The National Archives: America's Ministry of Documents, 1934-1968

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Book Reviews

(p. 177). As he himself notes, the latter two points, especially the effectiveness of the New Deal, have already been challenged.

The author has some interesting things to say, especially about the Progressive Era, and says them well, but the title is inaccurate and the work should either be shortened and used as an essay or article in a professional journal or extended with more evidence and a more thorough, fuller analysis while still concentrating on the early twentieth century. Works such as H. D. Graham and T. R. Gurr (eds.) The History of Violence in America (N.Y. 1969) and R. M. Brown's Strain of Violence: Historical Studies of American Violence and Vigilantism (N.Y.: 1975), cited in the guide to additional reading, are useful for the broader perspective though Jeffreys-Jones does seek to connect violence and reform as these works do not, and he concentrates on the Progressive movement while the broader works skim or ignore it.

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Anyone who has experienced the rewards and frustrations of research in federal documents should appreciate this first comprehensive account of the National Archives from its establishment in 1934 through 1968. Historian Donald R. McCoy, University of Kansas, has produced a model administrative study of an important national agency. He balanced the important factors of chronology and topics, personnel and operations, and the rivalry-politics from within the bureaucracy.

McCoy delved cogently but selectively into the establishment of the Archives and the important precedent set by President Franklin D.
Roosevelt to avoid politics in appointing the archivist. Indeed, the scholarly community of historians and archivists supported the selection of the five archivists since 1934: Robert D. W. Connor, Solon Buck, Wayne Grover, Robert Bahmer, and James B. Rhoads.

Archivist Connor of North Carolina immediately set the professional tone of the Archives throughout its early battles which included convincing the spectrum of federal agencies (both civilian and military) to surrender their older documents to the care and supervision of the NA, persuading Congress and the Library of Congress that the Archives in no way replaced the latter agency, and servicing the academic and public constituents who utilized the collections of letters, photographs, and films. The National Archives led the way in development of the profession in this country and overseas.

The National Archives failed to escape the intrigue and tug-of-war resulting in periodical administrative reorganizations, prying and meddling of the nation's politicians, and the internal strife and bickering both within the NA and the other executive bureaus and agencies which struggled too for a slice of the national budget. At first, the Archives appeared to evade the unsavory rivalries; James Farley did not bother it about patronage, in fact, many positions got under the umbrella of the Civil Service Commission by 1938. Moreover, the NA fought long and hard in eventually preventing the creation of a hall of records controlled by the other agencies. It convinced the Department of State to surrender its State Territorial Papers, the Library of Congress to turn over the Declaration of Independence and Constitution for public NA display, and the War Department to relinquish its Civil War Records.

During World War II, the NA suffered horrible political abuse from the influential Senator Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee, who trumped up charges of Nazi sympathy against Ernst M. Posner, the noted scholar and NA consultant. Appropriations suffered. The NA lost its independence in the late forties as Congress adopted the Hoover Commission's suggestion of creating the General Services Administration and placed the renamed National Archives Records Service under it.

Chafing for years over the move to GSA, especially during the Kennedy-Johnson years, the NARS mounted a drive in 1965 to regain its independence against "the concept that GSA should become the guardian of history as well as the custodian of wash-rooms, store-rooms, and work-rooms" (p. 342). There ensued a variety of tactics and plans of reorganization with the result that NARS remained under GSA but with the promise from both the Budget Bureau and GSA that it would now fare better financially.
Other post-World War II developments included the revival, in 1950, of the National Historical Publications Commission with several guides and other valuable writings. Furthermore, the Federal Register, added in 1935, undertook the important duty of periodically revising the *Code of Federal Regulations*. The archivists further stimulated their professional ties with U.S. historical associations and academia, and launched records management training programs for public and private organizations and industry. The first of a continuing series of important national history conferences at NA was held in 1967.

The author, in reality, traced this history beyond 1968 with many useful observations on the 1968-1977 era in the final chapter and elsewhere, e.g., pp. 304-308. Problems encountered by the Archives persist today, two major ones consisting of space limitations and the question of security, which restricts the use of documents. McCoy related expertly the various measures to counter the space limitations: establishment of the various federal records centers throughout the country and the overflow of records housed at Suitland, Maryland (1967). Moreover, the growing system of presidential libraries, started by FDR, has been administered by the NA. Nevertheless, records continued to accrue faster than the fruits of disposal schedules, and attempts failed to obtain a second major building to augment the original NA home.

Over classification of documents originated during World War II and was not adequately resisted by NA leadership or academics (p. 134). High officials removed the retained records, while agencies persuaded NA to place unrealistic restrictions on documents already turned over to the Archives. Monumental efforts to ameliorate the situation have but scratched the surface.

The McCoy contribution is solid, well written and organized, with only minor flaws. For example, there is repeated use of first names, and he sometimes fails to identify the NA personnel conniving to undermine the archivists (pp. 153, 209, 326-327). Scholars and anyone interested in government will enjoy this excellent book. McCoy portrays the entire NA story, a welcome sequel to H. G. Jones' *The Records of A Nation* (1969), which was written to reflect the results of a study committee looking into the question of NARS independence from the GSA.

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