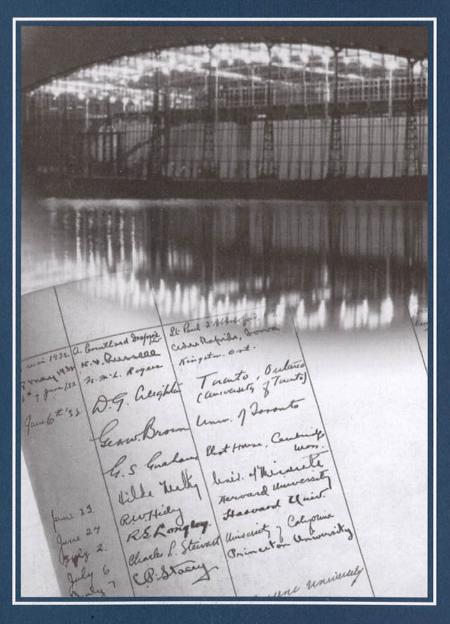
The National Archives of Canada 1872 - 1997

Danielle Lacasse and Antonio Lechasseur



The Canadian Historical Association Historical Booklet No. 58

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Cover Illustrations:

Front Cover: Photograph showing an extract of a register signed by students seeking access to the holdings of the Public Archives of Canada in 1932. Some of these individuals would make a significant contribution to the development of Canadian historiography in the decades following. Source: Register of Students, 1932, (RG 37, The Public Archives of Canada Fonds, accession 1991-92/202), reproduced from Treasures of the National Archives of Canada, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1992, p. 167. Photograph showing the Gatineau Preservation Centre officially opened in June of 1997. These photographs are reproduced with the permission of the National Archives of Canada.

Back Cover: Drawing of the West Veterans Memorial Building in Ottawa (West Elevation), proposed headquarters building for the National Archives of Canada.

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FOREWORD

From its inception in 1922, the Canadian Historical Association has enjoyed a close relationship with the National Archives. Sir Arthur Doughty, Dominion Archivist when the CHA was formed, actively encouraged research in archival collections by university historians and their students. Doughty believed, too, that the establishment of scholarly societies would help Canadians to appreciate their history. For their part, CHA members not only studied archival documents to support their scholarship. Historians also took an active interest in the development of archival collections. Indeed, one of the objectives of the CHA continues to emphasize the preservation of historical documents.

The programs of the National Archives—and the historical profession—have evolved over the past 75 years. Nonetheless, the relationship between the National Archives and the CHA remains strong. The CHA is pleased, on the occasion of the institution's 125th anniversary, to publish this brief history of the National Archives. We commend the Archives' profound contribution to the understanding of Canada's past.

Judith Fingard, President The Canadian Historical Association

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA 1872-1997

INTRODUCTION

Owing to the scarcity of research and publications on the subject, the history of archives and the evolution of archival science in Canada are not well known to the general public and, to some extent, to the profession itself. However, Canadians of all ages are today making increasing use of archival records for private pursuits, cultural endeavours or simply administrative purposes. The public's growing interest in archives, and in increasing their knowledge of the past are the result of the work done for nearly a century and a half by archivists within a network of institutions which today extends from one end of Canada to the other. Even though the role of archives in building a Canadian culture and identity does not yet enjoy the level of recognition desired by archivists, and although certain Canadian repositories are threatened with closure or have actually been shut down in recent years, it must be acknowledged that never in the country's history have so many resources been available for development and protection of the archival heritage. There are now hundreds of private and public repositories at the local, regional, provincial and national levels. Contemporary society, all social groups included, is increasingly concerned with understanding its origins and employing that understanding in developing the image of itself that it wishes to leave to future generations. Our desire to know our past represents a definite shift in mentality: the purpose of archives and the many uses being made of them are now associated with a modern vision, one that some would call post-modern, of the understanding of human experience in society.

The National Archives of Canada has played a leading role in the development of Canadian archival science, even though the discipline has not enjoyed steady and straight-forward growth. This booklet is intended as an initial synthesis of the history of this institution, which stands as one of the oldest public archival repositories in Canada. The objective is to illustrate how its mission, at first strictly cultural and devoted to the promotion of history, has evolved to encompass also the delivery of support services for the operations of the federal government, the source of its funding. The National Archives of Canada presents a specific case of an institution which has sought throughout its history to balance immediate concerns (contemporary needs of clients, management of the mass of government information, introduction of new technologies, etc.) with long-term vision (acquisition strategies, methods of records appraisal, durability of media, etc.). This process has generated reflection and discussion which have contributed to the blossoming of an archival science that is resolutely Canadian.

ARCHIVES AT THE SERVICE OF SCHOLARSHIP

From the time that Gilles Hocquart, Intendant of New France, called for a fireproof building to house the archives of the colony in 1731 until the Conquest of 1760, little was done to ensure sound management of old and current records. The first intervention by the British administration that is worthy of mention occurred in 1789 when Lord Dorchester set up a commission to examine the situation of the French archives in Québec City. An inventory was published in 1791. Certain measures were taken at that time to protect the archives of the French regime and to apportion them between Upper and Lower Canada. But it was not until the 19th century that the Francophone and Anglophone elites, chiefly in Lower Canada, began to take an interest in archives for their historical value. This interest grew through the decades following the Act of Union in 1840. In 1857, Nova Scotia became the first British colony in North America to take concrete action to preserve its archives by appointing a commissioner of public records. With Confederation in 1867, archives were an immediate administrative concern, since records had to be divided among the federal government and the new provincial governments.

Fifty years of preparation

The story of the National Archives of Canada, founded officially in 1872, is the result of an appreciation of archives that slowly developed with Canadian elites over the preceding 50 years. Without question, the trigger was the creation in 1824 of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society (QLHS) by certain clerical, military and political groups under the patronage of Lord Dalhousie, Governorin-Chief of British North America. Its initial objectives were to encourage reading and the flow of new ideas and to contribute to harmony in private life. To these ends, the Society focussed on developing the arts and a feeling of patriotism, which was immediately associated with a necessary knowledge of history. The Society acted quickly to promote historical research and the recovery and distribution of records pertaining to Canada. Thanks to financial support from the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada and then the Province of Canada, the QLHS launched a program to locate, inventory and copy Canadian archives abroad. Members of the QLHS visited London, Paris and New York in 1832 to find and transcribe documents relating to Canada. In 1835, the Society profited from the voyage to France of Father John Holmes, a professor at the seminary of Québec, to carry out initial research in the archives of Paris. Before leaving Europe for Canada in 1838, Lord Durham obtained transcriptions of documents from the ministère de la Marine which were considered relevant to his posting. In the mid-1840s, Louis-Joseph Papineau himself contributed to this quest for archives during his forced stay in France after the Rebellions of 1837-1838.

The major loss of documents in the fire that destroyed the Montréal Parliament Building in 1849 also contributed to the elite's awareness of the archives located in the country and abroad. After reconstruction in 1851, the Library of the House of Assembly entered into association with the Quebec Literary and Historical Society to obtain more copies of records in Europe. Georges-Barthélemi Faribault, the first Canadian bibliographer, who was then Assistant Clerk of the Assembly, was dispatched to France in 1851 to pursue this mission. The documents he identified would be copied in the years to follow. Unfortunately, the Library of the House of Assembly was once again destroyed when fire ravaged the Québec Parliament Building in 1851. To rebuild its manuscript collections, the Union government subsidized further research voyages to France and supported the acquisition and transcription of documents related to the history of Upper Canada. The Library of Parliament was relocated to Ottawa in 1865. The advent of Confederation would contribute to the flowering of a new nationalism and kindle renewed interest in the colonial history of the new Dominion.

In 1870, Henry H. Miles, a scholarly member of the QLHS, submitted to his colleagues a report recommending the creation of a public archival repository. He pointed out that documents relating to the history of Canada could not be consulted by historians because they were scattered throughout the country and abroad, not inventoried, and stored in the worst possible conditions. So that he might be heard, Miles drafted a petition which he had signed by 57 Anglophone and Francophone members of the elite of Québec City, Montréal and Ottawa. He forwarded it to the Governor General and the House of Commons, where it was tabled on March 24, 1871. The members of the Joint Committee (of the Senate and Commons) on the Library of Parliament, to whom the petition was referred, and some of whom had even signed it, considered that it was the responsibility of the Minister of Agriculture, Christopher Dunkin, to implement its recommendations, since his department was in charge of the still embryonic field of the arts. Dunkin recommended to Cabinet that funds be voted at the next session and that a survey be done on the work to be carried out. During the next session of Parliament, John H. Pope, Dunkin's successor at Agriculture, had appropriations of approximately \$4,000 approved for the Archives Branch. On June 20, 1872, an Order in Council confirmed the engagement of a public servant, journalist Douglas Brymner, as "Senior Second Class Clerk."

The colonial past of the new Dominion

While he had no direct experience in archives, Douglas Brymner was interested in the history of Canada, could express himself well in writing, and already had a good network of contacts in various of the capital's political and social circles. He was given a mandate to commence the proposed survey

recommended by the Minister of Agriculture, on a basis which one imagines was still provisional. For this purpose the government offered him three empty rooms and very vague instructions, as he himself was to subsequently report.

In the months that followed his appointment, Brymner visited a number of major Canadian cities. He was struck by the dispersal of records from the period prior to Confederation, when it was difficult to distinguish provincial documents from those under federal jurisdiction. He found that many archives of importance to Canada were in the hands of individuals or families. His first initiative was to support the efforts of Thomas Beamish Akins, the Nova Scotia Records Commissioner, to prevent the repatriation of British military records about to leave the port of Halifax for England. These documents comprised the first major archival acquisition once Brymner had personally negotiated their transfer the following year.

Like other men of letters of his time, Brymner could not complete his survey without examining the overseas holdings relating to Canada. He therefore went to England in 1873, where he spent several months visiting the War Office, the Public Record Office, the Tower of London, the British Museum and the Hudson's Bay Company. In his absence, the Joint Committee on the Library of Parliament continued to investigate the archives issue in Ottawa. On its recommendation, the Minister of Agriculture, Joseph H. Pope, took steps to secure the services of Jesse Beaufort Hurlburt and Abbé Hospice-Anthelme Verreau, president of the Société historique de Montréal. The former examined the British military records in Halifax in the summer of 1873 before inquiring into the archival situation in Ontario and Detroit. The latter, who had had some archival experience, notably with the QLHS, visited France in the fall to inventory the documents of the French regime. The reports of these two men were appended to Brymner's own to his minister the following year. However, the economic crisis of the 1870s prevented the government from immediately commencing the ambitious records transcription program which was proposed. Awaiting more favourable conditions, Brymner withdrew for a few years to his offices in the basement of the West Block of Parliament to arrange the British War Office records which had been deposited there.

Despite the creation of an Archives Branch at the Department of Agriculture, the federal government did not provide itself with the tools whereby it might comply with the spirit of the program outlined in the petition of 1872. The new archivist was to have no jurisdiction over federal records, since by tradition that function fell to the Department of the Secretary of State. Determined not to surrender that responsibility, the Secretary of State appointed Henry J. Morgan to the position of "Keeper of the Records" in October 1873. Thus began a period in which rivalry prevailed between the two federal officials in charge of archives.

In the late 1870s, Brymner was able to catch up on lost time. Although hardly staggering, his budget allowed him to hire staff and assistants to begin the transcription program developed in 1873. From quite modest beginnings, the copying of archival records concerning Canada, in the provinces and abroad, was to grow gradually to become one of the main building blocks of Canadian archives for nearly a century. In 1882, Douglas Brymner had to counter an attack from the Library of Parliament, which wanted to appropriate the copies of records made by the Archives Branch. This episode allowed Brymner to clarify the distinction between the professions of archivist and librarian. This was probably the first time that an attempt was made in Canada to define the foundations of the discipline of archival science by differentiating it from another profession.

In the end, the "noble dream" to which Douglas Brymner aspired was a very simple one. For him, the two great events of the colonial history of Canada were the Conquest, which sealed the fate of the French and British colonies of North America, and the American Revolution, which marked the beginning of the settlement of Upper Canada. His understanding of Canadian history explains the logic behind the choices he made in acquiring copies of archival records. He visited England again in 1883, where he initiated the copying of the papers of Governor Haldimand and Colonel Henry Bouquet at the British Museum. Joseph Marmette, who became his assistant the same year, spent five years in France exploring and transcribing documents related to Canada. Brymner extended the program to the archives of Quebec, the Maritime provinces and Ontario. He used the Reports of the Canadian Archives, which commenced annual publication in 1881, to disseminate his accessions in the form of calendars intended for historians, who increasingly would use this source.

Albeit still modest, the work of the Archives Branch surpassed what was being done elsewhere in Canada in the closing decades of the 19th century. Most of the provincial archival services would not be created until the next century, mainly after 1920. Although Brymner had to put constant pressure on the Minister of Agriculture for financial support, he succeeded in consolidating the new institution and attracting the attention and support of the communities interested in Canadian history. In 1888, the American Historical Association, during a campaign in support of the creation of a national archives in the United States, praised the work done by Brymner and his assistants. In the 1890s, historians made increasing use of the thousands of volumes of archives (original documents or bound copies) then in the collection of the Archives Branch to prepare Canadian history texts. Public interest was also aroused with the first appearance in the country of the Bulletin des recherches historiques (1895) and the Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada (1896).

Upon Brymner's death in 1902, the Archives held over 3,000 volumes, at least two thirds of which consisted of transcriptions done in Great Britain along with original British War Office records left in Canada; the other third was composed of records copied in France or Canada and some original documents deposited by the Department of the Secretary of State. Hence, the great majority of these documents had been created by the French and British colonial administrations prior to Confederation. Federal government records were conspicuous by their absence.

At the turn of the century, the Archives Branch, which would continue for many years under the aegis of the Department of Agriculture, had an annual budget of over \$10,000 and four employees. Douglas Brymner, hired as a clerk in 1872, ended his career with the title (still unofficial) of Dominion Archivist.

Promoting a Canadian bistoriography

In several respects, the 20th century ushered in a revival for the Canadian Archives. There were two reasons for this: first, in 1903, thanks to the actions of Joseph Pope, the Undersecretary of State, and the intervention of the Governor General, Lord Minto, the government implemented one of the recommendations of the Departmental Commission of 1897 (which is described later) by combining the functions of Keeper of the Records and Dominion Archivist, to the benefit of the latter; the second important factor was the appointment the following year of an exceptional man to that office.

Arthur G. Doughty, then a librarian at the Legislative Assembly of the province of Quebec, was assigned responsibility for continuing the work started by Douglas Brymner. Like his predecessor, he was a pure product of the Anglophone intellectual circles of Quebec, who were concerned by the divergent interpretations of Canadian history then current. It was believed at the time that the situation could be corrected by improved knowledge of the facts, which was possible only through the use of archives.

Upon assuming office, Arthur Doughty made himself the champion of the renewal of Canadian history through archives. Observing the historical methodology prevalent in Europe and the United States, he was quick to adopt the principles of positivism. Inspired by scientific rigour and methods, in addition to promoting the intensive use of archival sources, Doughty believed that the writing of specialized monographs necessarily led to an objective and definitive knowledge of history. He was to make the creation of a national Canadian historiography the very cornerstone of his career as Dominion Archivist. In his view, the development of research could not be left to individuals alone: the government had to lend a helping hand.

In a few years, the Canadian Archives underwent radical changes thanks to the initiatives of Arthur Doughty. His archival program was very ambitious. First of all, he broke off the practice of systematic publication of calendars in the annual reports. Anxious to provide historians with the information they needed, he now used the reports as distribution aids, by publishing archival records in them in extenso. But the primary element of his program was certainly the new impetus he gave to acquisitions through every means at his disposal; that is, the continuation and expansion of the transcription program at home and abroad, and the purchasing and donation of records. From this point on, accessions began entering the archives on a wide variety of media. Textual records, originals and copies, print material, photographs and maps, which had long been collected, were gradually joined by documentary art such as engravings, paintings, drawings, watercolours and topographical surveys. Although not defined until later, it was doubtless at this time that the concept of "total archives" began to take root.

It was in 1903 that the government planned and began construction of the first building for the Archives. Initially housed in the West Block of Parliament and then at the Department of Agriculture (Langevin Block) after 1897, the Archives moved to Sussex Drive in 1906. This was the government's first concrete response to space shortages, which became a chronic problem for the Archives during the 20th century. Employing veiled threats of resignation as well as his skill in winning the support of journalists and academics, Doughty secured the vote for more substantial appropriations. From about \$11,000 in 1903, the budget rose to more than \$50,000 in 1907. With more staff, a division of labour became necessary. Consequently, the first administrative organization took place in 1908 with the creation of the first three specialized divisions: the Manuscript Division, the Library and Map Division and the Print Division. Furthermore, the Archives could now rely on permanent teams in Europe. Starting in 1905, the transcription work in British and French archives took on unprecedented scope under the direction of Henry Percival Biggar, who was based in London. In Ottawa, the institution was experiencing growing popularity with a variety of clienteles. There were already 1,700 requests for information in 1908, and researchers studied 3,500 volumes of archival documents in 1910.

In 1912 the House of Commons passed the *Public Archives Act*, a first in the annals of Canadian archival history. In many respects, the *Act* stood as guarantor for a *fait accompli*. Now called the Public Archives of Canada, the institution was elevated to the status of department, and moved from the supervision of the Minister of Agriculture to that of the Prime Minister, briefly, and then to that of the Secretary of State. The Dominion Archivist was promoted to the rank of deputy minister. The *Act* of 1912 confirmed the role of the Archives in the field of government records, even though that role was to remain problematical for several decades. This legislative framework prevailed, with no major amendments, until 1987.

Under Arthur Doughty, the Archives became a cultural enterprise dedicated to the development of Canadian historiography. To this end, the Dominion Archivist maintained close relations with professional scholars and historians, universities, and provincial archives. This had enabled Doughty to bring about the creation in 1907 of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, whose role was to support the initiatives of the Dominion Archivist and to advise the Minister of Agriculture on archival matters. One of the members of this Commission, Adam Shortt, initially professor of history at Queen's University and then a senior public servant in Ottawa, was to become one of Doughty's closest associates. Together they launched a number of publication projects in the interest of developing a Canadian historiography. Through the 25 years of their association, these major projects included the great catalogues and guides to the holdings, published separately from the annual reports, and the work, Canada and Its Provinces, published in 23 volumes from 1914 to 1917. In its many editions, this publication was designed to promote Canadian nationalism through dissemination of a common history. Today it still stands as a fundamental work for understanding pre-1918 Canada.

The Historical Manuscripts Commission ceased operations in 1915 and was replaced by the Historical Documents Publication Board in 1917. According to Ian E. Wilson, a specialist in the history of the institution, Arthur Doughty, as head of the Canadian Archives, developed the cultural equivalent of the National Policy formulated by John A. Macdonald and continued by Wilfrid Laurier, the objective of which was to consolidate the Canadian Confederation. Over the years, the Archives was a presence not only in Europe but in most parts of the country. Offices were opened in many cities in Quebec and the Maritimes, while numerous agents worked for the institution in Ontario and the Prairies. Even with his success, however, the extensive acquisitions made by Doughty aroused some concern among those in the regions who feared that the bulk of Canada's archival heritage was becoming centralized in Ottawa.

The First World War had a profound impact on the evolution of the Archives. Nonetheless, various circumstances would permit Arthur Doughty to give free rein to his interests as a collector, even though the institution had to limit its activities, especially in Europe. For example, Doughty had a passion for trophies from the Great War, for which he had responsibilities as curator; he organized their exhibition in various parts of the country and even in the United States. The Archives on Sussex Drive slowly took on the air of a museum. Doughty was also concerned about the great quantities of records produced during the war. Unfortunately, for lack of storage space, and despite the addition of a wing to the building in 1926, it was not possible to accept the transfer of millions of records held by the Department of Militia and Defence.

The period of prosperity in the 1920s allowed the Archives to accelerate the copying of documents in British and French archives. Doughty pursued his objective of promoting the institution to historians, still regarding himself as one of their major servants, as well as to potential donors. He was everywhere, even in Europe, where he contributed to the creation of Canadian historical societies. These fashionable yet ephemeral societies brought together the great names of British and French aristocracy who had ties with Canada. Doughty convinced many of them to hand over their family papers to him, or failing that, to allow these to be transcribed by his staff on site. In Canada, Doughty maintained a close association with university historians. It is said that during the summers, the Archives building became a veritable extension of the Canadian universities, as it filled with researchers from across the country, all busily consulting the records accumulated since 1872. The Canadian Historical Association joined forces with the Archives upon its creation in 1922. For a time, Doughty managed to organize internships for university students interested in Canadian history, and even to set up a bursary program for them. To make students aware of the value of archives, the first educational kits for schools were created at this time. Through acquisitions and training initiatives, the Archives promoted a national historiography and the professionalization of the occupation of historian in the country.

The Depression of the 1930s hit the Archives hard. The foreign copying program had to be substantially reduced in scope. With the financial situation becoming critical, the institution was forced to close its regional offices one after another, and staff members who died could not be replaced. The death of Adam Shortt in 1931 put an end to the major publication projects of the 1920s. In the end, Arthur Doughty accepted partial retirement after being named Dominion Archivist Emeritus. After 30 years in the federal public service, he retired in 1935. He was made a knight of the Order of the British Empire and died in 1936. To honour the outstanding contribution of Arthur Doughty, the government of William Lyon Mackenzie King erected a statue to his memory: he is the only federal public servant to have merited such recognition.

From 1935 to 1937, James F. Kenney, director of the Historical Research and Publicity Division, held the position of Acting Dominion Archivist. The difficult conditions created by the Depression contributed to the reduction of staff and limited the arrangement and description of accessions. Space problems became increasingly acute.

In 1937, Gustave Lanctôt was officially appointed the third Dominion Archivist of Canada, the first incumbent from within the ranks of the institution itself. He had joined the Archives in 1912, and for a time held the position of Chief French Archivist. A renowned archivist and historian, he was considered one of the great specialists in the French regime in Canada. The ten years he

spent at the head of the Archives were among the most difficult in the institution's history: two years of economic depression, five years of war, and three years of readjustment. The Second World War forced the government to dispose of a great many war trophies acquired by Doughty. The Canadian War Museum became a separate institution in 1942; at the same time, part of the art collection was transferred to the new National Gallery of Canada. The Paris Office also had to be closed; its records left in the care first of the embassy of the United States, then that of Switzerland. In Ottawa, preparations were made for every eventuality, including plans for protecting the archives in the event of air raids. The institution's budget for 1944-1945 was nearly 25 per cent lower than that for 1936-1937. Yet all of this did not prevent Lanctôt and his staff from continuing the work begun by preceding generations. He manifested the same inclinations as Doughty as a collector of archival records. Little by little, the institution accentuated the acquisition of post-Confederation documents. In the late 1930s, the Archives began to acquire records on new media, such as films and sound recordings. Gustave Lanctôt retired in 1948, after a career which had been as long as those of his two predecessors. The final years of his mandate brought a change in direction: no longer could the Archives shrink from its responsibilities for government records which had been neglected for too long.

The uncertain fate of government records

It would be many decades before the acquisition and orderly administration of federal government records became one of the primary responsibilities of the Archives. The care of government records concerned the signatories of the petition submitted to the authorities in 1870. The first three Dominion Archivists were to give their attention to the state of government archives as historians applied pressure to develop a true public record office modelled on the one in Great Britain. When, in 1872, the government decided to support the development of the archives, the federal government had but a limited number of departments, employing 300 public servants in all. Yet even then, records which had become of no use for current operations of the various services began to accumulate and to be relegated to basements or attics. For some 30 years (1872-1903) the government divided the responsibility for records between a public servant reporting to the Minister of Agriculture and a Keeper of the Records reporting to the Secretary of State. No one saw the urgency of taking action: the first two officials, Douglas Brymner and Henry J. Morgan, were more concerned about old documents than current records, and it would be some time before the departments ceased to jealously guard their files. In 1877, the Quebec Literary and Historical Society again took the offensive, by means of a petition demanding the development of a government archives program. A few years later,

in 1882, the Society found that the federal government was scarcely any further ahead in this regard than in 1870.

In 1889, the Post Office Department was the first to ask Cabinet for authorization to destroy a series of records no longer of use for day to day business. At that time, the Department of Finance was given the mandate to request information from the British authorities concerning records management practices. Based on the information obtained, Cabinet recommended that federal government departments, including the Post Office, introduce tools for the preservation of records of great value and the identification of those that could be destroyed when no longer needed. Certain departments indicated an interest, but there was no follow-up by Cabinet or Treasury Board. In 1895, Brymner recommended that a building be constructed to accommodate records created subsequent to 1867 held by the various departments, so as to avoid irreparable losses. The following year, Undersecretary of State Joseph Pope brought to his minister's attention the hazardous storage conditions of important Crown documents. Disaster was not long in coming, for fire broke out in the West Block of the Parliament Buildings on February 11, 1897. The dormant records of Departments of Marine and Fisheries, Public Works, and the North-West Mounted Police were wiped out. Housed in the basement of the same building, the Archives Branch escaped with minor water damage.

The reaction by the Treasury Board was immediate: it recommended that Cabinet set up a Departmental Commission to investigate the state of federal archives and to propose remedial measures. The Commission was composed of three members: the Minister of Finance, the Auditor General and the Undersecretary of State. Neither the Dominion Archivist nor the Keeper of the Public Records was invited to sit on the Departmental Commission. The Commissioners painted a grim picture of the state of the federal government's records, and issued recommendations that would take years to implement: the creation of a committee responsible for recommending to Cabinet the destruction of records of no value; establishment of a general retention period of 10 years for routine financial records; examination of records classification systems by the departments to avoid the accessioning of unnecessary information; amalgamation of the functions of Dominion Archivist and Keeper of the Public Records; construction of a fire-proof building to serve as a federal records centre; and finally, use of this building by the departments for depositing their documents. In the short term, only the recommendations on the construction of a building, even though it was not to be used for the proposed purposes, and the appointment of a single head of government archives would be implemented.

With Arthur Doughty at the helm of the Canadian Archives starting in 1904, the cultural mission generally prevailed, since his room to manoeuvre with respect to government archives remained very limited; for example, there was as yet no practical recognition of the importance of archives in conducting the actual business of government, or in protecting public and private rights. All the same, the first significant transfers of federal records were made as a result of the decisions of 1903, on the strength of the recommendations formulated by the Commission of 1897. The following year, the Department of the Secretary of State transferred over a million records to the Canadian Archives, and the Department of Militia and Defence handed over certain documents relating to the War of 1812. The Department of the Interior wanted to do likewise, but was prevented from turning over records by the scarcity of available space.

The Public Archives Act of 1912 bolstered the institution's profile within the federal structure, and confirmed the responsibility of the Dominion Archivist for government records. However, this change was largely theoretical, for in reality the Act imposed no records management practices on the departments, and neither did it define the role of the Archives with regard to the disposition of federal records. The fact that the institution henceforth reported to the Secretary of State, who had been responsible for federal archives since 1868, had a positive impact in the short term. The Historical Manuscripts Commission, now chaired by the Secretary of State, recommended to Cabinet in October 1912 that a royal commission be created to inquire into the state of public records. After one year of deliberations, this Commission recommended a range of measures similar to those proposed earlier by the Departmental Commission of 1897. It further recommended that an independent body be charged with the identification of records of archival value, with a view to their transfer to the Archives, and that Treasury Board authorization be required for the disposal of all records deemed unnecessary. Doughty made substantial efforts to obtain the space needed for the management of government archives. In late July 1914, he obtained the necessary approval to build a federal records centre. However, the onset of the war immediately put an end to this project. In 1926, the space obtained through the expansion of the Archives building was used for everything apart from the storage of public records. On the recommendation of Arthur Doughty, the government established a Public Records Commission in the same year. But the Commission was stillborn, and served mainly as a pretext for raising the salary of the Dominion Archivist. In the late 1920s and through the following decade, young historians and the Canadian Historical Association regularly lobbied the government for the establishment of a public records program that would provide access to post-Confederation documents.

In 1927 and again in 1936, government authorities worked on the drafting of bills designed to legitimize the role of the Archives and to create a public records program. However, these bills died before being tabled for first reading in the House of Commons. With no real planning, the government tried to resolve the immediate problems of records storage and management caused chiefly by the sustained growth of the public service since the mid-thirties and during the Second World War. For

example, without the involvement of the Archives, the Department of Public Works had a building erected on the Experimental Farm in Ottawa to be used as an intermediate storage centre for federal records. Opened in 1936, the building did not meet expectations, since departments and agencies did not apply records management principles to any useful extent. The building was requisitioned for other purposes upon the outbreak of war in 1939.

After 1936, and increasingly so after the Second World War, Treasury Board emerged as the key player for federal organizations with regard to the management and disposition of records. It was also during this period that Gustave Lanctôt, as Dominion Archivist, began to play a more direct role in the process of selecting records of historical or archival value before any disposal was authorized. Gradually, departments would introduce records scheduling and disposal. The Second World War stimulated the growth of records produced by the federal government's support of the war effort and the management of emerging social programs. Hence it was no longer possible to remain indifferent in the face of this swelling mass of documentation. W. E. D. Halliday, then a senior public servant at the Privy Council Office, took an active part in the events that culminated in the creation in 1945 of the Public Records Committee. This new body, chaired by the Secretary of State, was composed of the Dominion Archivist, departmental representatives, and historians delegated by National Defence and the Canadian Historical Association (CHA). George W. Brown, President of the CHA, believed that a public records policy ought to be primarily based on service to the government itself, and be supported by all departments. The wideranging recommendations made decades earlier by the Royal Commision were finally being addressed. The establishment of the Public Records Committee marked the beginning of a totally new records management regime by making government institutions increasingly accountable in this area.

As soon as it commenced work, the Committee sought to strengthen the mandate of the Dominion Archivist and to support the creation of a national archives modelled on that established in 1934 in the United States. In 1946, Gustave Lanctôt prepared a bill designed to make major amendments to the *Act* of 1912. Had this bill been passed, the institution would have changed its name to the National Archives of Canada, a true public record office as had been called for since the institution was created. Even in printed form, however, the bill received no follow-up after Lanctôt's departure. It was to be another 30 years before the spirit of this bill became a reality. Through its ongoing work, the Public Records Committee contributed to developing a climate of trust between the federal departments and the Archives. Hence it was to be one of the key players in the management of the records of the Government of Canada over the decades to come.

A first laboratory of archival science

Many years would go by before the Archives had the tools it needed to execute its mandate and to rise in the hierarchy of federal government institutions. Yet throughout its history, it has been a veritable laboratory for Canadian archival science. The experiments attempted and methods developed would influence all the public and private archival institutions emerging in every part of the country in the 20th century.

Highly empirical in the beginning, the Archives' methods progressively became more complex and refined. In this process, inspiration was initially drawn from practices in England. Later, in the mid-1940s, American archival thinking began to exert an irresistible attraction. But methodologies were also dictated and conditioned by the specifically Canadian environment and context in which the institution evolved.

An effort to be constantly attentive to the needs of historians oriented the acquisitions of the Archives from its beginning up to the 1950s. In this period, Canadian historiography initially focussed on the colonial past, taking advantage of the documents placed at its disposal by the three great collectors, Brymner, Doughty and Lanctôt. The inventory and transcription programs set up in the 1880s brought archival records and their users closer together. Throughout the initial period of the Archives' history, copies were basically made by hand; use of typewriters remained marginal. In the 1920s, Doughty saw a future in photographic reproduction. With the technological means then available, however, it was not possible to begin the economical reproduction of records; this did not come about until the 1950s. Transcription, simple as it might seem, posed major methodological problems. For example, what criteria should be used to select the records to be copied from the holdings of European archival centres? For lack of an appropriate index or accessions register, the same documents were on occasion copied several times. The accuracy of the information obtained was also a topic of discussion. In this regard, the decision was made to advocate integral and exact transcription, without correcting "errors" of form or content.

For a long time, acquisition was conducted with no very precise objectives in mind. The collector's spirit that drove the first generations of archivists resulted in more emphasis being placed on obtaining isolated items than on acquiring coherent sets of documents produced by a creator of records, a person, family or organization. The fundamental archival principles of provenance and respect des fonds, which hold that records from one creator must be conserved together, do not seem to have been applied at the Archives before the 1920s. Hence the documents copied in European repositories lost their value when removed from the context of their creation and the fonds to which they belonged. In 1916,

Arthur Doughty recommended, for the first time in the annals of the Archives, that *provenance* become the guiding principle for the classification of archival records. Previously, chronological arrangement by subject had been preferred.

On many occasions the Dominion Archivist and the members of the Historical Manuscripts Commission set themselves the objective of overhauling the classification system, since it constituted a major handicap for users in terms of locating and understanding records. The classification system reflected current practice at the Public Record Office in London and, to some extent, at the Archives nationales de France. For example, individual documents and even entire fonds were grouped together in large thematic, alpha-numeric classes.

There was also an evolution in the form and purpose of finding aids. The annual reports, at first the only tools available for determining the extent of the Archives' holdings, were to transform into record indexes and inventories. A great many archival records were also published there, in order to bring them closer to their potential users. But this soon proved inadequate for reflecting the complexity and scope of the treasures that were accumulating. In 1914, a guide to the manuscripts room was published for the first time. In this way, increasing attention was paid to the needs of researchers, that they might be able to find their way through the labyrinth of the holdings.

With the arrival of Doughty, historians and public servant researchers had free access to the archives. Opening hours were extended into the evening to facilitate consultation. However, it became clear that certain records could not be provided without protecting the confidentiality of information relating to individuals or the government. To maintain the institution's reputation and retain the donors' confidence, the Archives adopted certain security measures to restrict access to archival storage areas and to guide the provision of records to researchers. In the 1930s, archivists were increasingly concerned with problems of conservation and preservation. It was for this reason that Gustave Lanctôt combined the photographic, restoration and binding divisions into the new Technical Auxiliary Services Division in 1937.

Between 1872 and 1948, the Archives acquired thousands of metres of records on a wide variety of media. However, the strategy led to the creation of a new problem which would be the lot of future generations of archivists: backlogs in arrangement and description of the archival records. Under Arthur Doughty, primarily, the Public Archives of Canada acquired far more archival records than it was able to process, describe and make available for consultation. This problem was accentuated when the institution began receiving records on a more regular basis from federal institutions, whose document production picked up considerably after 1940.

ARCHIVES AT THE SERVICE OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PUBLIC

After the Second World War, the Public Archives of Canada emerged from the slowdown that had characterized the last two decades of its history. Thanks to the postwar economic prosperity and to the acceleration of government activities, the institution underwent a period of unprecedented development and progress. This growth was largely attributable to the fourth Dominion Archivist, W. Kaye Lamb, and the team he put in place. With his wealth of experience in archives, library science, history and management, Lamb transformed the Archives into a resolutely modern institution.

Increasing priority to the management of government information

While the first three Dominion Archivists made a major contribution to the development of a cultural role, allowing the Archives to nurture the historical profession in Canada, their contribution to the management of government information proved less significant. Consequently the reconciliation of the cultural role along with the development of its role in the management of public records stands as one significant feature in the second period of the institution's history. Many developments illustrate the growing priority assigned to sound management of public records.

The first indication was the opening on April 10, 1956 of the Public Archives Records Centre in Tunney's Pasture in west Ottawa. This centre provided for the economical intermediate storage of dormant federal government records, and ensured that records of historical value were transferred to the permanent custody of the Archives. Contrary to a recommendation of the Massey Commission of 1951 (the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences) that a public record office be established, separate from the Archives, Lamb succeeded in imposing the idea of a halfway house under the institution's responsibility. The Archives would subsequently set up an entire network of regional federal centres across the country: Toronto (1965), Montréal (1966), Vancouver (1972), Winnipeg (1973), Halifax (1974), Edmonton (1977) and Québec City (1991). These centres met the growing needs of government programs in the regions, a consequence of the decentralization of the sixties.

In addition to the establishment of this infrastructure, the institution adopted policies and guidelines to enable the departments to manage their records judiciously. The principle involved had been outlined in 1936, but the publication in 1963 of the General Records Disposal Schedules of the Government of Canada finally authorized the departments to dispose of their common administrative

records and, at the same time, introduced a number of government institutions to the concept of records scheduling and disposal. These developments conferred upon the Archives the role of educator and advisor to the departments. It was also at this time that the institution organized a records management course which would quickly become a prerequisite within this profession.

The Archives had now assumed some responsibility for public records management, but in fact had no legislative basis for its activities. The *Public Archives Act* (1912) authorized the Dominion Archivist to acquire records, but did not specify any obligation to safeguard the corporate memory of the government, nor the methods of doing so. Largely concerned by the constant increase in the amount of paper records produced by the swelling government apparatus, the Royal Commission on Government Organization (the Glassco Commission) of 1962 criticized this shortcoming and recommended, among other things, that responsibility for public records and the establishment of rules for their disposition be governed by legislation.

In response, the government brought in the Public Records Order (1966), a crucial step in the history of the Archives. The Public Records Order formally linked the institution's traditional mandate to acquire historical records with responsibility for improving the management of current records still controlled by and located in the departments, notably through the now-mandatory establishment of records scheduling and disposal. A key element of the Order was the creation of an Advisory Council on Public Records, chaired by the Dominion Archivist. This council provided records managers and representatives of Treasury Board, the Privy Council Office and research agencies with a forum for discussing problems related to the management of government records. Secretarial services for the Advisory Council were supplied by the Archives. The adoption of the Public Records Order therefore formalized the development of a government records management program and confirmed the authority of the Archives in this area.

While the *Public Records Order* marked an important turning point in the institution's history, there was still the increasingly pressing need for a new statute. In 1971, Dominion Archivist Wilfred I. Smith, the successor of W. Kaye Lamb, acknowledged the urgency of the situation and expressed the hope "that a revised Public Records and Archives Act will be ready for the next session of Parliament." But by 1980, the Canadian archival community continued to lament the lack of a new statute. Although adequate for the turn of the century, the *Public Archives Act* (1912) was no longer relevant to Canadian society in the 1980s. In terms of public records management alone, there were many deficiencies to the *Act* of 1912. First of all, it did not provide a proper framework for the new archives and records management policies developed since 1945 in response to the growing size and complexity of the federal government. Promulgated at a time when use of the typewriter was just becoming common,

the Act of 1912 could also not have anticipated the impact of the new technologies on the management of government information. Furthermore, it could not have foreseen the importance of the 1983 passage of the Access to Information Act and the Privacy Act, themselves the culmination of a veritable societal debate on the need to protect personal information while striving to provide Canadians the widest possible access to government records. These statutes would substantially modify the methods of identifying and making available archival records.

The arrival of Jean-Pierre Wallot as the new Dominion Archivist in 1985, and the passage of the National Archives of Canada Act two years later, marked the beginning of a new era for the institution. The product of a long and thorough consultation process, this new Act replaced the statute of 1912 and entrusted the Archives with a mandate that was consistent with its traditional practices, yet provided it with new tools to respond to the challenges ahead. To highlight the national role of the institution, the Act of 1987 bestowed on it a new name: the National Archives of Canada. Reflecting the recent evolution of archival science, the definition of the word "record" now included all media, from handwritten correspondence through maps, plans, films and photographs to diskettes. The Act furthermore encouraged government departments and agencies to practise sound records management, and obliged them to destroy no record without authorization from the National Archivist. Thus it strengthened the Archives' role in the management of government information and complemented the legislative framework adopted in 1983 with the passage of the statutes on access to information and privacy.

The structural evolution of the department reflected its growing role in the acquisition of public records. For example, in 1965 a Public Records Section was established within the Manuscript Division. This was the first time in the history of the institution that a separate section was given exclusive responsibility for the archival records of the federal government. This section was to be expanded in scope, becoming the Public Records Division in 1973, renamed the Federal Archives Division in 1979. The Machine Readable Archives Division was created in 1973, with a mandate to acquire, preserve and provide access to electronic records of historical value produced by the federal government, as well as those of national significance created by the private sector. With its pioneering work in this field, the Archives now assumed undisputed leadership in the acquisition and conservation of electronic records. Little by little, the evolution of federal government practices in the field of electronic records led the institution to adopt an integrated approach toward the two main documentary media used by government organizations. This trend took concrete form in 1986 with the merger of the Federal Archives Division and the Machine Readable Archives Division to form the Government Archives Division.

The changes in organizational structure went hand in hand with developments in public records appraisal and acquisition practices. In the 1960s the Archives acquired more public records than during the previous nine decades, but there were still large gaps in the preservation of the government's corporate memory, gaps which were partly attributable to an inadequate acquisition strategy. Until the end of the 1980s, acquisition methods were broadly influenced by the trends in historiography: the archival value of government records was established on the basis of research trends. With such selection criteria, archivists neglected to document whole segments of the Canadian government apparatus. This approach became more and more problematic, and was no longer suited to the context of the time. Various factors, such as the increase in documentation, particularly because of technological change, the expansion of responsibilities following passage of the *National Archives of Canada Act*, and the short supply of human and financial resources, argued in favour of an overhaul of acquisition policies.

The Archives therefore introduced a planned approach to the disposition of public records in 1991. This new approach was based on radically different selection criteria: records would now be chosen which more succinctly reflected the functions, programs and activities of the federal government, as well as its interactions with Canadian citizens. To this end, archival appraisals became more comprehensive in nature, and placed more emphasis on the context in which records were created, no longer considering their value based on informational content alone. Under this new concept, the Archives initiated the negotiation of multi-year disposition plans with government institutions, so as to plan systematically for the identification, appraisal and eventual disposition of records. This method of records appraisal and disposition allowed for better controls in dealing with the steady growth of government information. Since its inception, the program has enriched and enlarged our archival heritage.

A "total archives" mission

While the Archives played an ever-growing role in the management of government information starting in the 1950s, it did not lose sight of its cultural mission. Its ongoing commitment to the concept of "total archives" is unquestionable proof of this. Defined by Hugh Taylor, the eminent Canadian archivist, and supported by Dominion Archivist Wilfred I. Smith, this concept advocates the acquisition of all types of archival records, from private and public sources, for the purpose of documenting all facets of Canadian history. It should be stated, however, that the concept of "total archives" promoted by the Archives did not have unanimous support within the archival community, or even within the institution. For example, some argued that the radical application of this concept constituted a breach of provenance when records were arranged and described

according to their medium rather than as an organic part of an archival fonds; others described its aims as too "total," since small repositories would have to be content with the archival "scraps." Despite its detractors, the concept of "total archives" would never be seriously challenged, and it lent the Archives a unique character that distinguished it from the other national repositories whose mandates were usually limited to the acquisition of public records. The introduction of the notion of "records of national significance" in the 1987 Act did, however, serve to circumscribe somewhat the mission with regard to acquisition. Throughout the years, the definition of acquisition policies and strategies mitigated the negative effects that some ascribed to the concept of "total archives."

The sixties and seventies were particularly favourable to the development of the "total archives" policy. A series of structural reorganizations testified to the institution's orientation in this regard. In 1964, the Historical Photographs Section was created within the Picture Division, which itself had been in existence since the turn of the century. Three years later, the National Map Collection was born. In the mid-1970s, the Historical Photographs Section became a division and was renamed the National Photography Collection. The National Film Archives was created in 1976. At the beginning of the eighties, this division became the National Film, Television and Sound Archives. This structural evolution demonstrated a heightened sensitivity to audio-visual records.

Through the eighties and nineties, these administrative entities would undergo further changes as the institution evolved, but the commitment to the principle of "total archives" remained unchanged. In the 1990s, for example, the Archives created the Task Force on the Preservation and Enhanced Use of Canada's Audio-Visual Heritage, thereby confirming its interest in the acquisition and conservation of films, television programs and sound recordings of national significance from public and private sources. Bringing together representatives from all sectors - archives, film, the arts, finance, etc. - the Task Force also confirmed the Archives' leadership in the field of visual and sound archives. Its very composition denotes an increased awareness of archival heritage by society and the business community. Indeed, Canadian society is manifesting a growing interest in exploring its roots and its memory. The recent production of television series based on archival records, such as "Les grands procès," "Des crimes et des hommes," and "The Arrow," is telling evidence of this trend.

While the types of records acquired were becoming considerably more diverse, the chronological periods and subjects covered were also increasing in number and variety. Here again, the decades of the sixties and seventies were particularly striking. For instance, it was under W. Kaye Lamb that emphasis was placed on the acquisition of public records and private fonds subsequent to Canadian Confederation. Prior to that point, such records made up but a limited percent-

age of the archival holdings. As early as 1951 this situation was being deplored by the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (the Massey Commission), which stated that historians interested in studying the Canadian government were condemned to gleaning their information here and there around the national capital. The institution wasted little time correcting this situation: the space allotted to government archives was doubled, and quickly filled with records from the Privy Council, the Governor General's Office, the Department of the Secretary of State and many other departments. The number of private fonds was even higher: they came from prime ministers, governors general, party leaders, ministers and political parties. In his presidential address to the Canadian Historical Association in 1958, W. Kaye Lamb could therefore proudly declare that the Archives held the papers of all Canadian prime ministers, from Macdonald to King, with the exception of Bennett, whose records were conserved at the University of New Brunswick.

In the same period, the institution began to expand the range of subjects covered by the holdings it acquired. For private records, for example, it introduced a much more active acquisition policy, the Systematic National Acquisition Program (1967), designed to acquire records from outside such traditional fields of study as politics, religion and the military. Individuals, families, national organizations, institutions and businesses that contributed to the history of the country were therefore contacted and informed of the importance of preserving their documentary heritage. By the 1970s, the organizational chart of the Manuscript Division demonstrated the success of this undertaking with the emergence of the Social and Cultural Archives Section, Economic and Scientific Archives Section, Multicultural Archives Section, and so on. In acquiring these new holdings, the institution made a significant contribution to the development of Canadian historiography by making it possible to study fields relatively unexplored.

While the acquisitions of recent decades have been more in line with the new trends in social history, the Archives has continued to recognize the role played by politicians in the development of Canadian society. Hence the acquisition of ministerial records has always been among its priorities. The National Archives of Canada Act (1987) confirms the institution's role in this regard: it is the permanent repository of ministerial records and facilitates their management. In keeping with its mandate, the Archives published the Guidelines for Managing Information in a Minister's Office in 1992. Naturally, the papers of prime ministers also have a predominant place in acquisition policies. In recent years, for example, the institution's holdings have been enriched by the papers of Pierre E. Trudeau, John Turner, Brian Mulroney, Joseph Clark and Kim Campbell. In short, since the early fifties, the Archives has succeeded in acquiring a wide range of fonds which bear witness to the "totality" of the experiences of Canadians in every sphere of society.

The phenomenal rise in acquisitions in the second half of the 20th century, in both the public and private sectors, ensured chronic and serious storage problems. And so the contemporary period was to be marked by continual efforts to secure new premises. In this regard, the first concrete achievement was made in 1967, when the Archives moved to a new building on Wellington Street which it shared with the National Library of Canada. Planned since the mid-1950s, the building offered preservation conditions unparalleled at the time. Although the new building made it possible to house all records under the same roof for a time, it was noted in 1971 that the rapid expansion of the Archives and the National Library made it necessary to construct a new building. Unfortunately, the efforts in this direction were slow in producing results. Consequently the institution had to consider other solutions for storing its constantly increasing holdings. Various satellite storage buildings were thus added, the main one being in Renfrew, Ontario, a one hour drive from Ottawa. Regarded at first as a temporary solution, the Renfrew building continues to provide archival storage, in view of mounting acquisitions. Even though it had an approximate storage capacity of 100 linear km, for textual records only, the Renfrew building was unable to meet storage needs on its own. Distant storage of archival records has affected the work of the archivists and obliges some researchers to plan their visit to the Archives in advance to ensure access to archival holdings.

Despite the size and numbers of satellite buildings, the need for space continued to be pressing in the 1980s. Jean-Pierre Wallot began his term at the head of the Archives in 1985 with a plea similar to that of his predecessors: "The inevitable results of current storage conditions are inefficiency, delays, lost time, and damage to documents." Given the urgency of the situation, he renewed the campaign to secure appropriate accommodation, which had now become a strategic priority for the institution. These institutional efforts were to finally have their reward. In June 1997, just a few days from his retirement, Jean-Pierre Wallot officially opened the Gatineau Preservation Centre nearby in Quebec. Equipped with ultramodern laboratories and vaults, the Centre, as its name indicates, is designed for the storage of archival records in ideal preservation conditions. The Gatineau Centre is evidence of the priority assigned to the preservation program, founded on the Conservation Policy published in 1987. Finally, the National Archives is in the process of consolidating its operations in downtown Ottawa with the planned renovation of the West Veterans Memorial Building, which it has occupied in part since the mid-1970s.

Improved access to the Canadian archival heritage

With the increase and diversification of its holdings, the Archives began to develop efficient tools for facilitating access to them. The institution's recent

history has been marked by an extension of programs for accessing the archival heritage. It began with a technological innovation which would revolutionize practices in this regard: microfilming. Thanks to this process, the activities of the London and Paris offices (the latter reopened after the war), saw unprecedented expansion in spite of substantially reduced staff. Microfilming allowed acquisition of precise copies of whole series of records, instead of the limited selection of less-than-exact copies which had been labouriously reproduced by hand since 1880. The London Office statistics testify to the progress made in this regard. After a hesitant beginning in 1950, the microfilming program was in full swing as of 1955: between 1955 and 1958, the London Office produced over 1,250 reels of microfilm, copying more records in three years than during all of the transcription program under Douglas Brymner. This technological innovation enabled the repatriation of a substantial quantity of archival records essential for an understanding of Canadian history: the archives of the Public Record Office, the records of the Hudson's Bay Company until 1870, the papers of the principal colonial administrators, and records of religious institutions and communities. Thanks to these acquisitions, the Archives could make available to Canadian researchers an archival heritage hitherto reserved for those capable of financing research in Europe.

The holdings of the Archives at home were better disseminated as well. Particularly relevant was the work done on the records of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. So that action might be taken on the federal government's decision in the early 1970s to attempt to settle all comprehensive and specific Aboriginal land claims, the Archives for several years received millions of dollars for the appraisal, acquisition, arrangement, description and preservation of records relating to the Department of Indian Affairs. The Archives also began the computerized subject indexing and reproduction on microfilm of these records to make them accessible to all Canadians. This endeavour led to the largest electronic finding aid and microfilming project ever undertaken by the Archives. Microfilmed copies of these records were deposited in many archival centres and made accessible through inter-institutional loan. The example of Aboriginal land claims shows how important government archives are in resolving major contemporary issues. Archival records also play a role in settling boundary disputes, in research conducted by royal commissions and in the evidence submitted in war crimes trials.

Established in 1972, and operating for almost twenty years, the archival records diffusion program had objectives similar to those of the inter-institutional loan service. Through the program, provincial, territorial and university repositories have acquired copies of thousands of records conserved at the Archives, according to the needs of their respective clienteles. Records diffused to other archives include Canadian censuses, the papers of prime ministers, various photographs, films, maps and plans.

In the same vein, the Archives prepared various texts to facilitate remote research. In 1951, it published its first general finding aids to provide distant researchers with information about its holdings. Determined to play a fundamental role in the research field, the Archives even offered publications not directly related to its holdings. For example, in 1957 it published the Guide to Canadian Ministries Since Confederation. At the request of the Canadian Historical Association, in 1966 the institution began producing an annual Register of Post Graduate Dissertations in Progress in History and Related Subjects. Two years later came the Union List of Manuscripts in Canadian Repositories. In collaboration with France and Quebec, in 1972 the institution undertook the compilation of a guide listing archival sources concerned with French Canada, both in France and in Canada. The Guide to Canadian Photographic Archives was published in 1979.

Distant access programs were in full expansion in the 1980s and 1990s, thanks to the proliferation of electronic technologies. The establishment, starting in 1992 of a system of decentralized access sites, is one of the chief accomplishments in this regard. Prepared in co-operation with other institutions devoted to research (provincial and university archives, libraries, etc.), this program gives Canadians easier access to information about the institution and to its holdings and services. The institution currently has five decentralized access sites: Winnipeg (1992), Halifax (1994), Vancouver (1995), Montréal (1996) and Saskatoon (1997).

Always with the aim of serving a greater number of Canadians, the Archives has expanded regional archival activities in certain federal records centres. For example, since 1992 the Vancouver Federal Records Centre has had an on-site team of archivists in charge of the acquisition, development and communication of the government records created in that region. The presence of these archivists is very advantageous to the Vancouver research community: for example, requests concerning Aboriginal land claims, which are particularly frequent in this region, are now processed more quickly. A similar program has existed at the Winnipeg Federal Records Centre since 1994. The Winnipeg team has made a significant contribution to research in Canadian history by developing the archival heritage bequeathed by Canadian National, a crucial player in the opening up of Western Canada.

To facilitate the establishment of its decentralized access sites and to enhance their success, the Archives has employed new means of reaching new clienteles. A series of reference aids on CD-ROM thus began production in the early 1990s. This is the ArchiVIA series, which now includes four discs useful in Canadian studies research. These new technologies have also improved on-site consultation services by enabling archivists to prepare finding aids with a range and ease of handling hitherto inconceivable. Production of an index to the papers of the prime ministers began in 1969; compiled entirely by computer, it

was one of the first in this field. The automation of intellectual control and access to holdings thus initiated was one of the major achievements of the seventies and eighties. However, it was not until the late 1990s that the many discrete databases of descriptive information on specific fonds were organized for consultation purposes, making systems available to researchers which had long been accessible to employees only. A sign of the times, the National Archives of Canada pulled onto the information highway in December 1995 with the opening of an Internet site. Thanks to this panoply of automated tools, there is less and less need for users to navigate from one database to another and query finding aid after finding aid in order to locate records relevant to their research.

At the same time, the establishment of a standardized descriptive system, based on the Rules for Archival Description, of which the Archives had been one of the principal architects, is also beginning to yield benefits for researchers. The Rules for Archival Description represents a veritable archival revolution for the institution, offering an integrated description of records on all media, and putting an end to the arrangement methods adopted in the early fifties, modelled on the practices developed at the National Archives of the United States. For instance, under that model, the archives of the Government of Canada and its predecessors had, until very recently, been arranged in record groups (RG) rather than according to strict rules of provenance related to the application of the fonds concept. In short, the adoption of the Rules for Archival Description and the corollary abandonment of American practices contribute to the development of a typically Canadian archival science.

The creation of the National Library in 1953 indirectly clarified the Archives' mandate concerning responsibility for printed material. Long charged with acquiring and maintaining a collection of works on the history of Canada, the Archives own library gradually began to specialize in the field of archival practice, in the administration of archives and in records management, leaving the National Library to collect broadly in the field of published works.

The development of the national museums also transformed the institution's role in the exhibitions sector. Since the turn of the century, exhibitions had been the responsibility of the Archives Museum, situated on the ground floor of the Sussex Drive building. This in fact constituted a permanent exhibition, complemented from time to time by special displays to mark anniversaries or publicize important acquisitions. In 1966, as the result of an agreement between the Archives and the National Museums of Canada, all of the artifacts were moved from the Archives Museum to the new Museum of Man. This transfer took place in early 1967, when the Archives was moving to the new building on Wellington Street. In 1965, the Archives had already handed over its currency collection to the Bank of Canada, retaining only its medal collection. Many artifacts were also transferred to the War Museum at about the same time. In this

way the Archives was a major contributor to the growth of a network of cultural institutions which are the pride of the National Capital Region.

In the Wellington Street building, the exhibition rooms were devoted to the presentation of records and objects from the holdings of the Archives itself. Over the years, these rooms have housed numerous exhibitions, large and small, on a variety of subjects. Some have travelled the country and abroad, with the aim of educating an ever-growing public regarding Canada's wealth of documentary treasures.

Despite the increasing presence of the national museums on the federal cultural stage, the Archives did not completely abandon its museum mission. For example, for almost 40 years it administered Laurier House. This museum, the former residence of two Canadian prime ministers, Wilfrid Laurier and William Lyon Mackenzie King, had been donated by King to the nation upon his death in 1950 and placed under the direction of the Dominion Archivist in June 1951. Opened to the public the following August, Laurier House was to receive a constantly growing stream of visitors. The Archives transferred it to Parks Canada shortly after passage of the *National Archives of Canada Act* (1987).

After assuming its new mandate, the institution still did not entirely relinquish its involvement with Canadian museums. In June 1989 it opened for a time the Canadian Centre for Caricature, whose mandate was to acquire, preserve and make accessible records relating to the history of political caricature and humorous drawing. Despite its ephemeral existence, the Centre organized exhibitions which met with public appreciation. Situated in the heart of the popular Byward Market, the exhibition space remains open, and for many tourists is the first point of contact with the Archives.

Nowadays with a presence on the cultural scene that is larger than ever before, the Archives is witnessing a diversification in its user clientele. This can be contrasted with the situation in 1949, when the institution addressed the needs of a specialized clientele: historians, students preparing their master's or doctoral theses, and "professional writers." In fact, the Dominion Archivist of the time was so convinced of his special mission with this clientele that he refused to reprint certain publications to meet the growing demand from students and teachers at the elementary and high school levels, on the pretext that the Archives publications "have always been prepared with research and university use primarily in mind." But W. Kaye Lamb had second thoughts a year later, commenting that the institution was no longer the exclusive preserve of historians, since requests for information about pictorial material were coming in from an increasingly diverse clientele: "Teachers, students, historical research workers, authors, publishers and the film industry made frequent use of the Archives, and few books and films relating in any important way to the history of Canada are now produced without making use of material secured directly or indirectly from the Picture Division."

Such were the quiet beginnings of what might be called the "democratization" of the clientele. Professional historians would remain loyal clients of the institution, but their numbers relative to other users began to fall particularly after the 1960s. In 1986, Jean-Pierre Wallot noted that the Archives was now called upon to serve "people of every origin and from all walks of life, with a wide variety of needs. For example, we help genealogists, journalists, government workers, jurists, and visitors engaged in such varied activities as producing films, identifying claims by Indians or other ethnic groups, researching judicial and administrative questions, obtaining retirement benefits, and tracing their family history."

Not only did it diversify, the clientele increased steadily in size through this period. This phenomenon impacted directly on the organization, especially during the 1980s and 1990s, and led to major organizational restructuring for the purpose of better meeting user needs. Responding to new trends in the federal public service focusing on client services, the Archives created the Public Programs Branch in 1986. This marked the first step toward the establishment of a "single window" for researchers. Following this initiative, a Researchers Forum was set up to improve the dialogue with users. Finally, in 1993, the Archives consolidated all reference services within a single branch. These organizational changes marked a break with the type of reference service traditionally practised. The structural changes in the institution reflected a growing specialization in the archival profession, as reference service became a distinct discipline.

From another perspective, numerous factors explain this phenomenon of "democratization" and the growing enthusiasm for archival research. From a societal standpoint, postwar prosperity has made it possible to raise the level of education and improve the material comfort of the population, which has increasingly demanded cultural services from government. In addition, the interest in the Archives' holdings increases among an ageing population with more leisure time to explore and enjoy its archival heritage and for the new special interest groups working toward the restoration and protection of their rights.

Undisputed leadership in archival science

The many changes and developments experienced by the institution since the 1950s have earned it an enviable position at home and abroad. As the most important archival institution in Canada, it is called upon to play a leading role in the development of federal cultural policies in general and of the archival communities in particular. The *National Archives of Canada Act* formalizes the institution's natural role in the latter regard.

Excellent examples of this role can be found in the national studies in the fields of culture, public records management and archives. The Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (Massey Commission), Royal Commission on Government Organization (Glassco Commission), Commission on Canadian Studies (Symons Report) and Consultative Group on Canadian Archives (Wilson Report) considered the Archives to be a special witness and paid particular attention to the briefs it submitted. One sign of the predominant place accorded the institution was the fact that a number of the recommendations in these key studies concerned it directly.

Similarly, the developments in the archival profession in recent decades have been attributable, in many fields, to initiatives of the National Archives. The institution has been committed to the training of archivists in Canada since the 1950s. For more than 35 years, with the successive collaboration of various partners such as Carleton University, the Archives Section of the Canadian Historical Association, the University of Ottawa and the *Université du Québec à Hull*, the Archives offered a course for the professional development of current archivists and for the initiation of new recruits to the principles and methods governing the profession. For many years the only course available in the field, this seminar has made a major contribution to the development of archival theory and practice in the country and helped to foster a sense of professionalism among archivists.

The changes within the institution itself also had implications for the orientation of the archival profession. Implementation of the concept of "total archives" substantially transformed the role of the archivist, who was no longer simply the custodian and curator of manuscript records; cartographers or geographer/archivists, curators of works of art, social sciences graduates and computer specialists, to name just a few, have joined the ranks of the "traditional" archivists, who are mainly trained in history. Since the Archives is the main employer within the discipline, its particular personnel needs have had repercussions on the training and recruitment of new archivists.

Furthermore, the Archives made a direct contribution to the development of professional archivists' associations and encouraged its personnel to participate in them. For example, many employees were involved in the creation in 1975 of the Association of Canadian Archivists, which emerged from the Archives Section of the Canadian Historical Association. Archives' staff have since played an active part in this Association, whether on its board of directors or its various committees, or in the publication of Archivaria, the journal of the Association, which today enjoys an excellent international reputation. Similarly, the Archives plays an equally important role in the Association des archivistes du Québec, created in 1967. The Archives also supports a cross-Canada network of archival institutions through the Canadian Council of Archives, founded in 1985 on the

initiative of various key players, including Jean-Pierre Wallot. The Canadian Council of Archives offers grant programs designed to reduce the backlog in the arrangement and description of fonds, improve conservation programs, and train professional archivists.

The Archives' role in the archival community extends far beyond the borders of Canada. The fact that Dominion Archivists have served as the heads of various international professional organizations is evidence of this. Both W. Kaye Lamb (1964-1965) and Wilfred Smith (1972-1973) were appointed president of the Society of American Archivists. Lamb also served as president of the British Society of Archivists and vice-president of the British Records Association. At the official opening of the exhibition, Archives: Mirror of Canada Past, on June 1, 1972, on the occasion of the institution's centenary, Morris Rieger, representative of the International Council on Archives, underlined the already vigorous leadership of the institution on the international scene. The 12th congress of the International Council on Archives in Montréal in 1992, as well as the appointment of Jean-Pierre Wallot as president of the Council, stood as an apt demonstration of the international recognition enjoyed by the institution. Finally, the fact that UNESCO has requested that no less than five staff members contribute volumes to its prestigious RAMP (Records and Archives Management Program) series is another indication of the select place the institution has earned on the world stage.

Conclusion

The history of the National Archives of Canada illustrates how its particular experience in the acquisition, development and preservation of a national archival heritage has contributed to the expansion and enrichment of Canadian culture. However, the concerns that motivated the first archivists juxtaposed with those debated within the institution in the late 20th century present a rather telling contrast. The basic differences lie in the very purpose of the archival administration being practised. In its earliest days, the Archives followed an empirical approach, consolidating an archival record primarily to document the history of Canada, and hoping to reconcile points of view about the country's colonial past. The Archives contributed directly to the development of a Canadian historiography, thanks to the records collected in every part of the country and those transcribed abroad. Initially, the Archives concentrated on records that contributed toward an understanding of pre-Confederation politics, with economic, social and cultural matters being overshadowed for a time. Three main factors were to be responsible for changing the approach over time: constant external pressure from groups or individuals interested in influencing acquisition policies, the evolution of archival practice and thinking, and the marked growth in record production by the federal government. And so the institution gradually became a

true national archival service, although many difficulties had to be overcome to gain recognition for the legitimacy of its intervention in the area of public records within the government itself. The constitution of the corporate memory of the Government of Canada thus became a priority in the years following the Second World War. This was concurrent with a veritable quiet revolution leading to the democratization of the clienteles served and a total revision of the institution's objectives.

The research completed thus far on the history of the National Archives of Canada offers an incomplete snapshot of its evolution. Research should continue, to shed more light on the periods that are less well known and to understand better the institution's role in the development of social and cultural issues in Canada. We should then be able to see how the National Archives of Canada has contributed to changing archives from memory of time present to memory of time to come, to paraphrase the French archivist Jean Favier. Doubtless this is a task which archivists will be able to share with their historian colleagues.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

While no exhaustive history of the National Archives of Canada as yet exists, certain works have dealt with specific periods of the institution's history. Mention must first of all be made of the impressive article by Bernard Weilbrenner,"Les Archives provinciales du Québec et leurs relations avec les archives fédérales" in Archives: vol. 15, no. 3 (December 1983), pp. 37-55; vol. 16, no. 2 (September 1984), pp. 3-26; vol. 18, no. 3, pp. 3-25; vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 3-21. This text gives a detailed account of the circumstances which led to the creation of the Archives Branch in 1872 in the context of the new federal-provincial relations following Confederation in 1867. In a special issue in honour of W. Kaye Lamb, the fourth Dominion Archivist, Archivaria has two important articles on the subject: "A Noble Dream: The Origins of the Public Archives of Canada," Archivaria, no. 15 (Winter 1982-1983), pp. 16-35, by Ian E. Wilson, examines the circumstances leading up to the establishment of the Archives, as well as the principal accomplishments of the first three Dominion Archivists, Douglas Brymner, Arthur Doughty and Gustave Lanctôt; and William G. Ormsby traces the evolution of the Archives under the direction of W. Kaye Lamb in "The Public Archives of Canada, 1948-1968," Archivaria, no. 15 (Winter 1982-1983), pp. 36-46. More of a factual history is provided in Bernard Weilbrenner's article, "The Public Archives of Canada, 1871-1958," Journal of the Society of Archivists, vol. 2, no. 3 (1961), pp. 101-113, which warrants consultation for its chronological detail. The 1972 centenary of the Archives was an excellent moment for reflection upon the institution's past: signed by Wilfred I. Smith, the Dominion Archivist at the time, the introduction to the catalogue for the Archives: Mirror of Canada Past exhibition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), which was staged for this anniversary, traces the development of the Archives since its creation.

Certain authors have studied the institution's history through the key figures who shaped it. The volumes of the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* covering the late 19th century (Toronto: University of Toronto Press) are an excellent source of information. Particularly instructive is the biography of Douglas Brymner by Glenn Wright in volume XIII (1994), pp. 118-121. In one of the rare book-length treatments of the Archives, Ian E. Wilson examines the crucial contribution made by Arthur Doughty, the second Dominion Archivist, to the evolution of the Archives: *Shortt and Doughty: The Cultural Role of the Public Archives of Canada*, 1904-1935, unpublished master's thesis, (Kingston: Queen's University, 1973), 265 pages.

Although they have been the subjects of study, the Dominion Archivists were first and foremost participants in the society of their time. While head of the Archives, several of them published their own reflections on the role and

operation of the institution: for example, see W. Kaye Lamb's "Presidential Address," Canadian Historical Association, *Annual Report* (1958), and Jean Pierre Wallot's "Les Archives publiques du Canada: perspective et prospective," *Archives*, vol. 18, no. 1 (June 1986), pp. 9-21.

Other works have focussed instead on a particular program or organizational sector of the institution. Jay Atherton has examined the history of the first federal records centre in an article, "The Origins of the Public Archives Record Centre, 1897-1956," Archivaria, no. 8 (Summer 1979), pp. 35-59. He outlines the development of information management practices in the Government of Canada, and the oft-repeated attempts to rationalize them. W. E. D. Halliday, one of the players involved in this process in the public service, published his observations in an article entitled "The Public Records of Canada: Recent Developments in Control and Management," The American Archivist, vol. 13, no. 1 (January 1950), pp. 102-108.

The Archives offices abroad have also been treated in articles. Raymonde Litalien has traced the history of the Paris Office: "Le Bureau de Paris des Archives publiques du Canada," *Archives*, vol. 17, no. 4 (March 1986), pp. 11-30. More than a mere history, Bruce G. Wilson's article on the London Office demonstrates its importance in the construction of a national archival heritage: "Bringing Home Canada's Archival Heritage: The London Office of the Public Archives of Canada, 1872-1986," *Archivaria*, no. 21 (Winter 1985-1986), pp. 28-42.

Here at home, the development of the decentralized access sites has been studied by Marie-Louise Perron and Ghislain Malette in an article, "Accès décentralisé aux Archives nationales du Canada: l'exemple du point d'accès de Winnipeg," *Archives*, vol. 25, no. 3 (Winter 1994), pp. 49-63.

Various studies have also addressed the establishment of an electronic records program, including articles by Michael E. Carroll, "The Public Archives of Canada's Experience in Establishing a Machine Readable Archives," *The Canadian Archivist/L'Archiviste canadien*, vol. 2, no. 5 (1974), pp. 53-64, and by Katherine Gravel, "National Archives of Canada: Machine Readable Records Program," *Reference Services Review*, vol. 16, no. 1 (1988), pp. 25-29. A more recent review of the program is provided in Antonio Lechasseur's article, "L'acquisition du patrimoine informatique des institutions du gouvernement fédéral aux Archives nationales du Canada," *Archives*, vol. 25, no. 2 (Fall 1993), pp. 67-74.

The reference services offered at the Archives have been discussed in an article by William G. Ormsby: "Reference Services in the Public Archives of Canada," The American Archivist, vol. 25, no. 3 (July 1962), pp. 345-351. In a more recent article on public programming, Gabrielle Blais and David Enns use numerous examples from the reference services to illustrate their argument:

"From Paper Archives to People Archives: Public Programming in the Management of Archives," Archivaria, no. 31 (1990-1991), pp. 101-113.

"Total archives," an important concept in the history of the institution, has been examined in various works. Two articles at opposite poles are especially worthy of mention. In "Tyranny of the Medium: A Comment on Total Archives," Archivaria, no. 9 (Winter 1979-1980), pp. 141-149, Terry Cook demonstrates that radical application of this concept can at times have negative effects on provenance, the basic principle of archival science, as well as on the three main archival functions: acquisition, development and reference services. On the other hand, Wilfred Smith, the former Dominion Archivist, traces the history of the concept of "total archives" and comments on the criticism it has provoked: "Total Archives: The Canadian Experience," Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique, 57 (1986), pp. 323-346.

Other works examine the place that the Archives holds within the Canadian archival community. John H. Archer was one of the first to sketch an overview of the Canadian archival scene and to situate the Archives in relation to the other Canadian repositories: A Study of Archival Institutions in Canada, unpublished doctoral thesis (Kingston: Queen's University, 1969), 688 p. His chapters on the Archives contain some of the most intensive research ever done on the institution. Considered the first steps toward establishment of a real Canadian archival system, the reports of T.H.B. Symons, To Know Ourselves: The Report of the Commission on Canadian Studies (Ottawa: Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, 1975) and Ian E. Wilson, Canadian Archives (Ottawa: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, 1980) devote large chapters to the Archives. Hugh A. Taylor, one of the most renowned Canadian archivists, has considered the characteristics of the archival experience in Canada in his article, "Canadian Archives: Patterns from a Federal Perspective," Archivaria, vol. 1, no. 2 (1976), pp. 3-19. In "Attempts at National Planning for Archives in Canada, 1975-1985," The Public Historian, vol. 8, no. 3 (Summer 1986), pp. 74-91, Terry Eastwood carefully examines the significance of the Symons and Wilson reports for the creation of a Canadian archival system, and underscores the contribution of the Archives. Michael D. Swift details the principal developments of the Public Archives, the provincial archives and the profession of archivist during the seventies in an article entitled "The Canadian Archival Scene in the 1970s: Current Developments and Trends," Archivaria, no. 15 (Winter 1982-1983), pp. 47-57. Finally, Canadian Archives in 1992 (Ottawa: Canadian Council of Archives, 1992), edited by Marcel Caya, shows how the main developments of recent decades have contributed to the make-up of the Canadian archival scene in the nineties. Like the works mentioned above, this impressive volume contains a good deal of useful information about the history and programs of the National Archives of Canada.

The principal research on the history of the National Archives of Canada is based on the annual reports of the Canadian Archives published since 1881. To facilitate the location of information in this source, the following tool is useful: Françoise Caron-Houle, Guide to the Reports of the Public Archives of Canada, 1872-1972 (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1975), 97 p. The appendices of this work contain a list of all publications produced by the Archives at the time of publication. Finally, mention must be made of the holdings of the National Archives of Canada relating to its own history: records of the Public Archives of Canada (RG 37), Department of Agriculture (RG 17), Department of the Secretary of State (RG 6), Departmental Commission on Public Records of 1897 (RG 35/1), Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1907-1915 (RG 36/5), Royal Commission to Inquire into the State of the Records of the Public Departments of the Dominion of Canada, 1914 (RG 33/11) and Public Records Committee (RG 35/7).

Archivists of Canada, 1872-1997

Name	Years of service
Douglas Brymner (1823-1902)	1872-1902
Alexander Duff and Magdalen Casey (unofficially acting)	1902-1904
Arthur G. Doughty (1860-1936)	1904-1935
James F. Kenney (Acting)	1935-1937
Gustave Lanctôt (1883-1975)	1937-1948
Norman Fee (Acting)	1948
W. Kaye Lamb (1904-)	1948-1969
Wilfred I. Smith (Acting)	1969-1970
Wilfred I. Smith (1919-)	1970-1984
Bernard Weilbrenner (Acting)	1984-1985
Jean-Pierre Wallot (1935-)	1985-1997
Lee McDonald (Acting)	1997

The National Archives of Canada within the Government of Canada, 1872-1997

Name	Minister	Years
Archives Branch	Agriculture	1872-1912
Public Archives of Canada	Prime Minister	1912
	Secretary of State	1912-1954
	Citizenship and Immigration	1954-1964
	Secretary of State	1964-1981
	Communications	1981-1987
National Archives of Canada	Communications	1987-1993
	Canadian Heritage	1993-

Canadian Historical Association



