most existing networks operate within a context of already existing archival units and are, to a greater or lesser degree, supervised by the larger of these units. This model is not relevant to the situation of local government records. Operating within what might be termed a “pre-network environment” dictates a different strategy. In the first place, there is no central repository on the Island with the staff, space or finances to organize a network of local government repositories. Secondly, and by now obviously, there are few organized local government repositories in operation. The creation of a centralized resource tool provides access to decentralized materials and, in the process, both stimulates an upgrading of local holdings and, via a system of floating archival consultants (to be financed by local municipalities), contributes toward the ultimate existence of an archival network overseen by professionals who are faithful to and reflective of diverse local requirements.

In this context of relatively unknown and unorganized local records, the nature of the survey attains added importance. In the construction of the survey form, the V.I.P. has combined a rigorous adherence to the central archival principles of provenance and original order with up to date adaptations of the M.A.R.C. format for archival usage. The systematic and “archivally-based” nature of the form will, therefore, facilitate proper classification and organization practice at a decentralized local level while at the same time permit systematic and integrated searching to occur at a centralized level. Nor is there anything “ephemeral” about this particular endeavour. The technology allows continuous up-dating and the system itself invites replication.

The selection of an appropriate soft-ware system to accomplish the ambitions of this Project, has occupied a major part of the V.I.P’s on-going activities. Initially we planned to use the G. I. System available on the University of British Columbia’s main frame. Since that time, however, the new I.B.M. Data Base Management System has become available on the University of Victoria’s main frame com-
computer. After continued consultation with various computer-information specialists and after close examination of all practical alternatives, we came to the conclusion that the I.B.M. system represents the frontier of current soft-ware engineering.48 Thus far, it has not disappointed us.

Our view is that the people of Vancouver Island will support this approach to an integrated archival program if it is presented to them in a well organized and knowledgeable fashion. The increasing interest in heritage is apparent in the support received by local heritage and history societies, by museums, by growing enrolments in local and regional history courses, by the Greater Victoria Civic Archives Society, and by many other indicators. In addition, recent changes to British Columbia's public school curriculum favours greater emphasis on regional studies. This belief is underlined by the fact that only 1% of the local institutions canvassed to date have proved at all reluctant to allow their holdings to be surveyed. The general response has been one of interest and enthusiasm.

We intend to develop, as part of our on-going reporting system and as a separate, final report, detailed proposals and recommendations for action at several levels of government—municipal, regional, and provincial. In a general sense, municipalities will be encouraged to establish archival and records management programs; regional governments will be encouraged to co-ordinate and support these actions and to establish programs to collect and preserve the papers of private individuals and organizations; and the provincial government will be encouraged to support all these activities by the passage of appropriate legislation.

The V.I.P. can thus be seen as a critical step in the evolution of the heritage and conservation movement. The Project has been undertaken in the firm belief that accurate data on the extent, quality and condition of local government records in the region is a prerequisite to concrete action being taken by area governments. Without similar initiatives, the crisis in the care and preservation of local government records will resolve itself given the current trend to destruction, by the twenty-first century such records will be virtually nonexistent. From this perspective the question becomes not simply "Whither municipal government?" but rather "Whither the sources for the study of municipal government?"

NOTES

1. Excluding school and hospital districts, the number of Canadian local government bodies currently active exceeds 5000. See The 1982 Corpus Almanac of Canada, 2 (Toronto: 1982), sections 17-1 through 17-62.
3. The Record Management Quarterly and the American City and Country, journals concerned with the management of public records, contain very few articles which relate to the long term preservation of these documents.
4. A notable exception to this general trend can be found in a special issue on "Urban Heritage," in Urban History Review IX (October 1980).
14. This was an interdisciplinary attempt headed by Dick Alcorn to write a total history of a fourteen county area in Southwestern Ontario. See the following reports: The Landon Series: Documentary Studies on the Historical Evolution of Southwestern Ontario, University of Western Ontario, September, 1975; and the Landon Project: Interdisciplinary Studies on the Historical Evolution of Southwestern Ontario, University of Western Ontario, July, 1977. Both these are detailed submissions to the Canada Council.
15. The Landon Series, 5.
20. Budget statistics are compiled from information in ibid., 38-43.
21. Ibid., 40.
22. Ibid., 64.

28. Wilson Report, Table 10, 42.


30. James, “Administration of Municipal Records.” According to an anonymous reviewer of this article, the City of Ottawa Archives also takes an active role in record management.


33. Terry Cook, “From the Editor: Dead or Alive?,” Archivaria 16 (1983): 3. The quote is from Cook, not Bolotenko.

34. James, “Administration of Municipal Records,” 334.


37. Ginette Nô’el, “L’archivistique et la gestion des documents dans les municipalités du Québec,” Urban History Review XI (February 1983): 15-24. As one anonymous reviewer of this article wrote: “What V.I.P. is doing should be an essential function and operation of each provincial archival/records management authority. Certainly New Brunswick, Quebec, Manitoba and to some extent Ontario can point to fruitful development in this quarter.”

38. The activities of the Heritage Canada Foundation during the past 10 years are summarized in Canadian Heritage Magazine (December 1982). It is true that within the last year money has become tighter in this area also.

39. See the summary of this report from an archival perspective in Archivaria 16 (1983): 95-133.

40. See S.S.H.R.C., “Instructions to Applicants.”

41. The Vancouver Island Project received preliminary funding from the President of the University of Victoria and from B.C. Heritage Trust. Principal funding has been provided by the Strategic Grants Program, “Research Tools-Canadian Studies,” of the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (S.S.H.R.C.). The authors are the Project’s co-principal investigators. For the first year of the Project’s existence Dr. Alan Artibise of the University of Winnipeg was also a co-principal investigator.

42. At the end of the first year’s operation, V.I.P. has surveyed 28 repositories. They are a cross-section of the types listed above.


44. For an elaboration on this see Baskerville and Gaffield, “The Vancouver Island Project: Historical Research and Archival Practice,” Archivaria 17 (1984).

45. H. G. Jones, Local Government Records: An Introduction to their Management, Preservation and Use, American Association for State and Local History, Nashville, 1980, is a good introduction to the complexity of the issues involved. See also R. Scott James, “Administration of Municipal Records,” 321-334.

46. Mel Couvelier, Mayor, District of Saanich to the V.I.P., February 15, 1983, V.I.P., Correspondence: Municipalities.

47. In the sense in which Jones uses the term in “The Pink Elephant,” 478.


49. This included examination of such general purpose systems as SPIRES and ORACLE and special purpose systems such as SPINDEX and ARCHON. We paid special attention to an ambitious project in Quebec where the archives nationales have constructed a system named SAPHIR. For a more extended commentary on this and several of the other systems see Baskerville and Gaffield, “The Vancouver Island Project: Historical Research and Archival Practice,” Archivaria 17 (1984).