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REMINISCENCES 

of 

LESTER JESSE CAPPON 

Colonial Williamsburg 

1976
The Reminiscences of

LESTER JESSE CAPPON

These reminiscences are the result of interviews with Lester J. Cappon by Stephen M. Rowe on May 12, 1976 at Williamsburg, Virginia. The interviews were held under the auspices of the Oral History Program of Colonial Williamsburg. The Program is presently administered by the Foundation's Department of Archives and Records.

The interviewer's questions have been inserted in this account. The questioning was primarily in the form of topics suggested to Dr. Cappon concerning his recollections as Archivist at Colonial Williamsburg and as Director of the Institute of Early American History and Culture. The language of the narrative is entirely that of Dr. Cappon. Following the interview, minor or clarifying insertions were made in the body of the transcript by Dr. Cappon or approved by him. By his signature below he has indicated that he has reviewed and corrected the manuscript and that this is a correct copy of his reminiscences.

This memoir is deposited in the Archives of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation with the understanding that it may be used by qualified individuals in accordance with accepted archival practice as administered by the Archivist of the Foundation.

[Signature]

Lester Jesse Cappon

1 November 1979
LESTER JESSE CAPPON

Born: Milwaukee, Wisconsin, September 18, 1900

Married: Dorothy Elizabeth Bernet, June 25, 1932

Education: Diploma, Wisconsin Conservatory of Music, Milwaukee
B. A., M. A., University of Wisconsin
M. A., Ph.D., Harvard University

Career:

1926-30 Research Associate, Institute of Research in the Social Sciences
University of Virginia
1930-45 Assistant Professor of History, University of Virginia
1930-40 Archivist, University of Virginia
1936-37 Director, Virginia Historical Records Survey
1940-45 Consultant in History and Archives, University of Virginia Library
1945 Associate Professor of History, University of Virginia
1945-52 Archivist, Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.
1945-55 Editor of Publications, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg
1952-69 Archival Consultant, Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.
1955-69 Director, Institute of Early American History and Culture
1956-60 Director, Institute of Historical and Archival Management, Radcliffe College
1969-70 Senior Fellow, Newberry Library, Chicago
1970-75 Editor-in-Chief, Atlas of Early American History, Newberry Library
1975-76 Distinguished Research Fellow, Newberry Library
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Lecturer:
College of William and Mary
American University
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Member:
Fellow, Society of American Archivists
Albemarle County (Virginia) Historical Society
American Antiquarian Society
American Association of State and Local History
Association for Documentary Editing
Colonial Society of Massachusetts
Massachusetts Historical Society
Organization of American Historians
Phi Beta Kappa (Honorary Member)
Phi Mu Alpha-Sinfonia
Pi Delta Epsilon (Honorary Member)
Sigma Delta Chi
Sigma Pi
Southern Historical Association
Virginia Historical Society
Wisconsin Historical Society
Bibliography:

1930  Bibliography of Virginia Since 1865

1940 to 1945  lst to 15th Annual Report on Historical Collections,
University of Virginia Library, 1930-45

1936  Virginia Newspapers, 1921-1935, A Bibliography

1942  A Plan for the Collection and Preservation of World
      War II Records

1944  War Records Projects in the States, 1941-1943

1945  Alexander Spotswood’s Proposals for Leasing His Iron Works
      (with historical introduction)

1950  Virginia Gazette Index, 1736-1780

1959  The Adams-Jefferson Letters

1976  Atlas of Early American History: The Revolutionary Era,
      1760-1790
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I will get you to set your background for me very briefly, your educational background and your archival training and the way you acquired the tools of the trade that eventually brought you to Colonial Williamsburg.

The training can be quickly taken care of. I didn't have any formal training because there wasn't any in those days. There weren't any archival training courses. There was an archival profession, I suppose, of a sort, but it was hardly recognized. It was really the formation of the Society of American Archivists in 1936 that began to give a sort of professional cast to people in that business. I can't say when the first archival course or courses were given. I guess one of the earliest probably was by Solon Buck at Columbia. It may have run over a semester in which he went up once a week from Washington. That was after he was at the National Archives. That may have been the first attempt at a course in the field of archives. When I got into the business in the early thirties there was nothing. There was no formal training.

Even today I suppose the best and most continuous course is the one at American University which is in conjunction with the National Archives. That's been going on for many years and that was started by Dr. Ernst Posner, who was in the History Department at American University and later became Dean of the Graduate School. He was an emigre from Germany at the time of Hitler's regime. He finally escaped and got over here after some hair-raising experiences.
I don't think he was ever on the staff of the National Archives, but he had been a distinguished archivist in Germany and he was really like a staff member of the Archives. He was consulted constantly but his source of income was American University. In fact, I think he came once and went back and then came a second time. So he got a permanent post with American University.

The archives course was set up, I guess, maybe under the History Department or the Political Science Department. I'm not sure about that. But he started that course and he really became the top archivist in the United States because of his distinguished work in Germany. He was a historian as well as an archivist. In that course, which ran over many years, he trained many students. Everybody got to thinking of him really as the top archivist in the United States although he didn't really hold an archival position. He's still living in Germany now. He's in his eighties and I think in very frail health. He's a wonderful person and he had great linguistic ability. I don't know how much English he knew when he came over here but he can learn a language quickly apparently. He was soon talking American English just as well as any native American. He had a very great sense of American slang. His writing sometimes was a little bit Germanic in its phraseology. He's a marvelous person. He had many devoted students who went to jobs all over the country. His course at American University was the place to go. There are a number of other institutions that offer courses
now, but at American University the students have the advantage of laboratory work in the National Archives.

SMR So when you took a job at the University of Virginia in 1930 as University Archivist you had not gone through a formal training course?

LJC No, there was no such thing. That title was really a misnomer because my work there was not truly archives work. What happened was there was a move on foot among some of the historians, and others in the University, to develop graduate work. Well, the University until the 1920's was college oriented. It's true it was a university. It had a distinguished medical school and a good law school and an engineering school and school of education, but the liberal arts end of it was really college-oriented, not graduate-school-oriented. They gave a master's degree and they gave—had given a Ph.D. in history occasionally for many, many years. In fact, I think the first Ph.D. in the early 1900's was conferred, I believe, on John W. Wayland who wrote on the Germans in the Shenandoah Valley, and later a history of Rockingham County and so forth. The second Ph.D. may have been T. J. Wertenbaker's. That would be about 1910 or 1912, because he went to Princeton very early in his career and stayed there the whole time.

SMR I'm familiar with Dr. Wayland. He wrote a magnificent book on Stonewall Jackson's campaigns.
Aren't the Wayland papers here now? No, I guess the University of Virginia acquired his papers, I think that's where they are. He was a very good local, sort of regional, historian, but he had been professionally trained. In those days the History Department had just one person, Richard Heath Dabney, the father of Virginius Dabney. He was the History Department for many, many years. In fact, I think he got on the faculty there about 1888. He lived to be quite elderly. He was the History Department until—I think the second member of the Department may have been Dumas Malone. He went there in the early twenties. That's when the History Department really began to grow. Then, in the early twenties Stringfellow Barr went there. Abernethy didn't arrive until 1930.

In the twenties the University was expanding the graduate work in—well, they didn't think of it as humanities, they thought of it as social sciences. They started the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences about 1925 with a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation.

That's the Institute that was responsible for publishing your Bibliography of Virginia Since 1865.

That's right because I was on the staff as a research associate under Dumas Malone. That was set up as a means for providing research grants, primarily for faculty members, and to encourage research in the social sciences, of which history was regarded as one.
The people on the staff of the Institute were research associates and research assistants tied in to a particular professor to assist him to some extent, I suppose to do the spade-work. Most of the books that came out in those days were under the name of the professor, not all of them. That was to be the beginning of expansion in graduate work in the 1920's.

When the Institute was conceived the financing of it was first by the Rockefeller Foundation and then the University was to step in and take it over gradually. I think maybe they got a second grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. Eventually the University took over the whole responsibility. Then the depression came along and they, of course, had hard sledding as everybody else did. That was the era of expansion in that field.

Then in 1930 they got a grant, I'm not sure whether that was from the Rockefeller Foundation, it may have been, for development of the humanities field, archaeology, linguistics and languages. Four new professors came that year in these fields.

I was working there on a bibliography of Southern History since 1865. Malone's idea was that there should be a somewhat more comprehensive sort of guide to then recent Southern history since 1865 that would go far beyond the small bibliography that, I think, William Kenneth Boyd and somebody else had published. This was Malone's idea, so I began working on it. The logical thing was to start with Virginia. I wasn't living in Charlottesville. I
decided that—well, another factor that enters into this was the
development of the University library, to have it become richer in
research materials. It had had a bad fire. The library was in the
Rotunda. In 1895 a fire in the Rotunda had destroyed a great deal
of the library. All the years after 1895 they were gradually re-
placing the books that were lost, mostly, I guess, by donations.
There had never been any concerted effort to really develop what
you'd call a research collection because the focus was all on the
college, undergraduate work. So that wasn't a good place to do
bibliographical work.

I did some work there, but most of that bibliography of
Virginia was done in the Library of Congress. I lived in Washington
and would go down occasionally and report to Malone about the pro-
gress of the work. The more I got into it the more I felt that if we
were going to do a bibliography, it ought to really be comprehensive
rather than highly selective. I really got pretty deep into the
thing. What resulted was then this very comprehensive bibliography,
which really wasn't what it was originally designed to be at all.

Of course, not everything was in the Library of Congress
either and I did a good deal of traveling, gradually accumulating
similar material on other southern states. It was a good example of
a young scholar with big ideas and ambition to take over the whole
works. I got all these bibliographical entries available on L. C.
cards. Of course there were a lot of imprints without cards and
for those I made out my own cards.
I spent some time down in North Carolina, at Chapel Hill and Duke and elsewhere but always concentrating primarily on Virginia, trying to finish it. That bibliography has some entries in it from other libraries outside Virginia where there were rare printed items not in the Library of Congress or a Virginia library.

The Bibliography of Virginia History Since 1865 was published in 1930. The job was done through the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences. I was first there during 1926-27. They very kindly gave me a year's leave to finish my Ph.D. at Harvard so I was gone 1927 to 1928. Then I resumed my work on the bibliography, still living in Washington until 1929. That year I moved to Charlottesville. The final work was largely editing. It was printed by the Michie Company in Charlottesville. That was very convenient. They were very good printers, and I had very nice personal relations with one of the chief men in the printing company, Mr. Sam Arundel. So all that final work was all done in Charlottesville.

Then I sort of got one foot in the History Department with a part-time teaching job, as acting assistant professor, just giving one course.

Meanwhile, the University got to talking about the idea of developing a manuscript collection at the University to supplement or complement this expansion and growth of the library. They were able to get a joint grant through the American Council of Learned
Societies and the Social Science Research Council to start a project for the collecting of manuscripts, chiefly Virginia manuscripts.

That project began in 1930 after I had finished the bibliography. John S. Patton had been librarian of the University for a long time, one of those old-school Virginia gentlemen, you know—I don't think he was very efficient. His successor in 1927 was Harry Clemons. I don't know whether you've ever heard of him. SMR I have heard of him.

LJC Mr. Clemons had been a librarian in China. He was a victim of the Communist revolution in 1927 when the Communists took over Nanking. He had married—I guess he met his wife over there—she was, I believe, a missionary and he had pretty much the missionary spirit, too. He had been at Princeton, on the library staff at Princeton, before he went to China. When the revolution came they just barely got out of China. He got the women and children on the boat, the last boat out. Then he managed to escape, and I remember him telling me how his best friend, who had worked closely with him over there, I can't remember his name now, was shot down right before his eyes before he could escape. So Mr. Clemons came back to the United States. I don't know how the University established a connection with him, but he became the librarian at the University.

It was from that point on that the library, still in the Rotunda, really began to grow and with the expansion of the
collections the Rotunda became very congested. In the early thirties the University, prodded by the librarian, began laying plans for a new library building. Then when the Public Works Administration (PWA) came along in the depression years, the possibility developed of getting Federal money for the library building.

The grant was long delayed because of the opposition of Virginia's senior senator, Carter Glass. He was a great financial expert and arch conservative who didn't believe in doling out Federal money to everybody and everything imaginable. His old-school philosophy was pay-as-you-go. He was finally persuaded that if the PWA was giving money for the building of sewers and whatnot, there was no reason why the University shouldn't request a grant for a library building. What could be better than that? So he finally went along with it and the PWA made the grant.

Meanwhile the building had been planned. Mr. Clemons spent a great deal of time planning the library. In those days the model college library was the Dartmouth Library. That was a new library in the 1920's. I don't know just what year that was built, maybe in the middle twenties or so, but that was the prototype for college libraries. I know they studied the Dartmouth plan very carefully.

An alumnus of the University, a Baltimore architect, drew all the plans free of charge. It was his donation as an alumnus. Thus, as soon as the PWA grant was received, construction began. There was no further delay. The building was completed in 1938,
and in May we moved from the Rotunda into the new building, named the Alderman Library for the first president of the University, 1904 to 1931.

That's kind of a roundabout way of saying that when I was appointed to develop the manuscript collection, for want of a better title, I guess, they called me archivist. My work was essentially collecting.

SMR You were a counterpart to J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, here in Virginia.

LJC Well, yes, and William Kenneth Boyd was doing the same thing at Duke University.

When that work began in 1930 the University already had a few manuscript collections. After they began to take stock of what was on the third floor of the Rotunda they discovered a number of very fine Jefferson manuscripts that had been stored there years before. They had a Poe collection and James Southall Wilson was Edgar Allan Poe Professor of English. Now he had a connection with William and Mary, you know. He was a professor at William and Mary before World War I and just a bit afterward. When Dr. Lyon G. Tyler retired from the College presidency here, that was in 1919--well, I should say first that Wilson had married one of Tyler's daughters by his first wife. Wilson had ambitions of becoming the next President of William and Mary. He didn't have the political pull that J. A. C. Chandler had. He succeeded Tyler because he had been prominent in the state education as Superintendent of Public Education. Chandler
was a historian, too. I think he had a Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins. He had written some things earlier in his career. Shortly after Chandler became president, Wilson got a chance to go to the University of Virginia as Professor of English. He made himself something of an expert on Edgar Allan Poe. The University had acquired the Poe-Ingram Collection. Ingram was a nineteenth-century biographer of Poe and a collector.

I think he was perhaps a bit of both. I think he did collect.

So Wilson became the Edgar Allan Poe Professor. He never wrote very much but he was supposed to be the authority on Poe.

They also had a small Lee collection, Arthur Lee and "Light-Horse Harry," etc. At some stage in that family's history during the nineteenth century the Lee papers were divided, one part given to the University of Virginia, another part was given to Harvard University, and a third portion to the American Philosophical Society.

Those three collections, I would say, were about what the University of Virginia had in the way of manuscripts. No work had been done on them.

An undergraduate at the University, John C. Wyllie, made himself quite a distinguished bibliographer and ultimately became librarian of the University until his death. Even as an undergraduate he showed a lot of interest in books and he worked in the library at various jobs. After he graduated, circa 1929, he was put
in charge of rare books and manuscripts such as the University had. They had a good many rare imprints but they'd never been properly cared for. If anybody was archivist, I guess it was John Wyllie, not I.

The stuff that I would gather in my travels around the state went into Wyllie's hands to make accessible for use. Then, as the collections grew—before we moved into the Alderman Library in 1938—Mr. Clemons was very much interested in this aspect of the library's growth. In the planning of the building, very spacious quarters were allowed for rare books and manuscripts. That explains the big reading room, the McGregor Room, the Tracy W. McGregor collection having been acquired a little later on. Of course, the Barrett Wing was added many years later, after the war. The PWA grant also covered equipment for the library. We had rows and rows of empty shelves and metal file cases to hold new acquisitions. It was like heaven after being in terribly cramped quarters with no place to expand.

So then the collections continued to grow, both the rare books and manuscripts. Then later on Frank Berkeley got involved in it and became curator of manuscripts and John Wyllie went more into the rare book end of it because that's really where he made his reputation, as a bibliographer. My work was essentially out in the field, collecting manuscripts.
SMR Was it through your contacts in this area that you were asked to come down for the 1932 Historian's Conference?

LJC Well, maybe so, I really don't know. I wasn't that much known in those days. I really don't know who suggested that. By that time, you see, Dumas Malone left the University, in 1929. He went to Washington as co-editor of the Dictionary of American Biography with Allen Johnson. Not long after that Johnson was killed in an automobile accident in Washington and Malone became the editor. He was with the Dictionary pretty much until that first set was finished. That was in the late thirties when jobs were still not very plentiful. He became Director of the Harvard University Press, a job that I think he was never very happy with. Later he went to Columbia University as professor of history, then after he retired he returned to Charlottesville.

SMR I'd like to know what your impressions are, after forty years, of this Historians' Conference, the people who were there....

LJC Well, as I say, I'm afraid I really can't help you very much on that. I'm sure I didn't have much to say. I was by far the youngest member of the group and over-awed by all these distinguished historians. I knew some of them by reputation. A few of them I had met before. Of course, I knew Dr. Swem.

SMR I wonder if he might not have been one of the people who perhaps suggested that you be included in this.

LJC That's a possibility, too, but I really don't know how I got the invitation. I really don't have any distinct recollections of what
went on. Whatever I would have to say about the men wouldn't be in relation to that conference.

SMR Perhaps we can get into some of these personalities a bit later. I would like to hear what you had to say about Harold Shurtleff, what recollections you might have of him.

LJC I never knew him very well. He was head of the Research Department. Of course, in those days, in 1932, this was 1932, was it?

SMR Yes, sir. October of 1932.

LJC Well, the Research Department, of course, was still under Perry, Shaw and Hepburn. I think it was in 1934 when they pulled out their Williamsburg office, it became a C. W. Research Department. I don't know, was Shurtleff still in it after 1934?

SMR Yes, sir, he stayed in it until 1937 when Hunter Farish came in.

LJC Oh, yes, Farish succeeded him. That's right.

SMR Unfortunately he [Shurtleff] didn't live very long after that. He died the following year, I think.

LJC The conference met about once a year, I guess. One of the ideas that came out of that was The Virginia Historical Index which, of course, Swem was very much interested in doing, and then he was the one who compiled it. One of the reasons for having such a conference was to get ideas of research projects that should be done here. I'm not sure of this either, but maybe the conference recommended the establishment of research fellowships—what was the exact title, do you know?
SMR  No, but I know the program that you're referring to.

LJC  The program of fellows who are in the Research Department. That began just about at the beginning of the war, I think.

SMR  Yes, sir. It was 1939, 1940, thereabouts.

LJC  I believe that was probably a suggestion that came out of this conference but I'm not positive about that.

SMR  What sort of connections, if any, did you have with Colonial Williamsburg from 1932 to 1945?

LJC  I had no connection with Colonial Williamsburg until after Farish had to give up *The Virginia Gazette* Index. They asked me to be a consultant on the Index. I suspect that may have come about through John Pomfret who was then president of the College. That connection began, well, I'm not sure whether it was 1944, as early as that, but certainly by 1945. I would come down here occasionally and consult with the people who were working on it after Farish left. He was off one time because of his bad health. Then he came back maybe on a sort of part-time basis and then he got ill again and just had to quit. I think it must have been after his resignation that I was asked to come down and be a consultant on it.

SMR  This preceded your actual appointment to the Institute and as archivist?

LJC  Well, the consultation business had nothing to do with the Institute. The Institute started with a new series of the *Quarterly* in 1944. By that time Chorley and Pomfret had decided to go ahead with such an organization, but because it was during the war it wasn't a
good time to do much. Pomfret's idea was that the William & Mary Quarterly would be one of the chief assets, aside from money, that the College could put into this potential organization. So the third series began with Dick Morton as editor in 1944, but there was no other Institute activity at that time until the fall of 1945. Carl Bridenbaugh came as Director in October, and I came as editor of publications in November.

Meanwhile I had been doing consultant work on the Index. The understanding was that when I came down here as part-time archivist of Colonial Williamsburg and part-time editor of publications, I would also direct the completion of the Index. After the Institute got going in the fall of 1945 then we began searching around for a senior editor who could give full time to the Index. That's how Stella Duff Neiman got into the picture because she had been a student of Carl Bridenbaugh's. He had been teaching at Brown and she was at Pembroke. So he knew her as a very good student. I think maybe she was teaching in Providence. So he persuaded her to come down and take the job in early 1946. She replaced the lady who had been senior editor, Genevieve Yost, who married . . .

SMR

LJC That's right. That was the reason she left, I think, to marry George. I can't remember whether she was still here when Stella came or not. There was another lady who was here because her husband was in the service and stationed somewhere in the area.
I'm trying to think of her name now. You've probably got it down there.

SMR Would it be in this piece that you did on the Index?

LJC I don't think any names are mentioned in that article. She was here for some time until her husband's service ended and they left. Then there were a couple of other people who were just typists. That's the way the Index project was run. I was simply the director of the project, but Stella was the key person in the operation of the project.

While I was consultant I began to realize there were a lot of things about that Index that I didn't think were very well done so after we got going—we spent quite a bit of time on considerable revision, entries in relationships of one subject to another and all that sort of thing—before we were able to get up more momentum to see the thing through. The Index had started in 1942, I think, with a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. Then they got a second grant. Then after that ran out, Colonial Williamsburg financed it from then on. Like all these big projects, there was always the question of "How much longer does the damn thing have to go before it's finished?" I think Mr. Chorley was getting a little anxious about this—"How many more thousands of dollars are we going to have to put into it?" and so on.

That was financed by C. W. but as we got along to the point where we were getting ready for the typing up of all the
entries, by that time it was decided that it ought to become an Institute project, although I don't think the College ever put any money into the Index because the Institute was always jointly financed 50-50 by the College and the Restoration. C. W. was still putting the money into it, but it became an Institute project and therefore was published with the Institute imprint in 1950. We engaged a firm called Whitehall Printing Company, I guess it was. I've forgotten how the dickens we got in touch with that outfit, but they made a bid to do it. They typed it up and it was done by photo-offset. This was kind of a chancey thing. Their firm was in New York.

We had thousands and thousands of pink slips that had all the entries of the Index on them. They were all checked here to be sure that they were in proper alphabetical order and that cross references were all right and so on, and all those reference symbols to the location of the article in the newspapers were correct. Then the time came for Whitehall to begin its work. Stella and I packed up a third of the Index; they were in three inch by five inch card boxes and we took them in my car to New York City.

They began to work on typing the entries in strips and columns, then they pasted three columns per page on big sheets.

We made three separate trips, each with a third of these boxes full of pink slips. Then we got the sheets to proof read. They finally printed by photo-offset and bound the Index in two
volumes. They had not had any experience in this kind of work and didn't know what they were getting into when they contracted for this job. They lost their shirt on the contract, but they did a very good job of typing and proof reading. It was just fortunate considering the fact that they hadn't had experience in this kind of thing, with so much minute detail that had to be absolutely correct, especially all the reference numbers.

It was published under the Institute's imprint in an edition of 300 copies. We were very dubious about how well the Index was going to sell. It obviously would go mostly to libraries. We planned a microfilm edition of the newspapers to sell with the Index, so that was the other big job. The indexing was done, almost all of it was done from photostat copies. The Massachusetts Historical Society had made a photostat set of The Virginia Gazette many years before. They had done that for several other newspapers, too, but I don't know how exhaustively they searched to get all known copies. Anyhow, that photostat set is quite incomplete. We checked the issues in the photostat volumes with the issues of the papers to determine the missing copies.

Then the question was—were there copies that we didn't know about? So I corresponded very widely with libraries to locate single issues or short runs or whatever. I know we turned up a very interesting file at Johns Hopkins. It wasn't a very long file, but it filled in a very important gap in the 1750's. We even turned up
one or two issues in the Public Record Office where, I suppose, a copy of the paper had been filed with related documents. We made quite an exhaustive search to try to locate all the copies and get photo-stats of those so that the indexing could cover all copies that were not in that original photostat set.

All the issues except one or two in the Public Record Office were in the United States and fortunately they were all on the eastern seaboard. The Library of Congress had a good run; the Virginia Historical Society has the only good file of the Parks' period (1736-40), which, I think was the printer's own file. The microfilming was done, except in a few instances, from the original papers by Recordak in Washington. These libraries were willing without exception to loan their copies for the microfilming. It was really a very liberal point of view on their part, to let the things go out of their libraries. I know the Johns Hopkins Library sent them down from Baltimore. The microfilm files consisted of six reels.

When it came time to sell the Index we got out a letter to many institutions to get advance orders. By the time the copies were ready for distribution, we had over a hundred orders. Recordak ran off, I don't know, maybe a hundred and fifty copies. In addition to the advance orders, the sale was quite good in the early years. The Institute must have a record of all those sales. After several years the sales dropped to maybe just a very, very few a year, but
ultimately that first edition of the *Index* went out of print. Some years ago, the Institute had it reprinted; I think it is still in print.

Additional files of the microfilm newspaper would be run off to fill further orders. That was an easy thing to do, and we made a profit on the sale of the microfilm. After the bill was paid to the Whitehall Company, subsequent income went into a *Virginia Gazette* fund which was used in part to pay for the second printing of the Gazette.

That was a very interesting experience with the Whitehall Company. I felt sort of sorry for them. They really came out of the little end of the horn on that deal.

SMR I guess that's one of the risks of being in the printing and publishing business. Sometimes you have to take a drubbing.

LJC I can't remember how they learned about the Index and made the bid on it. Stella probably could remember that.

(Break)

SMR I'm going to give you some broad topics and let you talk about them, amplify them as much as you want. Set the stage for me in November of 1945 when you came to Williamsburg. What was your first reaction to the department which you found here, the state of record keeping at Colonial Williamsburg?

LJC Well, the heart of the operation was what they call Central Files which was almost like a separate department serving all the other
departments. I suppose it had probably been in existence and just gradually built up from the beginning of the Restoration, chiefly correspondence about all the current and semi-current activities, indexed under various subjects and names. The woman who had been working in Central Files for many years was Luta Sewell. She knew the files backward and forward. If there was anything to be found, she didn't need any index to find it, she had it all in her head.

She didn't have any broad perspective on things. She hadn't had any particular training. I don't know what she had done before she got the job with C. W. She had just learned it and was very meticulous about everything and had been with it so long it was a pretty efficient operation.

Then we got in Wanda Castle, and she was to be over Mrs. Sewell. Wanda Castle had had some kind of job in C. W., you probably know this, before the war. She went into the service. Do you know what her job was before?

SMR
I think she functioned like an office manager, that type of thing.

LJC
I guess that's what it was, office manager.

SMR
I don't know if that was the exact title at that time, but I think that was what she was doing.

LJC
She was from Texas. Her job, of course, was assured having gone into the service. When she came back, it seemed as though she might be a good person to sort of head up the new Archives Department,
because my connection with it was, of course, very much part-time. I couldn't spend much of my time there. More of my time was spent in the Institute.

The Institute in those days was in the Goodwin Building. That's where it started, in the offices that, I guess, are still the financial offices, the south end of the second floor. The Research Department is still there?

SMR No, the Research Department is over in the Travis House.

LJC That was in the same area. That's where *The Virginia Gazette Index* was set up, in the offices on the other side of the hall. The Institute offices were on the outside toward the south. There was plenty of space at that time because a lot of employees were still in military service. The personnel of C. W. had shrunk a great deal because of that. The Institute was given two sizable offices, one for Bridenbaugh and one for me, and then there was a place for the secretary near the door to the hall.

They had already put *The Virginia Gazette Index* on the opposite side of the corridor. The Research Department was at the far end. That was one big room. That's where the library was, facing east on Henry Street.

Wanda Castle was appointed assistant archivist, starting with Central Files— I'm trying to think where those files were. They were down on the first floor of the Goodwin Building somewhere. That building has gone through so many different transformations that
it's hard to keep track of that, but they were on the first floor, a sizable room on the first floor. That end of the operation was carrying itself pretty well.

The main problem was locating and getting under control all the records that had always been outside in the different departments. They were scattered all over the place. We began to make an inventory of records in various departments, whether they were in the Goodwin Building or whether they were outside. There were some older records that departments had put in storage. That was the big job—to find out what was in existence and to bring them into some kind of proper order. Eventually we got out that little guide to the records of Colonial Williamsburg.

Wanda Castle worked under my direction and Mrs. Sewell was under her. Then there was at least one other person.

SMR
Ernest Priest?

LJC
He came onto the staff and he was there for several years. Wanda and Luta Sewell never got along too well. Luta resented the fact that Wanda had been brought in over her because Central Files had been kind of an autonomous thing before the Archives were set up. I think Wanda wasn't always as diplomatic as she might have been and was a little officious at times. There was always some friction there.

SMR
Was Wanda a capable archivist? Did she pick this up very well?

LJC
If I remember correctly, she took an archives course some place, I can't remember.
25.

SMR  Was she not sent up to the one in Washington that is offered through the National Archives?

LJC  I'm trying to think where in the dickens she went. I suppose it was probably at the National Archives. I can't remember that. I don't know whether you have any record of that.

SMR  I think I may have it in one of your reports here. I have all the early reports that you rendered. Here we are—"to supplement her knowledge and experience in records classification and management she was authorized to enroll in the Training Program . . . given by the American University in cooperation with the National Archives and Maryland Hall of Records." So she did take the course in Washington.

So you didn't come in for an eight-to-five day in the Archives?

LJC  No. The whole thing was set up basically 50-50, Archives and Institute. In the Archives, of course, once you got a system set up, the other people could carry on with it. The Institute job in some respects, was a more demanding job because I was editor of publications, that's book publications. Besides, The Virginia Gazette Index was under my direction until it was published. Although Stella carried the load, there was quite a good deal of time spent on consultation on this problem and that problem. I suspect that I was spending less than fifty per cent on the Archives.

Eventually—I don't recall just when that was—we got quarters down in the basement. Then everything was brought together
pretty much in one place, as much as that place would hold. I guess there are still some records that are in storage, aren't there, or sort of semi-storage that are certainly not in that big room?

SMR Yes, we have some things that are over in the Arcade Building. We have a basement storage area over there. Could you recall for me perhaps the first interviews or the first correspondence you had with Kenneth Chorley, delineating your duties? Did he say, "This is what we want", or did he give you a free hand to set up the Archives?

LJC It was pretty much a free hand. I don't really know—it's quite possible that—certainly, he was the one that said that they had to have an archives, but somebody must have put him up to that.

SMR You don't think this is something he arrived at independently?

LJC Well, it could have been. On the other hand, it could have come from a suggestion from somebody else inside. I'm not sure about that. He, of course, had a lot of original ideas, but he was the sort of person who, once he thought a thing should be done, and could see the logic of it and the necessity for it, he delegated somebody to do it. Having done that, what he wanted was reports of progress. He never stuck his nose into the Archives, wanting to know how things are going. I may have got him down to the Archives occasionally when I wanted to show it off a little bit, but he didn't come down
because he thought he ought to be finding out how things were going because apparently the reports satisfied him.

Then there was a reorganization of C. W.'s operations--I guess that must have been in 1952 perhaps, when they got a management firm to survey the whole business. These "experts" made this crummy suggestion that the Archives should be put under the Treasurer's Department. Mr. Chorley's right hand man, in a sense, was Allston Boyer in the New York office. He didn't live here. He would come down occasionally, usually when Mr. Chorley came for a two-week stay, or a month or however long it was. He was sort of an administrative assistant. I don't know what his exact title was.

I think that would cover his duties pretty well.

He did all sorts of leg work for K. C. I remember his coming down, maybe it was at the time of this reorganization, asking some foolish questions about the Archives. He didn't know a damn thing about it. He thought maybe some things ought to be done differently. He couldn't see any evidence of what we were doing. How do you see the evidence of what you're doing? It's all in how the thing's set up and how the files are arranged and so forth.

I think I finally had a talk with K. C. about that, too, and he understood that. Of course, at that time I became consultant and then my job was much less directly connected with the operation. By that time, the thing was in operation anyhow.
Another thing we did was put in a system of retention and disposal because there are obviously many, many records that had no long-time value. We worked that system out and got various people who knew the records of their department to recommend what was purely routine. A lot of records were destroyed during that process.

Then when the Korean War came we microfilmed certain records, including the Central Files, which had been moved down to the Archives room. At that time also the historical manuscripts were microfilmed. The manuscripts were always under the control of the Research Department. In those days the Research Department was in the Goodwin Building. The vault in your department housed the manuscripts—I guess they're still kept there, aren't they?

SMR Yes, sir.

LJC The Blathwayt Papers and so on. That's where the British Headquarters Papers—well, that was another thing.

SMR Were they not in the Capitol vault?

LJC Yes, there was a vault in the Capitol. This goes back to the days before the Goodwin Building, I suppose. The Goodwin Building was 1938, was it, or 1937?

SMR I think it was opened in early 1941. I think it was started after Dr. Goodwin's death.

LJC But the British Headquarters Papers had been acquired before that. I don't know exactly what date that was.
I was thinking that Mr. Rockefeller acquired them in the mid-thirties.

LJC

I suppose in those days the only vault was in the Capitol. Well, I heard a lot of complaints by people who had occasion to go in there and look at the papers, that they were not adequately cared for. The humidity was high and there was a danger of deterioration. We got those papers transferred to the vault in the Goodwin Building. They were microfilmed at the time of the emergency; the Blathwayt Papers were also microfilmed.

Of course at that time we had the original British Headquarters (Carleton) Papers and the photostats. When Mr. Rockefeller bought the papers from Rosenbach, the papers were photostated by the New York Public Library, with the agreement that the Library would retain a set of the photostats there, which I suppose they still have. I suppose this was all done before the papers were so handsomely bound in these British redcoat colors, you know. Then they must have been shipped down here with the photostat set. They were microfilmed.

All this microfilm was deposited in the big vault in the Alderman Library, University of Virginia, which seemed to be a safe place during the Korean crisis. Also, the idea was that the originals and the films shouldn't be in the same place. The microfilm was stored up there for quite a long time before it was finally returned to Williamsburg.
Chorley was a native Englishman and a great anglophile, naturally. I don't doubt that it was probably his idea that it would be a fine gesture to give the British Headquarters Papers to the British government, to Her Majesty. Of course, after all, they were really official records of the British army and should never have gotten into private hands. These are the Sir Guy Carleton Papers and I think they went from Carelton to his secretary. I don't know the whole story about that, how they finally came on the market for sale, but they were in private hands through all these years. Finally Rosenbach got into the act as the dealer who handled the situation. They dealt with the Revolution and to some small extent with this area. After all, Carleton didn't become Commander-in-Chief of the British armies in North America until 1782, i.e., after the Yorktown surrender. There are papers that go back before 1782. All of them were originally at headquarters in New York. Carleton succeeded Clinton as Commander-in-Chief.

Clinton took his papers with him back to England, but some of them were left behind. I suppose they were semi-current papers that were needed by Carleton so there is some stuff before 1782 in them, but it's mostly 1782 and 1783 until the British finally evacuated New York.

I never really went along with that idea of returning the Carleton Papers to Great Britain, but I wasn't consulted. It
was a great gesture of friendship with England. I suppose they're in the Public Record Office where they should have been, but there wasn't any Public Record Office until 1838. Of course the British Museum was older. They never should have gone out of the custody of the government in the first place, as though they were Carleton's private papers.

SMR What disposition would you have made of them? You said you didn't agree with giving them away.

LJC I would have kept them here. After all, they could have had a photostat set, too. Mr. Rockefeller, of course, paid a very handsome sum for the papers. It was around a half a million dollars.

I don't know whether you've ever heard this story that's come to me. I've forgotten how I first heard it. I hope it's a true story because it's a good story. After the deal was settled as to how much Mr. Rockefeller should pay Rosenbach for the papers, he said, "Well, now you know, Dr. Rosenbach, I'm buying these papers to give to Colonial Williamsburg, which is an educational institution. I had hoped that you would allow the usual educational discount on the price." And Rosenbach replied, "Mr. Rockefeller, I'd already taken that into consideration." So John D. didn't get any discount. I don't know whether that's a true story or not or the source of it. Ed Kendrew might be able to confirm that or refute it, I don't know. It's a good story and it's very typical of Rosenbach because he was a shrewd dealer.
I've heard some interesting things about him. While we're talking about microfilm, the filming that was done in, I guess it was 1950-1951, thereabouts, was this a direct reaction to the Korean War threat?

That's my recollection of it. That was a pretty serious emergency and no telling whether it was going to spread beyond Korea. I'm quite sure that was the reason it was done, really for security purposes. Not just general security, but it was precipitated by....

Was there any intention of perhaps going ahead and getting rid of the originals since we did have the microfilm, and going ahead and utilizing simply the microfilm copies? Was this ever considered?

No, I don't think so. I don't think I would have been in favor of that. For one thing, microfilm is so difficult to use, so hard to find things in it. Of course, with a guide to the files, you know where to look. We already had the system of retention and disposal in operation although, if I recall correctly, we never did a great deal of weeding out of the general correspondence files. That would have been a very, very time-consuming job because there was such a mixture of records that were obviously of temporary value and records of long-time value, but there was a lot of interfiling of these things. I'm sure there were certain subjects that were obviously purely routine and that was no problem. You could take the whole file folder out.

There was an awful lot of other stuff that would have required going through it piece by piece to weed it out. As I
recall, we never had a big enough staff to do it. After all, the staff had to spend most of its time answering inquiries from all the different departments. That was the primary purpose of it. Having the Central Files under the jurisdiction of the Archives just continued a situation that had existed before, besides having control over all the other older records. There might occasionally be a request for something going way back, who knows?

SMR Certain things were deleted, or apparently the filming that was done was done of certain groups and certain documents. Did you supervise what was going to be filmed and what was not? Did you make the decision?

LJC On the filming?

SMR Yes, sir. In other words, how did you all arrive at the point of saying, "These things are things that we want to keep secure in case of an atomic bomb explosion or whatever—and these other things are not"? Did you make the decision on these and, if so, on what did you base this judgment?

LJC I'm trying to recall whether we did much selection within the general files in preparation for the microfilming.

SMR I was under the impression that some things had been deleted from, perhaps some value judgments had been made on the files that this material is not something we would want to keep or to have security copies of. Do you have any recollection of going through and weeding these files?
LJC  Do you have all this microfilm in your custody now?
SMR  Yes, sir. We've gotten copies back.
LJC  What are you asking now?
SMR  Apparently Bland has gone through them. I haven't looked at them very carefully, but apparently some material was deleted from the Central Files that were filmed.
LJC  That's quite possible.
SMR  I was wondering what your recollections might be of why certain material was not sent off to be filmed. Was it a matter of confidentiality? Did you take out some of the more confidential material and not have this sent off to be filmed, or exactly what was the reason for this?
LJC  I don't see why that factor would have entered in because nobody had access to the film while it was stored. It was put up there for safekeeping and I'm sure that nobody would have had access to it. No, I guess I can't be very helpful on that. I would have thought we might have weeded out certain folders that were easily gotten out because of the nature of the subject and maybe those were not microfilmed. But you're talking about material that is not on the microfilm but is still in the files?
SMR  Yes, sir.
LJC  Well, what's the nature of this material?
Unfortunately, I wasn't able to take a look at this yesterday. I was going to review all of this before I came out this morning. We got a request for the President's office right at the end of the day and I never had a chance to take a look at it. I'm not exactly sure what the nature of the deleted material was. Perhaps I can refresh my memory about it and talk to you about it at some later time. I won't dwell on that now, however. It would probably just get more confusing the more I talk about it.

Let's go back to this Cresap, McCormick and Paget survey. How was this conducted?

I don't think it involved anything on, let's say, the content of the Archives or anything of that sort. I think it just—well, of course, they surveyed the whole organization. They were supposed to come up with some proposal that would, I suppose, make the operation more efficient. I suppose they couldn't see any reason why the Archives should be operating as a separate department. It ought to be under something else, I don't know why. Certainly I don't suppose they knew anything about archives. It always seemed to me that because the archives are the records of the whole organization, the archivist ought to be responsible to as near to the top as possible of the organization because when you get involved in matters of policy, you don't have to go through a lot of channels of people that don't know anything about it anyhow.
If I had any problem that was really something serious about policy or anything, I'd be able to go directly to Mr. Chorley, if necessary. I don't know that that ever happened, but that was my basic philosophy. I don't really know, but when they had the Central Files before the Archives was set up, I'm not sure to whom Mrs. Sewell was responsible, maybe to the office manager.

SMR I believe so. I'm sure that's the way it was structured.

LJC That would be a logical arrangement. I don't know to whom the office manager was responsible, whether that was to one of the vice presidents or what.

SMR So, really you could approach Mr. Chorley directly on particular problems—in other words, you didn't report to anybody per se within the organization.

LJC Oh, no.

SMR With the exception of the President's office.

LJC Of course most of the time he wasn't there. The second in command was Bela Norton. In the early days Mr. Geddy was the executive vice president. He was succeeded by Bela Norton, circa 1952. I never had any need to go to Mr. Geddy. If it was a question of policy, I could always wait until K. C. came down here. My responsibility was just direct to him. There was nobody in between. There was never any issue made of that. I guess I just sort of took that for granted. I couldn't see the point of the Archives being put under the Treasurer's Department or under any other department, but that's the way they did it.
Of course, by that time I had become consultant and I wasn't any longer directly involved in this kind of problem. They just called me in when they wanted some advice on records or whatever it might be. These public relations experts are a queer outfit. I don't have much use for them.

SMR How did you feel about being--having the department somewhat knocked about and yourself being put on a consultant basis?

LJC I didn't mind going on as consultant because I had plenty to do in the Institute, more and more, because our publications program was increasing. There were more manuscripts to read and so that was all right with me. I had no objection to that at all.

When that happened it may have been something of a disadvantage to the Archives because there wasn't anybody taking my place who had the kind of contact that I had with the top. Of course, after that the contact would be with I. L. Jones, the treasurer. I don't know that they had any particular issues with him. I think he would be inclined to go along with things--he didn't know anything about the Archives either, although that could have been some disadvantage to the Archives.

SMR I just wondered if you had any strong feelings about that Cresap, McCormick and Paget survey. Were you violently opposed or in favor or what?

LJC I heard a lot of complaints, but that was inevitable, of course, with people being shoved around. I think a lot of those public relations
outfits aren't as smart as they think they are. After all, C. W. is a very complicated organization, a unique organization really, nothing quite like it. Maybe they did more harm than they did good, I don't know. This is very typical, I think, of Rockefeller organizations, constantly taking stock. Well, that's a good thing, taking stock, but I think K. C. was very much sold on this kind of thing. Besides that their charges are just astronomical, you know, for this sort of thing.

SMR It's interesting to get some background on that. Dr. Cappon, when you came in 1945 was there any question of amalgamating the research function with Archives? Was this brought up at that time, a possible merger of the two departments?

LJC No, I can't recall that there was ever anything of that sort. There certainly wasn't any need for it because the two operations are really very distinct from each other.

SMR I was thinking, considering the fact that Hunter Farish had just left and apparently they had some interim people working there. I think Mary Goodwin was sort of holding down the department there for a time. I wondered if there was some move afoot perhaps to bring it under the Institute or the Archives or give it a little more direction?

LJC I don't recall that there ever was.

(End of Tape 1)
I worry more about the interviewees in this situation because I'm just sitting here listening and I'm fascinated. I'm absorbed. You're the one who's doing all the work, so I'll let you set the pace.

Could I get you to talk a little bit about—we've talked about Wanda Castle somewhat—but can I get you to talk about Luta Sewell and Ernie Priest and Polly Krotts and some of the early people in the department? How you went about selecting these people and how they came along as professionals or how they worked along with you? That's pretty much an open-ended question. I'll just let you approach it in any way you see fit.

I mentioned Wanda Castle in relation to Luta Sewell. There was bound to be some friction there. Wanda was at something of a disadvantage because Luta knew more about the records than she did. Luta had run those Central Files for a long time. She had some assistants, little girls that did just purely routine work. Most of them maybe weren't even college graduates, so she was a kind of a lone dog type, you see. She liked to operate on her own. It was difficult for her to share responsibility. That was one of the problems.

Then we got Ernie Priest in there. Well, he was a bright guy and I tried to give him some responsibility, too. Sometimes that didn't work very well because she was always reluctant to let other people do jobs that were, well, on an equality with hers. There was occasional friction between her and Ernie. It would be kind
of petty things. I remember one instance, I guess I learned about
it from him. She was always the first one, very prompt in arriving,
right on the dot, at eight-thirty in those days. Luta was always
the first one there. I guess sometimes Ernie would be a little bit
late and that would sort of provoke her. She heard that Ernie
said he'd come in on time, he'd do better. This would be next
morning so Ernie was resolved he would be there right on the dot.
When he got there Luta was already there. She'd made it a point
to get there before him. It was that sort of petty thing that went
on, but I don't know that it damaged the Archives operation particu-
larly.

The other people in it—well, there was some turn-over. I
didn't get too well acquainted with them because they were doing
very routine work, coding the letters to get them properly filed or
finding things to answer requests from the various departments. That
was pretty much a routine job.

SMR I think the two I see referred to in your early reports are Polly
Krotts and Elizabeth Hall. They were just, I guess what we call
searcher-classifiers now.

LJC Yes, I wouldn't be able to make any comment on them.

SMR Did either Wanda Castle or Ernie Priest go on in the archives field
when they left Colonial Williamsburg?

LJC Ernie Priest was very much interested in the church, Episcopal
Church. He went on to a seminary. I've lost track of him. I
don't know what happened to him, but he started studying for the priesthood and went out to Wisconsin, to Nashaot House Seminary. I've lost track of him. I don't know whether he actually became ordained or not.

SMR  How about Miss Castle? Did she progress in her archives work? Did she take this as a profession, a possible profession?

LJC  I've lost track of her, too. She went back to Texas and the last I knew she was librarian of a public library in Texas. I don't even recall where. It seems to me she was from one of the larger cities, from Dallas, I think. I don't even know why she left Colonial Williamsburg, whether it was just that she wanted to go back to Texas to live or what. I don't know whether she's still living or not. I've completely lost track of her.

SMR  I don't know anything about either of these people.

LJC  I wouldn't know whom to ask about that.

SMR  If they are still drawing any sort of benefits from Colonial Williamsburg, I'm sure that the Personnel Department would have an update on these people. I had some questions here that I was instructed to ask you. You apparently had something to do with a proposal for establishing a Rockefeller family archives. I'd like to get some background on that.

LJC  There isn't much to say. Have you found a memo in the files about this?

SMR  I did not per se. This was one of the questions that the director, Bland Blackford, wanted me to ask you. Apparently this was something
that was proposed somewhat prior to its actual establishment. You originally had the idea, is this correct?

LJC Oh, yes. I guess maybe it's just one of those ideas that came to me, that after all there must be a tremendous accumulation of records of the Rockefellers. The different foundations they set up would have their own records but just the files of the family would presumably be pretty extensive. So, at one point, I don't remember what year this was, I wrote a memo to Mr. Chorley suggesting that this ought to be done. I don't know that I ever had a reply from him on the memo. I thought that there might be a copy of that memo somewhere in the files.

SMR I'm sure that there must be, Dr. Cappon. I just simply haven't seen it.

LJC I wonder where it would be filed.

SMR Was it a fairly broad memo?

LJC No, it was just a page.

SMR I didn't know if you had actually thought it through and presented a broad concept there.

LJC No, it wasn't anything of that sort. I don't know when the Rockefeller Archives was actually set up with Joseph Ernst as archivist. He is still in charge, isn't he? They're not in Rockefeller Center now. Haven't they moved?

SMR They've moved out to Pocantico, I think.

LJC Oh, they have? The old Rockefeller estate near Tarrytown?
Yes, sir. I believe this is where their headquarters are. I'm not sure exactly when that was set up, but I was just interested in your early proposal and if anything had come of that.*

Well, I don't know to what . . .

. . . extent that might have influenced the later adoption?

Well, I thought it would be a good idea to give K. C. the idea. He always prided himself on being very close to Mr. Rockefeller. Anything of that sort would have been highly improper for me to have written to Mr. Rockefeller. It had to go through the proper channels. Certainly if K. C. thought it was a good idea, he would have followed through and on some appropriate occasion he would have put a bug in Mr. Rockefeller's ear about this. Well, he died in 1960 and the archives I don't think go back that far, do they?

No, sir, I don't believe so.

I think it's some time in the sixties when Ernst was employed. I see him occasionally at meetings and I have visited the archives while they were in Rockefeller Center. He's a very able guy. I've

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*At the SAA meeting in Washington on 29 September 1976, I had a conversation with Dr. Ernst about the Rockefeller Family Archives. He has the original typescript of my memo which, he maintains, was the spark that brought about the founding of the archives. K. C. talked with Mr. Rockefeller about the idea and Mr. Rockefeller proceeded from there in support of it. Recently the archives acquired all the surviving papers of John D., Sr. Ernst surmises that John D., Jr. had kept those papers impounded for personal reasons. Evidently his sons (the Rockefeller brothers) have been very cooperative in the development of the family archives - LJC
been reading this new book on the Rockefellers. Have you seen that? It's a joint authorship and I can't remember the authors' names. According to the preface or the flap on the book, these fellows were given the first unrestricted access* to the Rockefeller Archives. Ernst had always had, I guess, a rather conservative policy there. A lot of people have used material but what they get access to is not just a free for all. They have to, I suppose, ask for fairly specific material and then he decides whether they can see it or not. But these fellows were given unrestricted access. I've only read the part that deals with John D., Sr. It's a good job. It's obviously not an authorized biography. It's critical and says favorable and unfavorable things. Quite good characterizations—there are some good characterizations of John D., Sr. in this fairly short section in the early part of the book. I've just gotten into the early life of Jr., but it looks to me like a very good job.

You see, Colonial Williamsburg had a New York office. Chorley always operated out of the New York office. Mildred Layne started here. She was Ed Kendrew's secretary. She was so damned good that K. C. took her away from Ed. So she was his secretary all the time that he was in New York. That New York office was not discontinued until after K. C. retired and some time after that. Later Mildred came back here.

*Ernst told me that their statement is not correct. He does not have a high opinion of the book. - LJC
So there were Colonial Williamsburg files of a sort in the New York office, you see, because K. C. was there much more than he was here. We got some records transferred from the New York office. I would think that all those files, when that office was discontinued, would have been sent down here, but that's after my time and I don't know about that. There would be occasional questions come up which couldn't be answered here because the answer was in the files in the New York office. That was a part of the program of centralization of the records.

SMR That was the very question I was going to ask you, about the acquisition of these New York office records. I think we got a group down in 1947, not long after you'd come down and these were then interfiled into the general correspondence.

LJC Sure, it seems to me I can remember Mildred sending us a batch of records or they were brought down here.

SMR Exactly why were they interfiled and not kept as a separate record group? Was it the logical thing to do at the time, to go ahead and interfile them?

LJC You mean at this end of the line?

SMR Yes, sir. In other words, the things that were sent down from New York were apparently interfiled. Why were these not kept as a separate record group? Why exactly was this done?

LJC Well, I suppose probably because all of it was so closely interrelated to the stuff that was here that it was felt it was better to
interfile it that way because the questions that would come up would deal with certain subjects and therefore you'd get both sides of it in the same file. Now, you could argue the other way that because it was a separate office they should have been kept as a separate New York office file.

SMR
This is what I was going to say. This is, of course, the other side of the coin. But it was felt at the time that this would be the best course?

LJC
I think that must have been the feeling about it. Everything was so closely related that—in other words, in a sense it was just a matter of physical location. If those files had been here, those letters would have gone into Central Files, except restricted stuff. I know Humelsine has files in his own office now that nobody sees but his office [staff]. I don't know to what extent some of those files become unrestricted and—do you get occasionally stuff from Humelsine's office?

SMR
Yes, sir. In fact some of it is placed under restriction when it comes down. In other words, we have gotten some restricted material that has been kept restricted. It is interfiled but it's set up so that it is evident that it's restricted.

LJC
That may be a partial answer to the question. If the office had been here those materials would have gone into Central Files under the subjects, so that's what was done. Mrs. Chorley, so I've heard, never wanted to live in Williamsburg. She's a big city girl and
this would have been much too dead and restricted a community to suit her. I think I've heard that that was a factor. Also, the fact that there was a convenience to being near the other Rockefeller offices because Chorley had a lot of dealings that had nothing to do with Colonial Williamsburg. He had his hand in all sorts of other Rockefeller things. Maybe that really was a more important point. Of course it worked to some disadvantage at this end of the line because often they needed him here. Something quite pressing would come up. Maybe somebody would have to go up to New York to talk with him about it so that was something of a disadvantage.*

He usually came down in the fall and often spent a whole month down here. It was a nice time to be here, so there'd be a lot going on. It's sort of amusing. Because C. W. is a Rockefeller operation and Chorley had come out of other Rockefeller activities before he became president here, the idea was that it was always to

* On 3 October 1976 I had a conversation with Mrs. Chorley in Williamsburg. She told me that recently the Rockefeller offices in New York transferred to her home in New Jersey all of K. C.'s voluminous files of personal papers. She is now engaged in the burdensome task of reading or skimming through them in order, I suppose, to segregate what is "purely personal." She came upon a copy of my memo concerning the proposed Rockefeller Family Archives. (That, of course, is not "personal.") Presumably, K. C.'s papers will eventually go into the Archives, where they should have been transferred in the first place. Obviously they contain C. W. material. Another case of misdirected records! — LJC
be run with the greatest of New York efficiency, a real efficient operation. Chorley was—I was very fond of him—he was the big executive type. He was a big man, you know, six foot, six or something, a big fellow. Just to look at him you had this feeling that he was important.

In many ways he was a very sentimental person. He had a great fondness for people. I think that all the people that were close to him, the people who had the upper offices, like Kendrew who worked with him, that they all had a certain affection for him, along with this respect because he was a top person. He was very thoughtful of people. I remember when my wife died I had a very nice letter from him.

As I say, the offices in the Goodwin Building were run with great efficiency in a bureaucratic style. The amusing thing always was that when the message came down that Mr. Chorley was coming down to Colonial Williamsburg, the day before he got here they all checked the intercoms to be sure that they worked. I can remember Bridenbaugh had an intercom in his office because he was director of the Institute. That's in the days when we were in the Goodwin Building. He used to laugh about that. The intercom would go on and we'd wonder what the hell was going on. "Well, Mr. Chorley's coming." Everybody was supposed to be on edge, ready for the big man to appear. Nothing was supposed to be out of order when he got here. It was kind of funny.
I've heard tell of people getting somewhat on edge when they heard he was coming down and apparently some people looked upon it as with great trepidation.

And, of course, there were always a lot of social events while he and his wife were here. In those days there was always--in the early years that I was here a weekly staff luncheon--when he was here. He'd be here for a month; there'd be this succession of lunches at the Inn. It was a very fine luncheon. Chorley would be there presiding. I got in it because I was archivist, you see, and I was responsible to him, that was it. It gave me a better chance to get acquainted with him.

He was always accessible. If you had something important to talk with him about--you didn't go to him unless you did--I could always get an appointment with him, there was never any problem about that.

Going back to this matter of the public relations, there's a society called the Newcomen Society. You've probably seen their publications. This was originally an English society. It started out maybe mostly with scientists because of the name. It has historical aspects to it. They publish mostly addresses that have been given at meetings of the Society. There's a comparable one in the United States and Chorley was a member of that. So he was invited to give a paper. He wrote a paper about the development of Colonial Williamsburg.
This was while the Research Department was still in the Goodwin Building. They were there quite a long time after the Institute moved from the Goodwin Building to the offices above the shops in the north side of the business block. The architectural drafting department had been on the top floor in those buildings on the north side of the business block. Later, after they moved out and some of the other offices on the second floor were vacated and the personnel in the Goodwin Building was expanding after the war, it was thought that, since the Institute was only indirectly connected with Colonial Williamsburg, they moved us over there. The top floor, where the drafting department had been, was the Quarterly office. Well, it was partially air conditioned. I often think how in the days before air conditioning those draftsmen must have sweated like the dickens up in that top floor under the roof.

Anyhow, to go back, one day I happened to be looking up something in the library in the Research Department which was still in the Goodwin Building and Mary Goodwin had a typescript in hand. She said, "Maybe you'd like to look at this typescript. This is a speech that Mr. Chorley is going to give to the Newcomen Society. It's been put together by"—oh, I've forgotten the name of this— as I said before he was a great man for public relations . . .

*SMR*

Probably Earl Newsom.

*LJC*

Earl Newsom. So I suppose with the aid of the Research Department the Newsom ghost-writer had drafted this paper. I began reading through it.
He had quite a bit about the colonial background of the area before the restoration. So I came on a paragraph and I thought, "Gosh, I've read this before." It sounded very familiar. Then I realized that it was lifted from Carl Bridenbaugh's *Seat of Empire*. That was the first of the Williamsburg historical studies, you know, that was published. The Newsom writer had lifted out a whole paragraph verbatim from this book, with no acknowledgment of where it came from. Of course these Newcomen publications didn't have any footnotes or anything of that sort. But I thought, "Well, gee whiz. This is a fine howdy-do. Bridenbaugh is a very touchy guy." I thought if somehow he gets to read this and he begins to see all this stuff lifted out of his book, he's going to raise hell.

So, I thought, well, after all Chorley's going to be the one that hears about it. Bridenbaugh wouldn't have hesitated to give Chorley hell because he left the Institute in 1950. So I thought I think I'd better tip off K. C. about this. So I got an appointment with him and I told him the story. He was quite noncommittal about it because I think he thought Earl Newsom and company were just the stuff, you know. I think he was very glad to get the information. I don't know whatever became of it. It was a good example of where there was no problem of getting an appointment with him. He didn't know what I was going to talk with him about, but there wasn't any problem. It was so characteristic of these public relations firms. They're really very dishonest in many ways.
There's a gray area between public relations and advertising. If you have to push it over for the advertising, you don't hesitate to do it. That's their point of view. Well, that's getting a little bit off the subject.

No, not really. I think it gives some insights into Kenneth Chorley and into some of the ways things were done a while back.

Another interesting thing. Of course, these files are not going to be accessible to anybody. You have to have special permission, don't you?

Yes, sir.

Talking about Chorley, of course naturally being the top man, he had the great prestige and rightly so. Of course Mr. Geddy was a local person and everybody was very fond of Mr. Geddy. He did a very good job. Bela Norton who succeeded him was a public relations man. He had worked in his early days for Ivy Lee. You know Ivy Lee was John D. Rockefeller, Sr.'s first means to build up, restore his reputation. Bela had worked in his early days for Ivy Lee and came down here to head up public relations. He's still living, of course, up in Maine, I think. Has he been interviewed?

Yes, sir, he has.

He's an awfully nice guy, a very kindly person, but he doesn't have much, how do I put it, he doesn't project himself very well as a chairman in that sort of way. They had staff meetings about once a month in the Board Room. Often he would have to preside because K. C.
was up in New York. Well, the contrast between the meetings with K. C. presiding and Bela was really something. You could just feel that there wasn't in a sense the proper respect paid to Bela Norton as chairman. He was not a good presiding officer. He couldn't keep the meetings on the main line of discussion and so forth. Often the thing kind of fell apart besides the fact that he was one among many vice presidents. True, he was executive vice president but the staff thought of him as head of public relations. He didn't command the same kind of respect that people had for Chorley. Well, that's telling things out of school.

SMR I find that interesting. I don't know a lot about Bela Norton. He was here for a long time. We did have an interview with him, but it's very much a PR type of interview, if you know what I mean. In other words, he really didn't say much of anything. He gave some good background material, but it's interesting to find out how these people inter-related to the other vice presidents or with Chorley.

LJC There were so many people that came to the Restoration quite early and stayed a long time. In some cases, their whole career, like Ed Kendrew's was spent here—he had been an employee of Perry, Shaw and Hepburn. Rod Jones came early and he was the treasurer all the way through until his retirement. Bela Norton was here a long time. The man who was head of the hotels . . .

SMR . . . John Green.
John Green was here a long, long time. There was a very good esprit de corps here, partly because of this continuation of the same people. They knew it pretty much from the beginning. Their knowledge of the past was tremendously helpful from time to time, of course, on problems that came up that recent comers thought were new problems. Well, they weren't new problems at all. They were old problems that were coming up in a new form. I guess Gonzales succeeded Norton, didn't he?

Yes, sir, I believe so.

Isn't he still head of Public Relations? I think he succeeded . . .

I think he had a fellow named Lucius Battle who was here, too.

Oh, yes, Luke Battle, that's right. He was here for not too long.

No, he wasn't here very long.

He's had a very distinguished career in the State Department. I think he was our ambassador to Egypt. He's had a very distinguished career, very able guy.

I want to ask you one or two more things about the Archives here. You did a paper study back in the early days. I think Wanda Castle worked on this to determine the best sorts of paper and ink and things to use. . .

Yes. We wrote around to a lot of companies. That's how we ended up with the yellow carbon copies because all those old on blue copies are just very ordinary paper. It was a result of that study that we introduced this partial rag paper, this yellow paper. Is that still used?
SMR  Yes, sir. We're still using the buff paper.

LJC  I suppose that's so often the case where people that create the records are saving—the letter may go out on good paper but carbon copies on the worst possible paper you could imagine. That makes their files. Well, I think there's something about that in the article, that Sewell and Priest and I got published in the *American Archivist*.

SMR  I was wondering if there was any little extra background or anything that was particularly significant about that that you wanted to talk about.

LJC  I don't know that there's anything that's not in the article; just an obvious bad situation that ought to be rectified.

SMR  Do you have your personal copy of that?

LJC  I'm sure I do. Of course I have a complete file of the *American Archivist*. It's in that. We had offprints run off.

SMR  I think I've got one here. I was wondering if you still had . . .

LJC  I think that supply was exhausted some time ago.

SMR  I was wondering if you happened to have—was there not a larger report drawn up for the department?

LJC  On which that paper was based?

SMR  Yes, sir. This is what I'm interested in running down. I think we have a copy of it, but the question in my mind is, is it complete? I think we may have a somewhat incomplete copy of the actual study itself. I was wondering if you, in your files, had a more complete copy than what we have.
LJC I don't think so.

SMR I wanted to ask you about that but there was one other thing that I wanted to talk about. The International Congress on Archives apparently made a visit here in the early fifties.

LJC Here?

SMR Yes, sir. Or they came down and took a tour of the Archives.

LJC They may have done that. The meeting was in Washington. I attended the meeting. When was that? In the sixties sometime?

SMR I was under the impression it was about the same time that this survey was being conducted, this Cresap, McCormick and Paget survey.

LJC Oh, maybe it was. I can't remember. It's been a good while ago. That congress meets, I think it's once every five years, but this was a special meeting. They'd never met in the United States. I don't know just how this was engineered, by the National Archives, I suppose. So this was a special congress and I attended it in Washington. I guess maybe if they took a tour down here, did they visit the Archives here?

SMR This was the impression I got. This again was a question that the director wanted me to ask you. I think she had found some indication of the fact that they may have toured the Archives. She was wondering if you had possible tried to utilize the opinion of some of these people regarding the efficiency of our Archives as a sort of buttress against this survey recommending the placement of the Archives under the treasurer.
LJC No, I don't think so.

SMR I think this was the orientation of this question that had you tried to fight this survey which sort of took the Archives out of its position of direct line to the president and put it under another department.

LJC I may have written a memo objecting to that. I can't recall. Have you found anything in the files of that sort?

SMR I have not found the memo that you wrote specifically on that. Of course, your situation was such that you were devoting a lot of your time to the Institute and the fate of the Archives was almost, I guess, at this point sort of peripheral to your main interest which was the Institute.

LJC That International Congress, you know, is meeting in Washington in September.

SMR Yes, sir, this fall. I'm looking forward to it.

LJC This is their first American meeting in the regular series of congresses. I'm hoping to go to that. The Society is meeting at the same time.

SMR This will be my first Society meeting and I'm looking forward to it.

LJC That will be a big affair.

SMR I'm very pleased that all this is going to happen at the time that I'm making my debut in the Society, as it were.

LJC I enjoyed that Congress, that earlier one, very much. It was a really high-powered affair.
I think I may have exhausted most of the questions I had on archives. I'll want to get into the Institute with you. I didn't know if you wanted to break and get some lunch and talk about the Institute later this afternoon or how you wanted to do this.

You want to talk about the Institute?

Yes, sir. I think that's something you might be interested in talking about.

Well, maybe this would be a good place to break it?

All right, sir. I've got one other question about the Archives and something you can probably dispatch very quickly. The Central Files, when you arrived in 1945, were they arranged in the same manner in which we have them now?

I think pretty much so.

There was no major rearrangement and reorienting of this group?

I don't believe so. No, I think it was a good setup. It seemed to function well. I don't recall that we made any major changes in that. The other departments had—the hotels had a lot—their records had always been kept separate. All their back stuff was stored up, I think it was up in the attic of the Inn. We surveyed all that material while John Green was manager of the hotels. He was very cooperative. I think most of the stuff that was up there was really dead storage anyhow. That was eventually moved to the Goodwin Building. I don't recall that that stuff was interfiled. Do you?

No, I wouldn't know that. I expect we could determine.
It was kept as a separate body of records. The Craft House also had, of course, a lot of stuff.

When you first came, I know that one of your first jobs was to go around and survey where the records were and who had what. Were you pretty cordially received in all these departments?

Oh, yes.

I don't think anybody gave you any opposition.

We never ran into any opposition about that. I'm trying to think now whether we got either K. C. or the executive vice president to write a memo that went to the department heads saying that the Archives was going to make a survey of their records. We may have paved the way with that sort of thing. I can't remember for sure. That may well have been done. That would have helped to ease the situation because when an order came from the top, they'd better follow it. There was never any friction on that score. We tried to be diplomatic, of course, about it. We needed their judgment too, of course, on the appraisal of records. It was sort of a cooperative thing.

So that went very smoothly. There was no hitch.

Smooth enough.

Maybe we can dismiss these very quickly. Emily Williams was interested in knowing if you knew anything of the background on John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s urging John Stewart Bryan to take the presidency of William and Mary back in the 1930's.
LJC Of course, that's before my time.

SMR That's before your connection here.

LJC I don't know anything about that.

SMR I think she was wondering if you knew anything about this and she wanted to know if you had ever heard of a possible proposal that the Restoration and William and Mary would join forces, that this would become a joint venture of some description.

LJC In what way would that have been--of course, the Restoration includes the old College buildings, those were part of the restoration project. I'm sure the state was happy to have that done at no cost.

SMR Take a glance at those questions there, the top questions and see if you shed any light on any of those. If not, we can dispense with those and go on.

LJC I don't know anything about that.

SMR I think Emily felt like you might have some knowledge of this, even from some secondary sources or something.

LJC I think from time to time there was some friction between the College and the Restoration for whatever reasons, but after Pomfret came here as president in 1942, I think it was, the relations between him and Chorley were very good and it was of course through them that the Institute was started.

SMR How about that Colonial Life Seminar, do you know anything about that at all? That's the second little block down there of questions. Apparently it was almost a forerunner of the fellowship program.
LJC Which question is this? Oh, Colonial Life Seminar. Let me look at these others. I've heard about the "golden hour," the speech but I don't know anything about that. I don't know. That, of course, was a lot of wishful thinking I suppose on the part of the College. It doesn't seem to me there was much likelihood that that would have happened. After all, in 1939, just before World War II, the Restoration was a long way—the physical restoration was a long way from being completed. Do you know anything about this Colonial Life?

SMR Just a little bit, Dr. Cappon. I think this was the late thirties, early forties and apparently it was . . .

LJC Who was proposing it?

SMR I think it was jointly sponsored by William and Mary and C. W. and I think Emily felt like it might be almost a forerunner to the apprenticeship program. What they did was take applications. These were mostly teachers and professors who came down here and they took a very intensive four or six weeks course of something like this in colonial life. Just before the war, say 1937, 1938, 1939, something like this.

I think what Emily was driving at is—was there a decision to try to pick this up after the war? Did somebody say, "Let's don't do this, let's have a fellowship program," i.e. the fellowship program at the Institute? I think she was wondering if there was ever any discussion about reviving this Colonial Life Seminar and somebody said, "No, let's don't bring this group of people down here and
indoctrinate them for four weeks. Let's have a fellowship pro-
gram and bring somebody in, a bright young scholar, for a year or what-
ever."

LJC No, as I said at lunch, the fellowship program was sort of an asset
of Colonial Williamsburg which was put into the Institute just as
the Quarterly was by the College. Eventually the Institute did a
number of different seminars, one of the most important of which is
the series held very irregularly. It's called "Needs and Oppor-
tunities for Study." This was started when Butterfield was director,
and the first one was on the history of law. The idea was that some
authority would give a paper on the particular subjects and then there
would be discussion at the seminar. Then the paper would be pub-
lished along with a bibliography on the subject.

The first one was on law which never materialized into a
book, but all the others have. There's one on science, another on
arts and crafts, another on Indian-white relations. Thad Tate is, I
think, considering doing another seminar one of these days. That
wouldn't have had anything to do—I don't think this Colonial Life
Seminar was a background for that series.

SMR This is what I think she was interested in, if there was any cor-
relation between the two. I'm going to work her questions on the
Institute in with mine, but I wanted you to just go ahead and look
at those top questions and see if you could shed any light on them.
Who first suggested it? Well, I can't give a specific answer to that.

Which one is that?

Who first suggested that there be an Institute on Early American History?

Let's start the Institute by your talking about your coming and the circumstances under which you were brought down here. How you were contacted, etc. I think Carl Bridenbaugh was very much interested in having you. I don't know if he asked for you by name but I think when your name was proposed he was very enthusiastic.

Of course, we knew each other.

Could you tell me a bit about your previous connections and how you knew . . .

Previous connection with what?

Carl Bridenbaugh.

Well, it was just professional, knowing him professionally.

You had not worked together or been on a project together?

It wasn't related to any particular project or anything of that sort. I already had the contact here as consultant on The Virginia Gazette Index. As I recall, the letter that I received asking me whether I would do this consultant work—no, that must have come from Kenneth Chorley, it was a letter from Kenneth Chorley because it was a Colonial Williamsburg project, not a College project. Maybe Bridenbaugh suggested me as a possibility. I don't know about that. That offer came, I suppose it was, in the spring of 1945. He was just getting out of the
Navy at that time. He moved here in October. He started the first of October. I accepted the offer and came down the first of November.

We didn't have any place to live. We had our house in Charlottesville. During the first year I commuted. It got to be pretty tiresome. We thought we would probably prefer to live in the restored area. There was nothing available because during the war when so many employees of Colonial Williamsburg went into the service, C. W. rented a number of their houses to Army and Navy personnel who were assigned to this area. There was a government regulation that until that regulation was rescinded you couldn't evict anybody, any officer personnel. That regulation wasn't rescinded until maybe the summer of 1946. Then that began to open things up. I had already been working here so we were sort of at the top of the list. We had the unique opportunity of choosing between two houses; the Prentis House and the one close to the Palace on the left-hand side, the big . . .

SMR Carter-Saunders House?

LJC I guess then they called it just the Carter House.

SMR They didn't call it Carter-Saunders House?

LJC That's it. Well, we had a choice between the two houses. We decided for the Prentis House, maybe partly because the other house was so close to the Palace we thought that the crowds would be there all the time. Anyway we made the right choice because the Prentis House is a reconstructed house. The old house was long since gone
and there was a garage and filling station on that site when the Restoration began. That house was built from the ground up. The arrangement of the rooms—the only thing they had to go on was the archaeological evidence and that only went so far. There were no historical records about the house. The Prentis family had a lot of information about the gardens. It was known that they had an herb garden there and that they sold herbs. I think that's why they called the little house on the street there behind the Prentis House the Prentis Shop because presumably that was used for the sale of the herbs. I'm not sure that they know for certain that that's true. Then the other house was obviously the Prentis Kitchen. Of course, they were rented separately. That house wasn't built until about 1939 I would say. By that time, the Restoration realized that they had to make more concessions to twentieth-century living than they had in some of the earlier reconstructed houses so they put many closets in that house. Of course, the old houses all had wardrobes. They put a porch on the back that didn't show from the street, of course, a screened porch.

The Carter-Saunders House was a restored house and there was still a lot that needed to be done. I know that the Geddys had lived there for a while. I remember Vernon Geddy used to complain about the problems with rats in the cellar. Later that house was completely renovated. The Showmans lived there also. Well, the Showmans came in the spring of 1946. Anyhow, after Mr. Geddy died
and before the Gonzales moved in they did quite a major job on improving the house and putting the basement in better shape and everything. We were always glad we chose the Prentis House.

That garden behind that has always been open to the public but my wife liked to garden a bit so they reserved a couple of plots out back there for her to do her gardening in. We didn't move down here until September 1946 because these houses hadn't become available until about that time.

SMR So you had been what--just commuting on the weekends back and forth?

LJC Yes, I was commuting and it got pretty monotonous. I had a lot of tire trouble because the new tires hadn't come on the market yet and during the war everybody was riding on retreads. That was another disadvantage, I was pretty much fed up with it. We moved down even before we sold our house in Charlottesville.

SMR I'm sure your wife must have enjoyed that a great deal. I bet that was a real headache, going back and forth. When you got down here in November, of course, Bridenbaugh was already on the job. The Quarterly had been started up again--started in 1944. Now when you came Richard Morton had already taken over from Earl Swem as the managing editor. Douglas Adair was here, was he not? I have him down as book review editor. That could be a misnomer.

LJC Maybe you're right. I guess so. I'm trying to think whether Dick Morton had an assistant editor.

SMR Would Pierce Middleton have functioned as that perhaps?
LJC He came back as a research associate, which he had held under Colonial Williamsburg. That was his job. He had nothing to do with either book publications or the Quarterly.

SMR What were his functions?

LJC The research associate's position was a research job, to do his own research and finish his book. That's been true of the fellows all the way through. I think he taught a course at the College, that was part of the idea. The fellow or research associate would do a small amount of teaching, which would be good experience for him. The appointment was basically a research appointment and that's still true today. The editor of the Quarterly had no assistant until January 1946 when Margaret Lee Bailey, from the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, became associate editor. She was a very capable historical editor.

The Quarterly office was never in the Goodwin Building. That had been set up in College quarters, in Dick Morton's office. I didn't go over to the Quarterly office very often. That was one of the disadvantages. It was kind of detached, you see, from the rest of the Institute until we moved. Then we all came together on the Duke of Gloucester Street.

SMR So you and Dr. Bridenbaugh were in the Goodwin Building?

LJC And The Virginia Gazette Index was there with Stella Neiman.

SMR Dr. Morton and Douglas Adair and Pierce Middleton were all somewhere else, Morton and Adair working on the Quarterly.
LJC Middleton was in the Goodwin Building, Morton and Adair in their offices at the College. Bridenbaugh was still here when we made that move, I think. That would have been about 1947 because he left in 1950.

SMR What exactly did you do in the early days and what exactly did Dr. Bridenbaugh do? What were your job functions here?

LJC Well, of course, he was the director.

SMR Which entailed what? What exactly did he do?

LJC He was administering the Institute. My job was under him and so was the Quarterly job, and so was Pierce Middleton as the research associate. The Institute was not a big operation so Bridenbaugh had considerable time for his own research. While he was here he published Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton (University of North Carolina Press for the Institute). He wrote a Seat of Empire for Colonial Williamsburg. His Colonial Craftsman was a series of lectures that he gave at N. Y. U., published by the University. He did the volume on Peter Harrison, Colonial Architect. That was an early Institute publication. He had already done some research on that, I think, and completed it in Williamsburg.

Since it was a small organization, he had considerable time for his own research. That was part of the attraction of the job, of course. I guess I was supposed to have some time for research, too, maybe, but it didn't work out very well with my dual responsibilities.
SMR  You were research editor. Exactly what did you do?

LJC  That title still prevails today, editor of publications. That means editor of the book manuscripts that we published.

SMR  So that was your function in the Institute at first.

LJC  We started then with Robert Beverley's *History of Virginia*, edited by Louis B. Wright, which, as I said before, was just about in shape to go to the printer. I really didn't do any editing on that. If I had, I think I would have insisted that Louis Wright do more annotations. It's very lightly annotated.

The problem in the early days, of course, was that the Institute was a new organization. Most people didn't even know about it yet so there was the problem of attracting manuscripts. Besides the fact that our publication funds were small. The books were not numerous in the early years. We gradually built up some reputation.

I held that job until I became director in 1955. Dick Morton was the editor of the *Quarterly*. He was not a very good editor. In just minute things like the style of footnotes and all that sort of thing he was not very consistent. I know we had some complaints about that. Arthur Schlesinger was on the Institute Council in the early days. We always called him the granddaddy of the Institute because the idea of such an organization had been discussed by the old advisory committee of Colonial Williamsburg. He complained occasionally that the *Quarterly* wasn't edited as well as
it should be and Bridenbaugh was unhappy about it. He finally took
the bull by the horns and told Dick that we'd have to make a change.
Then Douglas Adair succeeded Dick Morton in 1947 or about that time.

Margaret Bailey, whom Bridenbaugh had hired as associate
editor, continued with Adair as editor. That was a very happy com-
bination because Adair was a brilliant editor in terms of ideas and
articles to be published, all that sort of thing. He fell short on
getting things done on time so he always needed an assistant to ride
herd on him and get the Quarterly out on time and do all the routine,
meticulous work that you have to do.

Bridenbaugh soon realized the problem. After Margaret
Bailey left to be married, we had a series of very good assistant
editors who performed this necessary function in working with Douglas
Adair. It was Douglas who really put the Quarterly on the map as a
top-notch magazine.

SMR Let's go back just a little bit to the tail end of the second series.
When Earl Swem retired, guess this would be what--1944, 1943?

LJC When he retired as librarian of the College?

SMR When he actually severed his connection with the Quarterly.

LJC That would have been, I suppose, 1943. I'm sure that wasn't done on
Swem's volition.

SMR In other words, apparently when Dr. Pomfret came, apparently he had
some ideas along this line. He wanted to see the Quarterly turned
around from what it used to be so apparently he kind of got Dr. Swem
out of the way.
Yes, I don't know whether you could say he eased him out but at some point he had to tell Swem that this new organization called the Institute of Early American History and Culture was going to be born and the character of the magazine would be changed drastically and they would start a third series. I doubt that he gave Swem a chance to continue as editor of that series. He certainly appointed Dick Morton. There wasn't anybody else to do the job. Chorley certainly would have gone along with that because Chorley didn't pretend to know anything about scholarly matters. That was just one of the jobs Jack Pomfret had to do. Swem, I think he was still librarian for some time after that.

You think he may have stayed on as librarian?

I'm quite sure he didn't retire from the librarianship, but that must have been quite a wrench for him because he had started the second series back in 1920. The Quarterly was originally the brain-child of Lyon G. Tyler. When it was started in 1892 or 1893, it was not really a college magazine. It was Tyler's own venture. He had started it himself. I don't know whether that was true all the way through. He liked to edit so he was the editor of that first series, and it was really his baby. Then, after he retired in 1919 he gave it up. Meanwhile Swem had come here from the Virginia State Library as librarian and he was kind of a logical person to take it over and he certainly greatly improved the magazine over the first series. He was editor, you see, for twenty-three years. Under his
editorship the magazine was financed by the College, by state funds. To what extent there were state funds in the earlier series, I don't know, but I think it was really just a personal venture of Tyler's in the beginning. The original title was *William & Mary College Historical Quarterly*. Tyler loved to edit so no sooner had he given up *The William and Mary Quarterly* than he started his genealogical magazine. He had to keep his fingers in historical editing. Of course he was primarily more interested in genealogical material anyhow. He began *Tyler's Magazine* around 1921, I think, very shortly after he gave up the other one. He was editor of that until his death. His widow took it over and tried to continue it. She was no historian and she was running short on articles and digging out old things that Tyler had written for the newspapers and publishing those. It was just going down hill badly.

Maybe she kept with it until her death. I'm not sure about that. Then some lady in Tennessee took it over for a short time, then it folded. It really should have gone out of existence when Tyler himself died.

I had heard somebody was trying to revive it even now.

Recently?

Yes, sir. I heard this in the last several years, somebody, again out of Tennessee, was hoping to revive it. It may be somebody who had some connection with the original.
Apparently in Swem, Tyler found a kindred spirit because I don't really think there was that radical a shift between the first series and second series.

No, except that the magazine was better edited under Swem than it was under Tyler.

In other words, there was still genealogical material, there were still abstracts.

Tyler published a lot of ridiculous stuff in the magazine. He was a good historian in his earlier years. He was a Johns Hopkins Ph.D. and he did a volume in the American Nation series, on the English in America. Later on he did the Letters and Times of the Tylers. That was from family papers. The older he got, the more he declined as a good historian and he got on to the pitch of Lincoln versus Jefferson Davis. He published a lot of ridiculous stuff in the magazine, damning Lincoln and praising Jefferson Davis and glorifying the Southern Confederacy and state rights.

He published in the earlier years at least a lot of important Virginia documents in the magazine. In most cases there's no editor's name given. He did publish some things edited by other people, but there are a lot of documents in that first series of which presumably Tyler was the editor. That made a lot of sources easily available. I don't know how carefully these were done--whether the texts were one hundred per cent accurate or not. I can't vouch for that.
After Swem took over the Quarterly, it was still heavy in genealogy, but it had more good historical articles.

SMR  You contributed yourself.

LJC  That was "The Yankee Press in Virginia, 1861-1865." He had quite a nice series on old Virginia houses.

SMR  I've seen some of those.

LJC  He included photographs of them. It was a great improvement over the first series. I'm quite sure that Pomfret didn't offer him the opportunity to continue his efforts. He had Dick Morton in mind, I'm sure. Dick did a good job up to a point.

SMR  I had always gotten the impression and perhaps I'm mislead here, that Morton and Swem were more kindred spirits than Morton and Pomfret.

LJC  That may have well been the case.

SMR  Did Morton, as far as you know, ever voice any great objections to the radical shift in the Quarterly? In other words, could part of the fact that his editing was not perhaps of the top-flight caliber have to do with the fact that he was somewhat reluctant to see the old Quarterly format go by the board?

LJC  No, I'm sure he favored the new character of the magazine in its third series. Of course, Dick again had the problem of attracting good articles because it took a lot of people a long time to learn that this was really a new magazine with the old name. In fact, I think that there was discussion at the time—this may have been discussion in that old committee of historians when they were recommending
that an institute be established—as to whether they should retain that old title because the magazine was going to be so utterly different from what it was before. In fact, I think that may even have come up in the early discussions of the Institute Council. There were three committees, one on the book manuscript award, and the two major committees, on book publications and the editorial board of the Quarterly. I think these questions came up in the general Council meeting whether the title should be changed though by that time the magazine had already come out, you see, as a third series, so it may have been more in that earlier committee of historians whether it would be better to have an entirely new title, but I think they argued that, "Well, this was a reputable magazine of its kind and the name 'William and Mary' had a certain prestige to it and why not keep the old name." I'm glad they did.

Would you say Carl Bridenbaugh was a figure of national prominence in the historical field? Was he brought in to give the Institute some initial prestige?

He was becoming such. He wasn't so very widely known at the time the Institute began. His reputation built up more readily after that. He'd published two books, one on Philadelphia with his first wife, then the other one which had been his dissertation, "Cities of the Wilderness" and he had a certain reputation in that sense. Of course, that's part of the background, you might say, of the increasing interest in urban history. It wasn't thought of in those terms
at the time, really, but this is one of the early books to be published in that field. But I would say his reputation grew rapidly after he became director of the Institute. Of course he went from the Institute to the University of California.

SMR He was not what you would call of the front rank in 1945. In other words, he was not on a plane with, say, Schlesinger, or some of these others.

LJC No, I wouldn't say so.

SMR He was not what you would call a nationally known figure in the field.

LJC No, I think it was a fine opportunity for him professionally, because he, like all of us, taught one course, maybe one semester but that was very incidental. He did have a lot of time for his own research and that was an ideal situation.

SMR Do you think there was ever a movement afoot, perhaps in the background somewhere, to bring in somebody of more established nature, somebody like, say, Arthur Schlesinger?

LJC I have no knowledge of that at all, of who were considered for that job.

SMR I have never been able to find out about anybody except Bridenbaugh. His is the only name that really shows up.

LJC The only person that could answer that question I suppose would be John Pomfret. He's living in Carmel, California.* I saw him and

* He has recently moved to Columbia, S. C. - LJC
his wife before I left California. They're getting along fine, but
he would know the answer to that question and I'm sure nobody else
would because Chorley's gone. I think it's quite likely they were
considering a number of people. I don't know whether they offered
it to somebody else before Bridenbaugh. I've never heard that they
did.

SMR
I didn't see any indication of this in the files.

LJC
That's the sort of thing that you wouldn't find in the written records.
It's unlikely unless there happened to be some correspondence with Pom­
fret because Chorley was living in New York. That's a possibility.
I suppose Pomfret's files as President must be in the College Archives.
While I was archivist, we never had any file of Chorley's papers
because while he was President, his office was in New York. I don't
know; but those New York records were sent down here. Do you know
anything in detail about those records?

SMR
No, sir, I do not, unfortunately.

LJC
I suppose they were all sent down here. That presumably would have
included Chorley's files unless they were kept restricted and might
be in Humelsine's office. I just don't know anything about that.
It's possible that there might be something in the records because
of the fact that Chorley wasn't living here, but I've never heard
anything about that. I don't know.

SMR
It's sometimes difficult to determine when we got particular records
because we've not been keeping accession records except since 1974.
Of course, in the early days there no attempt was made to fill out a card and say, "June 19th we got so many boxes of records from the New York office." So in the case of certain records we don't have the foggiest idea when they came to Archives, under what circumstances, who transferred them, whether there was to be any restrictions or not. The lack of keeping some sort of accession files has hampered us in our knowledge of some of these records.

LJC Are you familiar particularly with the New York office files that are down here?

SMR Just in a very general way.

LJC Are there some folders that are essentially Chorley's correspondence?

SMR Yes, sir. We have some Chorley material. You see the thing of it is when these things were interfiled, in other words, almost any given folder in the Archives, of course, will have Chorley material in it, but as far as personal files of Kenneth Chorley's, no, I've not seen any.*

LJC Well, that raises a question that I expect Mildred Layne could answer, whether any of Chorley's files, his sort of personal files, were kept in the New York office. He must have had a very wide correspondence that had nothing whatsoever to do with Colonial Williamsburg because he had his finger in a lot of different pies and some of them were other Rockefeller interests and other things. The things that

* See footnote, page 47.
were not C. W. would have been sort of like personal files, you see. They wouldn't necessarily have come down here, but if that's true, what became of those files is a good question, and Mildred might have the answer to that, now that he's gone.

SMR

Going back to the Institute and the Quarterly, could you tell me a little bit about Douglas Adair and Richard Morton, something of their backgrounds.

LJC

Of course Douglas was on the faculty. He was in the History Department of the College as one of the younger members of the department. He got his Ph.D. at Yale. He was one of the up and coming younger members of the Department of American History and was a very good choice for the editorship. He certainly did a lot to put the Quarterly on the map. The Quarterly job, as it still is today, is always a part-time job. It was supposed to be half-time Quarterly editing and half-time teaching at the College. I think it's still on that 50-50 basis.

He had a book that he was working on on some aspect of the intellectual life in the period of Jefferson which he never completed. He was another one of those people who did a lot of research, but it's difficult to get them down to writing. I know on one occasion Carl Bridenbaugh gave him a summer off just to spend the full time on that or it may even have been a semester, but when the end of the time came he didn't seem to have much to show for the time he had available. Unfortunately, he never got his book published. He wrote a lot of very brilliant articles which, you know, have been published. You've
probably seen the book of collected essays, *Fame and the Founding Fathers*, which was published as a memorial to him.

SMR
Yes, I have.

LJC
He always had a problem of getting organized and working continuously. As I said before, he needed a good assistant editor. He was a very fine teacher. They certainly say that out at Claremont—he went from here to Claremont Graduate College. He took over the editorship just a couple of years or so after Dick Morton had been running it.

SMR
What sort of person was Dr. Morton?

LJC
Everybody loved Dick. He was a very kindly person. He had his whole career, you know, teaching here. He was a Virginia Ph.D. under old Dr. Richard Heath Dabney. I think he came here right after World War I. I think it must have been just after Tyler retired and Chandler, the first Chandler, became President. He was the father of the Admiral Chandler who was later such an obstreperous character. During much of the period the teaching schedules were very heavy, with large classes and really no time for research. I hope that the College got some kind of an oral history record from Dick before he died.

SMR
I don't know if they did or not, Dr. Cappon.

LJC
Because he knew the College first hand for so many years, all the successive presidents and faculty. He had a lot of wonderful stories to tell if you'd get him going. One thing would lead to another. He had a great sense of humor. He knew a lot of the inside history of the College, that kind of stuff that never gets written down. He was
on the Council of the Institute. For many years there was always—because the College was the academic sponsor, it was always felt that a member of the College faculty ought to be on the Council of the Institute—so he served on the Council for many years. In more recent years, Humelsine thought that if the College has a representative on the Council that Colonial Williamsburg ought to have one too. I guess that's fair enough. That was the beginning of always having somebody from C. W. like Ed Riley or Ed Alexander and now Ivor Noel Hume is on. So Dick's ties were quite close even after he left.

(End of Tape 2)

SMR Miss Williams wanted to know why Morton was chosen as editor rather than bringing in somebody of perhaps a little bit more prominence in the historical field. Would you know anything about the mechanics there or did they really feel like perhaps Dr. Morton was more of an interim appointment, that they would eventually be getting somebody of a little bit more stature or better qualifications?

LJC I'm not sure I know the answer to that. That appointment was made before the Institute as an organization was really in operation. The appointment may simply have been Pomfret's decision. I'm sure that Chorley would no doubt have gone along with a recommendation that Pomfret made in that—that was Pomfret's bailiwick in a sense.

Morton was an able historian. It's true his reputation didn't reach much beyond Virginia. It may have been also the fact that the Quarterly itself was, in a sense, a contribution that the
college was making to the Institute. It also simplified the financial aspects of it because when the Institute budget was originally set up, and this is still pretty much true today--Colonial Williamsburg, however far it was willing to provide the cash that was necessary to set it up, had more ready cash to do this than the College did. The College, being a state institution, would get involved in budgetary business in Richmond. It would have been advantageous to have somebody who, being in the College History Department, was already in the budget of the College so that that money was already taken care of. There was no cash outlay on the College's part.

The editor of the Quarterly has always been, for that reason, partly at least, a member of the faculty, a full-time member with professorial rank in the College. That, of course, applied to Adair who was already in the department. When the Institute budget would be made up, the salary of the editor was so much—it was regarded as a half-time job whether it was or not. Half of Morton's salary would be in the budget as for the Quarterly. In the Institute budget that was called College credit. In other words, the College didn't have to put up any cash for that. The idea was that the Institute should be financed 50-50 by the two sponsors so there were always two columns in the budget; one for Colonial Williamsburg, one for William and Mary. In my job as editor of publications, I was paid by Colonial Williamsburg. My checks came from Colonial Williamsburg. My full salary was entered on the C. W. half. In the case of the editor of
the Quarterly that half of his salary from the state was entered as an item, but that was what they call a College credit. In other words, the College got that much credit without having to put up the cash, because the cash had already been put up for his salary in the state budget. That helped the College because the College was not financially able to do as much as C. W. in cold cash. That was a consideration. Aside from that, whether it was desirable that the editor should be a local historian, somebody from the College, I don't know how much weight that carried, but from the financial end it was a great advantage. It made it possible to have this 50-50 sponsorship financially.

The Director's salary was in the Colonial Williamsburg side of the budget. There were various items that were put in one column or the other.

Of course, there wouldn't have been any way at all the College could have sponsored something like this on their own, they simply would not have had the money to bring in people with the abilities of Bridenbaugh and yourself on their limited budget. As you think back on it, Dr. Cappon, do you think that Carl Bridenbaugh was a very good selection for Institute Director, that he got off to a good start?

Yes, I think he did. In some respects he was a good administrator, provided you could get along with him. He's a difficult person to get along with. I never had any real problem getting along with him,
I guess maybe because if an issue came up between us I wasn't afraid to speak my mind, stand my ground, tell him how I felt about it. He's had a difficult time all through his career. He's really his own worst enemy because he's very outspoken. You know, you can think a lot of things, but you don't have to say them all. Everywhere he goes he creates antagonism. He is a fine historian, but he has such a high opinion of himself that he's always comparing other people with himself and, of course, they just don't measure up. He says things that he shouldn't say. Wherever he's gone he's left a trail of dissatisfaction behind him. A man who was a student of mine at the University of Virginia was on the faculty at Berkeley when he went to Berkeley. I've heard some great stories from him about how Bridenbaugh made enemies out there because of the way he acted, the things that he said that he shouldn't have said. He has a certain amount of conceit that antagonizes people.

SMR Could that perhaps be one reason why he only spent five years here or did he leave for a better offer?

LJC No, I don't really think so. After all, I'm sure he always felt that at this stage in his career the Institute would be a good stepping stone, and that's fair enough. The offer from Berkeley was of course a great opportunity. I don't blame him for accepting it. But he stirred up a lot of bad feeling and dissatisfaction. They were just delighted when he decided to go to Brown.
No sooner did he get to Brown than the same thing happened there. He caused dissension in the department and said nasty things about other people and berated them. He's always been his own worst enemy. It's just too bad, because he is a very good scholar. Dick Showman who was in Providence—he's head of the Nathanael Greene Papers now—said, "Well, poor Carl, he doesn't have any friends." I guess that's pretty much generally the case.

He made some enemies here, too, people whose quality, he thought, wasn't good enough. Instead of just keeping that to himself or telling it confidentially to some one person whom he knew would keep it in confidence. He didn't do that so the word quickly got around concerning what he was saying about other people. There were a number of people here that were happy when he left. He's left a trail of dissatisfaction wherever he's gone.

Aside from that he did a good job in administering the Institute. He had very high standards and that's fine. Friction developed between him and Pierce Middleton. I don't know whether you've ever heard anything about this or not.

SMR No, sir. These people are just names to me. I know some of their works, but I didn't know there was friction there.

LJC Pierce is a very able scholar. He's a priest in the Episcopal Church. While he was here he was ordained as a deacon. He was really in charge of the church at Hickory Neck. You know that little Episcopal Church outside of Toano? That was really his little church sort of
on the side. He was eventually ordained as a priest. The study that he did on the tobacco coast was an outgrowth of his doctoral dissertation at Harvard. The idea has always been at the Institute that since what we now call the fellowship is designed for a promising young scholar who's trying to get his first book published, the time that he spends as fellow is primarily for research and writing for that purpose. Unless the manuscript is unpublishable, which would be highly unlikely, the Institute would publish the book. So he has pretty good assurance that it will be published by the Institute. That certainly should be the case because the fellows are very carefully selected in terms of their subject and the quality of their dissertation and their personality, of course, as well.

While Pierce was here he got an offer to become the head of the Maryland Historical Society, and he accepted that offer. After that happened, he got a second offer to become head of C. W.'s Research Department. He and his family enjoyed living in Williamsburg and of course he had the church connection also which was much to his liking. Having accepted the Maryland job and Carl Bridenbaugh, of course, had recommended him for the job, he then withdrew because he couldn't resist taking the research job here, which I think in terms of the two jobs was a great mistake on his part if the church connection hadn't been a factor in the picture, because the Maryland Historical Society, as you know, is a very good society. It has very fine collections and a good magazine whereas the Research Department here is sort
of an appendage of Colonial Williamsburg and all its research, of course, is primarily for internal work.

Anyhow, this is what he did and this made Bridenbaugh very sore because here he had recommended him and he'd taken the job and then pulled out of it. Carl thought that was a very unethical thing to do so he had a feeling of antagonism against Pierce. When Pierce got his manuscript ready for publication, Bridenbaugh turned it down. It was published eventually by the Mariner's Museum. It's a very good book. It's an example of where you let one kind of feeling overrule another feeling which ought to take precedence. That was a very unfortunate situation.

Pierce had been ordained as a priest and the church was anxious to have him follow through so I think they began to bring pressure on him. Then he became a full-time priest. He was in Connecticut for a while. Now he's at Great Barrington, Massachusetts, in western Massachusetts. He's a very fine scholar. I like him very much, and his wife. That was an unfortunate situation and the outcome of Bridenbaugh's decision was really very unfair to Pierce. He didn't have any great trouble, I think, getting the book published by the Mariner's Museum because it was kind of down their alley. It certainly should have been an Institute publication. That's the way Bridenbaugh often acts, lets his personal feelings overrule other things.

I always got along with him all right. Of course, he had to take the bull by the horns on the Quarterly because the Quarterly wasn't...
certainly wasn't what it became after Douglas took it over. It was partly, I suppose, that Dick's whole career had been so clearly focused in Virginia. He didn't have the outside professional contacts. He didn't get to meetings very often, to meet other people and sort of keep up with things. He was not basically an idea man the way Douglas was. It was really quite necessary that that change be made and Bridenbaugh had to do it. I'm sure it was awfully hard on Dick. It's a difficult thing to do. I don't know how hard it was for Bridenbaugh to do it. Anyhow, that was quite necessary. He tried to ride herd on Douglas for him to get his damn manuscript finished and get the book published. He didn't succeed in that.

SMR Bridenbaugh was succeeded by Lyman Butterfield.

LJC That's right. He left in 1950 and Lyman Butterfield came from the Jefferson Papers. He was working with Julian Boyd on the Jefferson Papers.

SMR Tell me a bit about Mr. Butterfield and his tenure here, then.

LJC He was here only for a short time from 1950 to--he came in the fall of 1950, I guess.

SMR You were named acting director December 1, 1954, so he must have been gone at that point.

LJC He left in 1954. He was only here about three or four years. Meanwhile the Massachusetts Historical Society was making plans to publish the Adams Papers and they did the microfilming of all the Adams Papers. That was planned to precede the beginning of the editorial project.
Part of the reason was that if the papers were all microfilmed and they were sold to various institutions, this would ease the problem of the editors of being constantly hindered by people writing in asking to see this letter and that letter and they could simply say, "It's on microfilm. Go and find it." That was a good idea. He was very much interested in that job, and, of course, was an excellent person to do it. The Adams Papers is a most distinguished project. He had had, of course, very good experience with Julian Boyd working on the Jefferson Papers. They worked together very well.

Julian is a difficult man to work with. He's such a perfectionist and his standards are so high, but so are Lyman's. They were a good team. The job at the Institute was a good opportunity for him and then, within just a short time, the Adams thing came in the picture. That was really the sensible move for him to make because he is such a fine editor. He was an awfully nice guy to work with. I enjoyed my relationship with him very much.

How did Bridenbaugh relate with Chorley and Pomfret? Was that triumvirate a fairly happy association?

Of course, they had his number, so to speak. I don't think he ever had any serious friction with them. One of the great things about the Institute was, and I think it is still true today, that the sponsors never stuck their nose into the Institute's business. They decided they'd gotten a good person to head it up and the director got a good staff together and there was a certain continuity in the
staff. The Quarterly was doing well; we were publishing books. We had a certain amount of good evidence of what was being accomplished. The sponsors were satisfied with what was going on and neither one of them every stepped in and tried to say how things should be done differently. That was a great advantage. As I said before, about Kenneth Chorley, I think that was very typical of him, to try to pick a good man for the job and then let him do the job. If things were going bad, you step in and find out what the hell is going on here and there would have been no hesitation to do that but it went along all right. We never had any problems of that sort.

Like Phil Brooks' experience in the Truman Library. He was the first Director of the Truman Library. I've heard him say many, many times that when that Library was planned, a separate suite of offices was set up for Mr. Truman because he had a very active life after he retired from the presidency. He engaged in many different things. He did a lot of speeches and so forth. He retained all his so-called personal papers in this presidential suite and they were accessible to no one but Truman and his secretary. He was always the first man in the library. Seven-thirty, in came Harry.

I've heard Phil say many a time that Mr. Truman never interfered with the operation of the Truman Library. He was well satisfied with the work they were doing and he didn't presume to tell them how to do it. In fact he told somebody in the National Archives that,
"Phil Brooks is the best god-damned archivist in the country." This is in contrast to what I've heard about the Johnson Library where LBJ was always getting into the picture. Maybe he didn't have as good an archivist. That, I think, would be typical of LBJ. Truman purposefully kept hands off even though he was right there and he was available for consultation, if necessary, and I'm sure was a good deal of help to Brooks and answered certain questions about the records or about certain incidents that would help them work with the records.

So that was true here. Neither Pomfret nor Chorley ever interfered in the running of the daily operations. There was, of course, always an annual stock taking. The director wrote his annual report and the business meeting was held and the Council came. If there had been anything serious the director certainly would have been called on the carpet by one or the other or both of them. That never happened.

SMR So you would characterize the cooperation between C. W. and the College of William and Mary with regards to the Institute as very smooth.

LJC Very much so. In fact I think both sides were happy, that this was a fine example that these two organizations could do something in cooperation. There were frictions that arose from time to time between the two organizations. I can't mention anything specific.

SMR I think that answers a question that I was going to ask about, the cooperation.

LJC You know, in a college community they always say, "It's town and gown" and there's often friction between town and gown so I suppose it was
inevitable that there was some friction here. Here you had a three-way thing; town, gown and C. W. so there was an extra possibility of friction. But as I say, I can't say specifically what it was.

SMR

I'm not sure exactly when this happened but one of the questions Miss Williams has is something on the lines of "Has moving the Institute over into the Swem Library sort of brought it a little bit closer to the College?"

LJC

In a sense, I suppose it has. Up to that time we were always in Colonial Williamsburg property, first in the Goodwin Building and then in that space above those stores on Duke of Gloucester Street, so just physically we were in a sense closer to Colonial Williamsburg than we were to the College. I don't think that really made any difference in the running of the organization, and I don't think it has now that since the Institute has been in the Swem Library. In fact, so far as the Institute is concerned, it was a terrific move forward because when the Library building was planned, it was planned in that very way, that there should be adequate quarters for the Institute. There was no question about that. That was while Paschall was President. From the Institute's standpoint that's really ideal because after all it uses a lot of books in the College Library. Of course, it uses some stuff in C. W., but that's a small operation. I don't think that the physical location really made too much difference or [changed] the relationship between one and the other.
Would you tell me some things about Lyman Butterfield, just some things that would characterize him for the record. Was he an easy man to work with, a hard man to work with?

I always found him a very fine person to work with. Actually, he started the project for the Adams-Jefferson Letters, that was set up as an Institute project. Jane Carson was on the staff of the Institute as a sort of assistant to the Director, I expect really more in a research capacity than otherwise. I think she probably did some routine work in getting the documents together. Then, of course, when he left the Institute it fell into my lap. Not much editing had been done yet at that point because he was only here three years. The copies of all the letters had been assembled. Everything was here in photostat or Xerox form. It was a matter of doing the actual job of editing. His relations with the staff were very good.

The period while you were editor of publications from 1945 to 1954 when you became acting director, anything particularly significant about this period in your mind, any particular manuscripts that you would like to discuss, any particular things that you did that you felt were very significant in terms of the development of the Institute? I know you all published some very fine things—I think you published Charles Sydnor's book.

You know, this is the kind of program that builds up, once you get up some momentum. Once the Institute began to be known we got to the
point where it wasn't so necessary to solicit manuscripts. We were, of course, always on the lookout for good manuscripts, but as things build up you get to the point where people are sending you in manuscripts because they'd like to have it published by the Institute. In that way the work load got heavier. Today, of course, it's much heavier than it was years ago. In the early days the problem was to attract good manuscripts that were worth publishing. Now that's no longer a problem.

Originally the fellowship was a three-year appointment. A fellow didn't have to stay three years, but we hoped he'd stay at least two. If a good job came along we didn't stand in his way to accept it. Some of them stayed two and some stayed three. More recently, the fellowship has been cut down to a two-year appointment so the fellows are changing more frequently. That means that there are more manuscripts from the fellows. The fellow's manuscript is assured publication if it's acceptable. There's not likely to be a situation where it wouldn't be acceptable. It may have to have a lot of work done on it. Some of the fellows' manuscripts, as well as manuscripts from the outside, have gone through several stages in the process of editing for improvement, to the point where the editor felt it was a publishable book.

Some of our best books have been fellows' manuscripts, like Win Jordan's book, *White Over Black* and Gordon Wood's book. The thing sort of built up gradually from its own momentum and the fact that the
Institute was getting a reputation. That inevitably attracted manuscripts to us. If the manuscript was accepted that author had no expense involved. Often the author may have to subsidize his own manuscript. Most of them had to be subsidized but that was the purpose of the Institute's publication fund. So the author got his manuscript published at no expense to him.

Now today the University of North Carolina Press doesn't require a subsidy any more. Our system was that after the book was published, the returns on the sale of the book went first to cover the subsidy and then beyond that went as royalties to the author. That was somewhat to the disadvantage of the author, especially if the book was a slow seller. Some of them never really did pay off. On the other hand, he never had to put up any cash in the first place so that was a considerable advantage to him. But now the author gets his royalties right at the beginning because there's no subsidy involved.

The number of books published steadily increased. In the early days if we got out a couple of books a year we thought we were doing pretty well. Then we'd get up to two or three or four. A grant from Lilly Endowment in 1957 enabled us to expand the program and employ Fred Hetzel as assistant editor, when Jim Smith was editor. Now they've got all sorts of things in the hopper that are just waiting to go.

When you took over from Lyman Butterfield in 1955 did you, at that time, see this as an opportunity to do some different things at the
Institute? Did you sort of bring in some programs that were your pet programs, if you will, and try to get some of this established?

Well, to some extent, I guess. The first important thing was that— it turned out to be a fortunate thing—there were a lot of jobs to be filled when I became director. My job, you see, was vacant, editor of books. Douglas Adair left at that time to go to Claremont. Page Smith was the fellow, but he was only here about a year and a half when he got an offer to go to U. C. L. A. The fellowship was vacant and Lyman hadn't filled the position. There was just one fellowship at that time, not two. So there were these three important jobs to be filled. That was my first job, to find people for the jobs.

I was fortunate in getting very good people. I got Bill Towner, Lawrence W. Towner, to be editor of the Quarterly. He came in as associate editor to try him out, see how he'd do. Jim Smith I got as book editor. Wilcomb Washburn was the first fellow after I became director. He was a Harvard graduate student, one of Morison's later students. They all turned out to be excellent people and they got along well together.

After that first year, I thought it would be a good idea to have two fellows, that this would be good for the fellows; that both being at the same stage in their careers, they'd sort of be matching wits. Also, it would be good for the older members of the staff. So the sponsors went along with that. We set up a second
fellowship with staggered terms. Our second fellow was Mike Hall who is at the University of Texas. The fellowship was still a three year term.

We had a succession of very good fellows. Bill Towner turned out to be an excellent editor of the Quarterly. That first year he was learning the job. He came from the History Department of M. I. T. I gave him enough rope to hang himself. He didn't hang himself. That turned out successfully. Then Jim Smith turned out to be a very good editor of books. We started virtually with a new staff, you see, in 1955.

Lyman had started a series of conferences on needs and opportunities for study. The first was on legal history. The second one may have been on the history of science, I'm not sure now. These were good conferences and each of them resulted in a book except the one on legal history because Mark Howe, professor at Harvard in legal history, who wrote the essay for discussion, never got around to revising his paper, which was focused too closely on Massachusetts. So that was never published, but all the other ones were. Each was valuable for the essay and even more so for the bibliography that went with it. That turned out to be quite a successful series.

I started the idea of what we later called "the roadshow." The book manuscripts that we received, besides the fellows' manuscripts, were mostly from young scholars. The older scholars often
had a tie with a publisher, but the younger scholar didn't. The fact that he didn't have to subsidize his manuscript was an attraction also. We realized how often these manuscripts that were submitted were a long way from being ready to go to the press because the young scholar didn't understand what you have to do to get it ready. In other words, preparing a manuscript for publication is very different from writing a dissertation. The same point applied to articles in the Quarterly.

I thought it would be a good idea to carry these problems of editing out into the graduate schools and hopefully have sessions with the graduate students. We started this experiment, on invitation (by my suggestion to Prof. Bernard Mayo, my former colleague) by going first to the University of Virginia, the three of us; Bill Towner as editor of the Quarterly, Jim Smith as editor of books, and I as director. The University set up an informal sort of seminar with the graduate students. The two editors talked about the problems of editing and what it takes to put a manuscript in shape and all that sort of thing. That created a great deal of interest among the graduate students because this was a problem that they were about to face.

Starting with the University of Virginia, we went to a number of other institutions. The word began to get around that this was a pretty good thing so we began to get some invitations from other graduate schools. Most of them were on the eastern
seaboard, but we did go as far west as L. S. U. on invitation. So we began to call it the road show. We had a very good time. It gave us a chance to meet the faculty and the students. The students got a great deal out of it. Every once in a while I still hear an echo, "I was at that seminar that you gave up at Yale about historical editing." We went to Harvard, Yale, Princeton, L. S. U., Duke. We got around quite a bit. I guess maybe Thad Tate has continued this "show." By now, so much time has passed you could go back to the same institution because the student body would be entirely different, of course. That turned out to be quite a constructive program.

In some cases when we went to the institution they would put us up for the night and they'd give us a certain amount of hospitality and dinner and so forth so that cut down the expenses. It would be mostly the cost of travel. To most of the places, because they were on the eastern seaboard, we drove; thus the cost of that was less than it might have been.

We also had a series of local seminars where somebody on our staff or from Colonial Williamsburg would give a paper and this would attract the people from C. W. and the College and the Institute and some times somebody at Yorktown who was interested would come over. It was purely a local affair. We sometimes met at the Market Square Tavern and had some little refreshments. I think that was pretty successful intellectually and socially.
Towner came to the Institute in 1955 and left in 1962 to become director of the Newberry Library. Jim Smith was here a bit longer than that and he went to Cornell. We've had a good succession of fellows, very able people. It's proved by the fact that they've gone out and they've gotten good jobs and they're making names for themselves.

SMR So you were blessed during your directorship by having some good staff with which to work, which, I think, is probably very important.

LJC Well, it's some advantage starting with a fresh group. Sometimes you're saddled with somebody, not that that was necessarily the case here, but so often there's some carryover that you're not too happy with. All the major jobs had to be filled at that time. Walter Whitehill was on the Council of the Institute for many years. I remember he was very much interested in getting the new people. I had arranged for an interview with Lawrence Towner, because he was at M. I. T. Walter said, "Well, why don't you meet at the Athenaeum?" He was director of the Boston Athenaeum then. So that's what we did. I talked with Wilcomb Washburn there too because he was still at Harvard at the time, finishing up his dissertation.

The core program had been pretty much the same all the way through because it is essentially editing and publishing the Quarterly
and the books. The fellowship program ties right in with that because that's the objective of the fellow's work. Besides, research by the director or the editors might also result in a book.

SMR

Dr. Cappon, let me get you to take a look at these other questions that Miss Williams at the College wants to pose.

LJC

We had talked about the need for an atlas. Bill Towner was the one who constantly was raising this question. So often someone on the staff would have occasion to turn to a map for the information and you couldn't find a map. The Paullin and Wright atlas is good, but it falls short here and there, so Towner thought it would be fine for the Institute to do an Atlas of Early American History. That was back in the late 'fifties. The original concept was an atlas that would cover the whole period from the age of discovery down to the early 19th century. The Institute has always—we had to set some arbitrary terminal date, so we always regarded 1815 roughly as the end of early American History, although some Quarterly articles and books might go a bit beyond that date. The original concept of the atlas covered the whole span.

After we talked about the need for an atlas and brought it up at the Council meetings for discussion, I drafted a proposed outline of contents. We passed that around among the Council members and got various suggestions from them. Then we sent it out to other historians. In 1961 I read a paper at the annual meeting of the Association of American Geographers at Michigan State on the concept
of such an atlas. That article was eventually published in the *Quarterly* about ten years later, slightly revised. We got some good suggestions from the historical geographers.

The outline went through several revisions and we passed out copies to the Council. They took them home. One day I got a call from Washington from Mr. Beverly Meigs, saying that he had some funds that he was delegated to disburse and he had seen a copy of this outline and he was very much interested in this. Would I come to Washington and have lunch with him? He'd like to talk about it. What had happened was that he had an uncle and an aunt who had married fairly late in life and had no children and they set up two individual trust funds. The trust fund of the one who died first was to go into the other trust fund. Then when the second one died that trust fund was to be disbursed, not to be retained as a capital fund. They named their favorite nephew as the one who was to be responsible for spending of the money.

Mr. Meigs is a chemist but he has a great avocational interest in history. Now the time had come to disburse the Meigs Fund. He was a graduate of Cornell so he went up to Cornell and talked with Clinton Rossiter, who put in a bid for Cornell, of course, but he also told Mr. Meigs about the Institute, as a very good organization to consider. Rossiter suggested that Meigs consult Professor Frank Craven at Princeton who has been on the Council several times and who would know a lot about the Institute.
Mr. Meigs lives in New Jersey, not very far from Princeton. So Meigs followed up the suggestion and had a conference with Craven. During the course of their conversation Craven pulled out of his desk drawer the outline of the atlas. Meigs got very excited about it. He decided that's where he'd like to put some of the money. This had happened, of course, before he called me because he had just seen the outline that Craven had shown him. Thus came a windfall of $90,000 from the Meigs estate in 1968.

When Bill Towner, who had meanwhile gone to the Newberry Library, heard about this, he wrote me and proposed that the atlas project become a joint project of the Newberry and the Institute. If the Institute Council voted its approval, the Newberry Library would match the $90,000 partly in services and partly in cash, the project to be operated in the Newberry. The Council agreed to that proposal.

I retired in 1969 from the Institute, and during that last year, Bill had offered me a fellowship in the Newberry Library. So while I was out there during 1969 to 1970 we were talking a great deal about implementing the project. The $90,000 was paid to the Institute and the Institute turned it over to the Treasurer of Colonial Williamsburg, I. L. Jones, Jr., who was the Treasurer of the Institute and at once invested the money. During 1969-70 we decided that we ought to apply to the National Endowment for the Humanities for a grant. Bill drew up the application and during that
year we got our first grant from N. E. H., but requiring matching funds. While I was at the Newberry that year, Bill was trying to persuade me to head up the atlas project. We considered some other people but we'd never got very far on that course, so I finally succumbed.

We got our N. E. H. grant with the first matching funds—the budget wasn't very large in the beginning—a salary for me and for a cartographic editor and for another historian and a secretary. That was about the limit of it for the first year, I think. We got the grant, but what we asked for had to be matched one to one, so Towner turned to the Field Foundation of Illinois to try to get the matching grant. That was fairly easy to do ("built in," so to speak) because at that time the president of the Field Foundation was the president of the Board of Trustees of the Newberry and a map collector. N. E. H. gave it to us for what they call a feasibility study, to demonstrate what could be done. In fact, that was Mr. Meigs' idea also, that he would give this $90,000 for what he called a pilot study. He said, "I think this is a great project and I hope it comes to fruition." But he said, "I'm willing to take a gamble and if it doesn't, I'm not going to fuss or complain about it." So that was the financing that enabled the atlas project to begin.

Before the end of that year we had a few maps, fairly easy maps to do, that we sent in with our second application—in fact, the N. E. H. people recommended that we apply for a two-year grant.
Having a few maps to show what we were driving at, without any difficulty we got the two-year grant. Then we got a second two-year grant and then one additional supplementary grant because the cartographic costs ran ever so much higher than we thought they would. It was really quite impossible to estimate what those would be. They weren't much at first because there wasn't any cartographic work in the early stages, but later these costs began to mount up, i.e., the bills we had to pay the R. R. Donnelly & Sons Company for the professional work from our manuscript maps. You see, we drew the maps on film and then they did the professional work of transcribing on film all the manuscript data.

I mention all this because again the financial start came from a windfall, just as the Kellock Library of the Institute did. In each case it happened because a member of the Council or a former member of the Council had steered the person in our direction. (Louis B. Wright of the Folger Library suggested that Katharine Kellock give her library to the Institute). We had some good support from the Council members, well, in other ways, too, of course.

All right, regarding the history graduate program at William & Mary would you talk about the correlation between the Institute and Dr. Pomfret's desire to build up this program, how he might have felt the Institute would be beneficial to a building up of the history graduate program?
Of course, the basic idea of the Institute was that the College of William & Mary, primarily a teaching institution, and Colonial Williamsburg, a non-academic institution whose research was pretty narrowly confined to Virginia history and whose publications in that field were fairly limited and on highly specialized subjects, would benefit from the Institute. I think Colonial Williamsburg as an educational institution of its peculiar kind maybe has felt sometimes a disadvantage of not having academic ties. It has no faculty, can't give degrees; it's educational program is generally thought of in terms of popular education, of people who come here and see the buildings and hear the interpretations and so on. For those who are grown up it's a form of adult education, but it's a very informal thing.

The College, on the other hand, being primarily a teaching institution, had never had any means of supporting something that would be basically a research program. I suppose maybe the nearest thing that comes to that for the College is the Marine Biology Laboratory that they have down at Yorktown, essentially a research operation. There wasn't anything in Williamsburg comparable to that in any other field that I know of. Here seemed to be a perfect setting for an institute in early American history in this historic area with all sorts of physical things to supplement traditional research. The College had long given an M.A. degree. The Institute would likely attract more graduate students, and it would give
C. W. a research activity which it had never had except through the Research Department, and that, of course, was cued in so closely with the needs of Colonial Williamsburg that I suppose the average scholar maybe in the early days didn't even know there was such a thing as a Research Department of Colonial Williamsburg.

From the College's standpoint, it certainly was an advantage and the fact that the professional staff of the Institute would have an opportunity to teach would provide more courses and that would be to the advantage of the teaching program of the College.

As I said before, I think the historians in the Institute liked that opportunity even though it was a very part-time responsibility. The older members came from teaching jobs. The younger members would have an opportunity for some teaching which would be a part of their experience that they could point to when they were going on for some other professional job. It was advantageous both ways. It was good for the prestige of both institutions, each in a different sort of way.

As for Pomfret's successors, well, I guess they knew a good thing when they saw it. It was simply a continuation of what had begun.

SMR So Chandler and Paschall both supported it right along?

LJC They recognized its value to the College. There was never any question about continuing the support from the successive presidents.
SMR Would you talk a little bit about this apprentice program? I'm not sure exactly what that is all about. That's different from the fellowship program?

LJC You're talking about the apprenticeship program in the Institute?

SMR Yes, sir.

LJC The idea of that was that this was a good place to train people in jobs other than teaching. It was originally envisioned as a kind of three-way thing. The need that was felt most important was that in the editing of the books and the editing of the Quarterly this would be good training grounds for people interested in historical editing. While the apprentices were in training they could actually contribute something, certainly in the way of the more routine work, to the editing itself, and that's exactly the way it's worked out. They've been like sort of additional part-time people on the staff who, under the training of the editor or the assistant editor, could do a lot of, let's say, copy editing and thus relieve the editor to that extent.

Another aspect of it was the idea of training people to work in specialized libraries, libraries of rare books and manuscripts. I don't know to what extent that paid off in any great way. Then the third idea was to get the Park Service involved. Well, for Colonial Williamsburg, this probably could be of some use in their program of interpretation. They could train people to work in that. The same thing would apply to the Park Service. I can't
remember now for sure whether the Federal government (i.e. the National Park Service) through Yorktown ever actually put any money into the program. The aspect of it that really became of most value was in the historical editing. I'm not sure, the idea of the research library work may have been discontinued. We've had a series of apprentices for a number of years now. It started when Bill Towner pushed the idea pretty hard. He left about 1962 so it's been going on for quite a while. Some of these apprentices have gone on to pretty good jobs of this sort.

That was occasioned, I would say, in part by the fact that the Institute could actually use these people in their own editorial work. It was kind of a two-way thing, you see. You know, most students who go into graduate work in history have as their chief objective a teaching job. Many of them aren't even, I suppose, particularly conscious that there are other opportunities in the historical field. They've become much more conscious of it since the job market got so bad. That's had a similar application to archives, of course.

That's exactly what happened in the 1930's. There were a lot of historians out of work. The beginning of the National Archives was a godsend to them. I would say that the vast majority of the early recruits to the Archives staff, that is in fairly responsible positions, were historians. In those days there was no archival training, but they were historians that were damn glad to get a job.
Many of them turned out to be very good archivists and stayed with the National Archives. Quite a lot of them did.

So this job market situation again has, I think, attracted some people in this direction because they didn't see much opportunity for teaching. I think it's been a very fine program. They get very good experience in book editing. Each one spends part time on book editing and then moves from that to the other or vice versa, the Quarterly editing. There are some differences between the two. It's attracted a lot of good people. I think it's been well worth while.

SMR How was the program funded? How was the funding handled? Was this again a joint 50-50 thing or how was this done?

LJC I don't seem to be able to answer that question. I think the idea was that it was originally supposed to be kind of a three-way thing: both the College and the Restoration would put something into the apprenticeship program and the Park Service would, too. I can't recall for sure whether the Park Service ever actually did or not.

SMR I think this is something that probably would be available in the files.

LJC Whatever these funds were they were not a part of the regular budget of the Institute. It was something in addition.

SMR Let's go on then and I'll get you to talk about the fellowship program a little bit. We've touched on it somewhat. Whose concept was the fellowship program? Can you trace this back to one particular source?
LJC Well, I said the fellowship program was really to some extent a contribution, sort of an asset, that Colonial Williamsburg put into the Institute because they already had a limited program in the Research Department. That program was then discontinued. It became exclusively an Institute program. The fellow teaching part-time had the rank of Assistant Professor in the College. It seems to me that the College put that item into their budget as one of those College credit items. I'm quite sure that Colonial Williamsburg didn't put up any money for the fellows. I think that was entirely a College contribution, but it had been worked into the regular College budget. So once being in the College budget and if that budget was continued, it was a part of the regular appropriation and could be entered as College credit in the Institute budget because the College wasn't paying out that much extra cash. I'm quite sure that was the way it was financed. The fellows are exclusively financed by the College. In other words, it's not in the Institute budget any more. It's not an item now that the College can match against the cash of Colonial Williamsburg. It's been taken out of the main budget. Carl Humelsine wanted to do this. I don't know why the hell he thought it ought to be done. In other words, C. W. no longer provides any support for the fellows. The support that they got simply was because this item was in the budget, and the budget, when it was finally totaled up was 50-50. Now the support comes exclusively from the College.
Actually the financial support of the Institute is no longer 50-50. It's now about—I was talking with Thad the other day about this—I think it's now about 45% C. W. and 55% College. I don't quite know why unless, of course, Colonial Williamsburg has gone through some retrenchment and maybe this was some place where Carl thought he could save some money. I don't know.

But the beginning of the fellowship program was really just an extension of what C. W. had been doing through its Research Department. As I said, their title originally was research associate. Then several members of the Institute staff felt that fellow was a more—shall I say not exactly dignified term, but it carried a little more prestige with it than research associate, so it was changed to fellow.

SMR I'm going to try and interpret this question here. It says, "History Department receptive to having teacher imposed on them."

LJC Having faculty members imposed on them?

SMR Did the teaching by the people from the Institute impose on the faculty members? Was there any opposition here? Did the faculty say, "Just because this guy is coming in to the Institute, why is he going to be teaching in the Department?"

LJC There couldn't be an objection from their point of view from—so far as the editor of the Quarterly was concerned because he was already in the Department. They were losing some teaching time because of this 50-50 arrangement. The director of the Institute has always been—
his title in the College has always been lecturer, not professor or associate professor, whatever. It's always been lecturer. That's a kind of separate category. True, he's regarded as a full-fledged member of the department and he can go to departmental meetings if he wants to. Well, it's kind of a separate category that seems a little bit apart from the main setup.

But the fellows were given the rank of--well, their salary, the fellowship salary was cued to an assistant professor's salary. That's the way they determined how much the fellows should be paid. That was an advantage--there was, of course, a long period when the salary scale of the College was going up in the good years of the fifties, so that was an advantage to the Institute because that automatically helped to increase the fellowship. Likewise, of course, it increased the College credit in the budget.

The fellows were to teach what the History Department felt was needed. If their services were needed chiefly in a survey course, then that was what they were supposed to teach. The amount of teaching was kept down to six hours. They've taught different things. Sometimes they've taught an advanced course in early American history. It's varied, but it depends to a large extent on what the History Department needs. I think, all things considered, it's been an advantage to the department. I don't think there's ever been any friction at all. They call the tune, at least to the point of what they want the fellow to teach.
My aim always was to keep the amount of teaching down as much as possible because the fellowship was designed primarily as a research appointment, not as a teaching appointment. I think maybe the fellows do more teaching now than they used to. I always fought for the minimum teaching, just enough—I was thinking of it from my standpoint and from their standpoint—to be able to point to some teaching experience later—it was advantageous, but still I didn't want them to be stealing away very much time from their research time because that was the basic reason for the fellowship. That's been one of the most gratifying aspects of the Institute's program because we've had a series of very good people, demonstrated by the progress they've made after they left the Institute, what they've published and their positions, their advancement, and so on. They haven't all gone into teaching jobs either. Washburn went to the Smithsonian and he's gone right up the ladder there. Len Tucker went into historical society work. There are several other, two other cases where they did not go into teaching. I thought it was fine to have some diversity in their careers.

SMR
I'll see if I can structure this question. Dr. Paschall and the History Doctoral Program. Do you remember when this was set up? Apparently he was very much behind it, was he not?

LJC
Oh, yes.

SMR
Was the thinking at the time—this is sort of too much too fast, that William and Mary doesn't have the resources?
Oh, yes, there was a lot of objection by people in the History Department about this. Of course, the Institute wasn't really directly involved in this except that we already had our teaching connection with the department. It was a decision for the department to make, not for the Institute to make. I know there was considerable opposition in the department, feeling that the Ph.D. degree should not be given in a College, that the Library resources were not what they should be. Of course actually most of those degrees have been in early American history for the chief reason that the History Department has had—has been overly heavy in the early American history field because of the Institute. The College library was already best in that field. That was one of the great advantages that the Institute had when it began here, viz. that Swem had done so much to build up the Library. Although his interest was primarily in Virginia history he had a broader view than that. All the years that he was editor of the Quarterly, the second series, he used issues of the Quarterly for exchange with a great many different periodicals. In fact, that still goes on today with the Quarterly. He strengthened the Library's resources in state historical periodicals tremendously.

The Institute didn't begin with a College library starting from scratch in terms of research materials in this field. It was really a very rich library in the proceedings of historical societies and their magazines and so on, very excellent in that field, much more so that you would assume for a College of this size, but that was all
Swem's doing. He was a great bibliographer. That all goes to his credit.

Using the Quarterly as an exchange device eased the financial burden. There wasn't any cash involved in those transactions. He was enriching the Library without paying out a cent of money, as long as the State was willing to support the William and Mary Quarterly. It was a very good arrangement.

SMR Would you say then perhaps that the doctoral program at William and Mary has almost been structured around the presence of the Institute, the prestige generated by the Institute?

LJC That was certainly a factor that would strengthen Paschall's argument for it, no doubt. Of course, still, it's a program in which the History Department itself would be carrying the chief load. A lot of the professors felt that this was much too ambitious a program. This wasn't the place to do that. I suppose if the Institute hadn't been here maybe Paschall wouldn't have put it through.

I don't know, but it's that ambition, you know, to make a big front and do a lot of things for your reputation whether you really achieve it or not. I think a lot of institutions went in for Ph.D. programs that shouldn't have. Some of them now, I think, regret it or are discontinuing the programs because they can't keep them up.

I can't say how many Ph.D.'s the College has given in History. It's not a very large number. I never could get excited about it. I thought that it was much better to give a bang-up M.A. than a
half-baked Ph.D. Well, I shouldn't say it's a half-baked Ph.D., I guess, but it's pretty much restricted to early American history. I don't know whether they've ever given a degree in, say, English history or in a later period of American history. I'm not sure about that. It's conceivable that they could give a degree, I suppose, in something in the Civil War period. Lud Johnson, of course, is in that field but you're not supposed to build a Ph.D. program around one or two people. It should have a broader base than that. Besides, how good the Library resources are is important. I think that answers the question. The last one that I've got here is: "Has William and Mary benefitted more from the connection with the Institute than the Institute has gained from its connection with William and Mary?"

That's kind of a hard balance sheet to strike.

It seems to me from what you've been saying that it's been sort of a mutually agreeable relationship.

In a sense, however you answer the question, when you get through you might say, "So what!" After all, the Institute has been very dependent on the library of the College and the fact that Swem had done all that groundwork. The strength of it is the accumulation over the years of annual volumes of historical publications, the proceedings of historical societies, all that sort of thing. It's only the long-time continuation of it that gives it strength, and it's something you can't do overnight. That part of the job was
already done by Swem and was continuing when the Institute came. That was, of course, absolutely indispensable to the functioning of the research that went on, and the editing that went on, the availability of all these things that you have to check that appear in footnotes in articles. If you haven't got the material to check, why, you can't do a very good job of editing.

(End of Tape 3)

SMR

We pretty well covered your Colonial Williamsburg career and the Institute last session. I wanted to talk to you more about some of the things that you did before you came to Williamsburg, the work you did at U. Va. and work you did on the WPA Historical Records Survey for Virginia. I also wanted to talk to you about some of the founders and the leading people in the Society of American Archivists back in the thirties and forties. Can we go ahead with this?

LJC

I don't know whether you knew that there's been a project sponsored by the National Archives, an oral history of the early years of the National Archives. Philip Brooks has been carrying that on. It's pretty well finished now, I guess. That, of course, was chiefly interviewing people who had been on the early staff of the National Archives. He also got recordings from a few outsiders who had contact with the Archives.

So, he wanted to interview me. He lives in Arizona now so it's pretty difficult to get together. In lieu of the interview, he sent me a series of questions to which I wrote the answers. Then
they were sent back to him and on to the National Archives, transcribed and then they sent me a copy for correction. Of course, that dealt mostly with people I knew in the National Archives' early years. It didn't touch particularly on the Society of American Archivists. If you ever wanted to look at that interview, I didn't put any restriction on it, and I suppose you could probably either see a copy there or maybe you could even borrow a copy of the transcript. I don't know what their regulations are about that. I had the choice of either making it available or restricting it. I didn't see any particular reason for restricting it.

This is something I'd like to follow up with and get your recollections of some of these people. How well did you know R. D. W. Connor?

I wasn't a close friend of his, of course. I don't have any direct knowledge much of his regime in the National Archives. At one time he approached me to join the staff. He went there—I think they began in 1934—and he was recruiting people for the staff. There were a lot of historians looking for jobs during the depression, just as they are now. I suppose the vast majority of the more responsible positions in the National Archives were held by young historians. Some of them, I think, may have been connected with the Historical Records Survey, which began in 1936.

In the course of recruiting he came to Charlottesville and talked with me a bit. He was sort of sounding me out as to whether I would be interested in a job. Well, I really wasn't. I had a job
at the University. I was at that time engaged in collecting manuscripts and newspapers and other things for the library so I really wasn't interested in going to the Archives. I don't think I've ever regretted that I didn't go. As I look back on it, I think it was just as well that I didn't get involved in the bureaucracy.

You were asking about my acquaintance with Dr. Connor. As I said, I never knew him very well. I'd see him from time to time in the Archives or at the meetings of the Society, but I couldn't talk much about him from a great deal of first-hand knowledge. I always had a very high respect for his work as Archivist of the United States, and I think that people in the Archives did too, so far as I know.

SMR Did he impress you as a really dynamic person? In other words, when he came to talk to you do you remember thinking to yourself, "This is just the man to get something like this going"?

LJC I don't know about that. It was all very informal. He was sort of an informal person. He didn't stand on ceremony very much. His trip to Charlottesville to see me was, as I can recall, about the only time when we ever had any particular thing to talk about since I wasn't concerned with the operation of the National Archives.

Of course, I had very high respect for him because of the fine work he had done in North Carolina as head of the old North Carolina State Historical Commission which later became the Department of Archives and History. I guess if anybody really put that agency on the map, he was the one.
Do you know exactly how he was selected as Archivist of the United States?

You can find out about that in an article by Donald R. McCoy, "The Crucial Choice: The Appointment of R. D. W. Connor as Archivist of the United States," *American Archivist*, 37 (1974), 399-413. I think when it was time to appoint an archivist, Roosevelt was anxious to have a very well qualified person. He didn't look upon it as primarily a political appointment. I think he asked the American Historical Association for recommendations. Connor was among them and eventually he called Connor to the White House and they had an interview. According to that article, the only political consideration was that he should be a Democrat, but that was sort of a secondary thing, I think.

That's interesting. I'll have to look that up and read that.

Connor was succeeded by Solon J. Buck after he resigned. I guess he'd had enough of it, and he'd always been primarily interested in teaching. He went back to the University of North Carolina and was professor of history there until he retired.

Buck was already on the staff of the National Archives. He was in charge of publications. I can't remember exactly when Buck succeeded him. I would think it was perhaps in the late nineteen thirties or very early nineteen forties. There again there wasn't any political consideration involved in Buck's succeeding him as archivist.
You were speaking of Solon Buck. Can you tell me something about him? Did you have much interaction with him personally?

I got to know him fairly well while I was secretary of the Society of American Archivists for eight years—from 1942 to 1950 and during that time he was president of the Society for one term. There were occasions when the Council of the Society would meet. I've said a few things about Buck in the oral history project on the National Archives. He was, of course, a very able scholar. He'd been director of the Minnesota Historical Society in his early years. Then he went to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania in Pittsburgh and, I guess, was not too happy with the Board of Trustees or whatever. I think he welcomed the opportunity to go to the National Archives. He's another one of those who was recruited very early in Connor's building up of the staff.

You probably know about his historical work. He was a Harvard Ph.D. and he'd done his doctoral dissertation on the Granger movement, which was published as one of the Harvard Historical Studies. I remember his telling me once while he was at the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, somebody asked him how it felt to be a Granger in the Mellon patch. He was a very fine scholar and published a lot of good things. He was greatly interested in bibliography. He and his wife, while they were in Pittsburgh, collaborated on a history of Western Pennsylvania, which is a very good work.
As an administrator, he was difficult to get along with. He was very demanding and a great stickler for minute details. I've heard it said that after he became Archivist of the United States, and had to deal with members of Congress on matters of budget and whatever, that he often irritated the members of the Committee because he would kind of give them a lecture, telling them what was what. They didn't take too kindly to that. I had that same experience with him in the period that he was president of the Society. He would often get involved in very minute and kind of nit-picking things that sometimes irritated me very much.

He was, of course, highly respected among the archivists. I can remember many a meeting where, after that session's program, it would be time for discussion and sooner or later Buck would get up and sort of speak *ex cathedra*. He would give the final word on what the solution of the issue should be, at least in his mind.

He went on to the Library of Congress from the National Archives. I always had the highest respect for his scholarship.

There's a gentleman on this list that I'm not terribly familiar with. I know that he was around for many years and a very prominent scholar. This was Waldo Leland. Did you know him?

I got to know him fairly well from being on committees with him and seeing him occasionally at the National Archives. After his death the editor of the *Archivist* asked me to write a memoir about him. That's published in the *American Archivist*, January 1967. It runs
about two pages. I guess that would be about the best I could do on a character sketch of him.

He really started his career in the Carnegie Institution of Washington when J. Franklin Jameson was the head of the Historical Division. Leland was a young scholar and he got him on the staff there. He was the one who did the survey of Federal records in the city of Washington, which was published by the Institution, exposing the very bad conditions of all the Federal records in the early twentieth century. This was published, I think, first about 1904 and then there was a second edition in 1907. That publication became part of the ammunition in the campaign for a national archives. Jameson was the chief person who kept constantly fighting for a national archives. He was not only head of the Historical Division but he was for many years editor of the *American Historical Review* and one of the great editors of that period. He and Leland both, but particularly Jameson, did quite a bit in trying to build up public support and nagging Congress about the need for a national archives.

Of course, there was no real profession of archivists in those days. Leland wrote a paper that was published around 1910 or 1912 on that very subject, on the need for a national archives, and that had evolved in part from his survey of the Federal records and the neglect they were suffering. That was just confined to Washington, of course. It doesn't have anything to do with those outside of Washington.
Then later he became the permanent Secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies in Washington. He also did a guide to—well, Jameson had this big plan for a guide to records pertaining to the United States in foreign archives and he got a number of prominent scholars to do different countries. Leland got to work on France and he did one volume quite early in his career. Then there was a long gap before the second was done. He spent quite a bit of time in France, surveying the French archives to find out what American materials were in them. So he was widely known in Europe as well as in America. He was always referred to as the dean of American archivists although he never held an archival position.

He was never on the staff at the Archives?

Oh, no, he was never officially connected with the National Archives though he was always in Washington. That was his base, wherever else he was, so I'm sure they called on him many a time as a sort of consultant, but he never was on the staff of the National Archives. Of course, again, he was basically an historian and a scholar and was instrumental in getting the American Council of Learned Societies organized, then was appointed as Secretary. He held that job for a long time. All those years the Council's office was in Washington. Later on it was moved to New York. He was second president of the Society, 1939-41. He was a very delightful person to know. He had a fine sense of humor and very good judgment about a lot of things. He certainly understood all the methodology of archives as well as of history so everybody looked up to him and really revered him.
The last time we were talking about the Truman Library you mentioned Philip Brooks. Could you tell me a little bit about him?

He's been a friend of mine for many a year. He was among that early group of young historians who were appointed to jobs in the National Archives. He had a Ph.D. from the University of California. In those days, there was only one University of California. He held a number of different administrative jobs in the National Archives. He was the first secretary of the Society. I followed him as secretary. He was secretary from the beginning of 1936 until 1942 when I took over. His judgment was very highly respected in the National Archives. The successive Archivists of the United States recognized his ability and his good judgment and so on.

Then, later on he became head of the Federal Records Center in San Francisco, I think maybe when that was first established. Federal Record Centers, you know, were all established after World War II, I don't recall exactly when. He was in charge of that before he went to be director of the Truman Library. The Truman Library was established in 1957.

It wasn't long after Truman was out of office. Truman thought about this before he left the presidency. So Brooks stayed there until his retirement. He established a very fine rapport with Mr. Truman. When that building was planned a separate space was reserved for Truman's private office and the records which he regarded as personal or so confidential that he wasn't
willing to put them into the records of his administration. So the relationship existed there with the President and being so close at hand I'm sure they called on him for advice on many things, but they took the initiative on that and he never interfered with the operation of the Library.*

Brooks certainly became one of the leading archivists in the United States beyond a doubt. I think the operation of the Truman Library was kind of a model of how it should be done. Out of that came the Truman Library Institute. That's sort of a research, well, it's a separate organization that's privately supported. It has fellows. I'm one of the fellows. You pay so much a year. The Institute has its own board, a very distinguished group of political scientists and historians on the Board, and they have quite an important fellowship program to encourage scholars to use the resources of the Truman Library. That was all gotten under way while Brooks was still the director of the Library.

He was also very much interested in acquiring collateral papers of people who had been associated with Truman, his cabinet members or whatever. During his regime the Library began a collecting program of papers of other persons who were somehow or other either connected with the Truman administration or even had been associated with him somewhere before he became President. I don't know that that was a new program because certainly the Franklin D. Roosevelt

*See above, pp 90-91
Library has done the same thing. I don't know where it first started. Of course, the Roosevelt Library has been in operation a longer time. I think perhaps most of the presidential libraries do that now.

SMR  I believe all of them do.

LJC  In fact, there was a session at the meeting in Washington recently where they were discussing collecting policies and some questions were raised as to whether the presidential libraries should be engaged in this kind of pursuit, whether this wasn't making for competition with other organizations that might just as properly or more properly have a particular man's papers rather than a presidential library. I don't know that anything could be done about that. I've always felt, let the best man win.

SMR  That seems to be the way it's going now, at any rate.

LJC  Of course, it may be more of an issue because of this whole question as to whether the papers of a person who has worked for the government are public property, not just the papers of a president but any public official. If that's what comes out of it, I don't know what might happen. I think there might be a danger even of a man's papers being divided into two parts where, say, the National Archives could claim his public papers as an agency of the government and some other institution also interested in his papers but not now able to have them might be claiming his personal papers.

SMR  I think this is a situation which will definitely arise if these laws are passed and the "public" papers are to be kept in Washington or wherever.
I have listed a couple of other people I'd like to get your impressions of. One is Oliver Wendell Holmes.

Well, I've known Oliver a long time, too. He's a good friend of mine. His whole career was in the National Archives. All these people are about the same age, and I don't know that Holmes had a job elsewhere. He's a Columbia Ph.D. in history and was in the Archives, I think, certainly from the early days and, of course, as you know, became Executive Director of the National Historical Publications Commission. He had a lot to do with the shaping of the policies of the Commission, of course, in connection with making the grants to the various projects that they decided to support. I think always, he's a very fair-minded person, always trying to spread the good things of life around and make the fairest possible decision on a scholarly basis.

You know that the Commission has come in for some criticism in recent years because of the fact that the grants have been to projects concerned with pretty distinguished, top-level people in American history. You've probably read some of Jesse Lemish's writings criticizing this. He wrote a paper criticizing the Commission, titled, I think, "The Papers of Great White Men." He has been criticizing them on various occasions. He says that the Commission has restricted its support to prominent people, leaders in the country at various periods and has not given consideration to the lesser lights or even the inarticulate, however you get at them. But I think Holmes did a very good job as head of that Commission.
LJC Have you met him? He was at the meeting and still lives in Washington.

SMR I did not get a chance to meet him.

LJC He's among the founding fathers of the Society of American Archivists.

SMR This is one reason I wanted to get your impressions of him.

LJC Did you go to the annual dinner?

SMR No, sir, I did not. I had to come back early.

LJC I'm sorry you missed that. That was quite a big occasion. All the old timers got recognition. They asked them all to stand up, all those who were among the people at the original meeting in 1936.

SMR How many were there?

LJC I don't know, maybe a dozen or so.

SMR That's a pretty good turnout because there weren't that many people at that original meeting, were there?

LJC That was a pretty big turnout. I can't recall how many were there. I suppose maybe a hundred or so. It was an indication of pretty widespread interest in the founding of a professional society. That was during the American Historical Association annual meeting in Providence in 1936.

SMR Who was behind that, Dr. Cappon, who sort of pulled that together? Was it basically one person or was there a committee planning towards this?

LJC I'm sure that people in the National Archives, of course, were initially very much interested as well as many of the state archivists. In those
days there weren't very many other archivists, as a matter of fact in the field of education, the only outstanding university archivist was the Harvard Archivist, the University Archives had been established long before 1936. I think it was to a large extent the people in the National Archives and the state archivists. The American Historical Association set up a Public Archives Commission in 1899. That commission authorized a series of surveys of state archives and those surveys—it wasn't done in all of the states—were published in the annual reports of the American Historical Association from about 1900 on down to the First World War. They contain a lot of good information. Of course, a good deal of that stuff would be kind of outmoded now because most of the states have archives departments. I would say that that was the chief accomplishment of the old Public Archives Commission. They advocated some kind of handbook—I think somewhere in those reports there's a sort of outline of a proposed handbook but that never came to fruition.

There were a good many history professors who had an interest in that field and gave support to the organization of the Society. The proceedings of that meeting were published in mimeographed form. That's kind of a rare imprint. I don't know whether you've ever seen that or not.

SMR I never have.

LJC I doubt that Colonial Williamsburg has it because the development here was much later than that.
Do you have a personal copy?

Yes, I think I've got a copy downstairs. I have a complete file of the Archivist. Would you like to see that?

Yes, I would. I would very much. In fact, I might ask you if we could copy the proceedings of the first meeting.

Excuse me just a minute. I think maybe I can put my hands on it.

(Break)

[LJC produced it and Helen Bullock's name was on the list of "founders." He asked did we keep in touch with her.]

We have contact with her from time to time. In fact, she was interviewed for the Oral History Program back when Mr. Short was doing it. We have a very brief interview with her, but it doesn't go into any of this sort of thing. It was simply on early days in the Research Department.

Well, you probably know she was Orin Bullock's first wife.

Yes, and she had the title of Archivist while she was here.

She was in the Research Department. I didn't recall that they had that title at that time.

They did give her the title. She was Research Assistant or Research Associate and Archivist, something like that. That's probably why she was attending the AHA, because she was not an historian by profession, I don't believe. I think it was a matter of Orin Bullock was here on the scene with Perry, Shaw and Hepburn and they needed somebody to come over and pull all these note cards and things together
that they were compiling and she just happened to say, "Well, I'd like to do this." I think that was the case.

LJC I really don't know what her professional background was, where she went to college or anything like that.

SMR Could we talk a little bit about Luther Evans and the WPA Historical Records Survey and how that got rolling? You coordinated it for the state of Virginia, did you not?

LJC Yes, I was the first director of the Virginia HRS.

SMR Could you talk about that a bit and how that came to be?

LJC Of course, Evans was the national director of the thing, based in Washington. I guess I got the job because I was engaged in sort of comparable work at the University of Virginia in connection with the work of collecting manuscripts for the library. I had a grandiose idea, as a lot of young guys do, one too big to carry out, of a survey of the county records of Virginia. I had selected certain counties in different parts of the state so that it would be kind of a regional representation and had spent some time in each one of those, the office of the county clerk, making an inventory of the records. That, of necessity, was pretty exclusively of the bound volumes. Most of those clerks' offices had a lot of loose papers, too. They didn't know what they had so this was pretty much just the bound records. I had a card file of all this stuff by the title of the record. I expect that material is probably still somewhere in the Alderman Library. The idea was ultimately to cover the state, which
was a hundred counties in those days. There are a few less now but not many. What I had in mind really, was a basic guide to the historical records in Virginia. Well, that also included newspapers as one field. That's how that book of mine on Virginia newspapers got published because as I traveled around the state I made a survey of newspaper files. It was really more than a survey, an inventory, because I actually recorded in great detail what those files consisted of and bibliographical information on successive editors and publishers and so forth. That survey of newspapers was one phase of this grandiose idea of a guide to all the historical records in the state. That was the only thing that got published.

All of this work started in 1930 when I was appointed archivist, which was really a misnomer because my work was really field work, collecting materials and bringing them into the library for somebody else to handle. From the very beginning we published an annual report. You probably have seen some of those. It's called the Annual Report of the Archivist, University of Virginia Library. The first one was for 1930 or 1931. That series kept on year after year. After I left in 1945 it was still continued. By that time Frank Berkeley had taken over. It was continued for fifteen years. There were fifteen reports with an index and then it was carried on for five years more. Then the thing was dropped. I guess it was getting too complicated or something or other. It wasn't carried beyond that point. Its publication helped to make known what we were
trying to do in Virginia to enrich the University library and find out what the resources of the state were.

I suppose it was on the strength of that that Evans asked me to be director of the Virginia Historical Records Survey in 1936. I couldn't give full time to it so it was a part-time appointment. The office was established in Richmond. We got a full-time assistant director, a young woman named Elizabeth Parker. She ran the Richmond office. My part of it was mostly advisory and that sort of thing, to some extent administrative, but she carried the main load of that. Of course then they hired people in the various counties since the primary purpose of it was survey of county records. In most of the counties there were people on relief who were employed to make inventories of county records. In Virginia there were only about six or eight of those published. This was an extension, in a sense, of what I'd been trying to do single-handed in the years before that. Harry Clemons, who was librarian of the University and a very strong supporter of this archival project there, agreed that the University would publish the first volume that was completed and print it. All the others were issued in mimeographed form.

So the inventory of the county records of Chesterfield became a printed volume quite respectably done by I think, the Michie Company in Charlottesville. I wrote a little essay called "The Evolution of County Government in Virginia" that was published in the one on Chesterfield, though it didn't appear in the others.
Altogether I think we did eight at the most. Of course in those days Virginia was predominantly an agricultural state. There weren't many Ph.D.'s looking for jobs. We had to depend pretty much on kind of run-of-the-mill people who had some education and presumably could, with proper direction, carry on. That, of course, slowed down the work.

SMR Did the local historical societies aid you to any extent? Where there was an established county historical society, would you go to them and say, "This is what we're trying to do"?

LJC There were almost no county historical societies in those days, very, very few county historical societies, nothing like you found in Pennsylvania or New England where there were well established county and town societies. They were largely non-existent. If I could remember which ones there were, I could probably count them on the fingers of one hand.

SMR That's interesting. I guess I had always assumed that Virginia probably had a little group of "historians" in every county from time immemorial.

LJC I guess they did.

SMR But no formal organizations?

LJC There were very, very few county organizations. There was one in Frederick County. Actually I think it was really Winchester, the Winchester Historical Society. They got out maybe one or two volumes. They started, I think, about the same time that I began my work at the
University of Virginia, I believe it was around 1930. I'd have to scratch my head pretty hard to recall where they were, other county historical societies.

SMR
King and Queen is a fairly old one, isn't it?

LJC
That was later.*

Even after they got going, the publications were very few. We started the Albemarle County Historical Society in 1940. That became a very lively organization and it's still going today. We started an annual publication called Papers, which were chiefly papers read at meetings, held about four times a year. Usually they were held at the court house but sometimes we'd get an invitation from some plantation or somewhere in the county for a summer meeting. I was the editor of the Papers during its first five years until I came here to Williamsburg. Later the title was changed to The Magazine of the Albemarle County Historical Society. I've got a file of that. It's not up to date now. I guess they're still issuing it. I'm a life member. I should be getting it, but I can't recall receiving one in recent years. I think it's still a very active organization. They acquired an old house in Charlottesville. That kind of thing was pretty exceptional in Virginia in those days.

In the HRS I had very few contacts with the actual workers. Occasionally I would get to a county, perhaps, but that was all under

* Est. 1953.
Elizabeth Parker's administration. I think she had a couple of assistants who did some traveling and kept in touch with how the people on relief were getting along with their work. I know they found some pretty bad conditions in some of those county clerks' offices, neglect, just as Leland found in the federal records in the early nineteen hundreds.

I was director of it for just one year and then Elizabeth Parker became director. Well, the HRS didn't last very long. There was also established a survey of federal archives and Phil Hamer was the head of that in Washington. In the late thirties the Historical Records Survey was put under the survey of Federal Archives. Elizabeth Parker lost her top job. She was really put down a notch in the administration. In Virginia the survey of Federal Archives was under Kathleen Bruce. She taught here for a short time many years ago. She was a niece of Philip Alexander Bruce who wrote several books on seventeenth-century Virginia and the history of the University of Virginia.

SMR She wrote that book on iron manufacture, too, did she not?

LJC Yes, she was a Harvard—in those days it was a Radcliffe. Well, no I guess it was called Harvard Ph.D. Of course, the whole business of surveying folded up after we got into the war and there were no more people on relief in the sense that there had been before. So the Historical Records Survey and the survey of Federal Archives finally terminated about 1941 or early 1942. But the Washington
office got out a sort of bibliography of all the publications of the Historical Records Survey throughout the country. That's a pretty rare imprint. I don't know whether you've ever seen that or not. I think I have a copy of it. Of course the HRS did some things besides county records. Depending on local interest they did some compilations of birth and death records from various sources.

SMR
Did they not do tombstone records also?

LJC
Well, yes, I guess that was under the HRS. There were a few cases where guides to manuscript collections in particular institutions were done under the HRS. The guide to the manuscript collection at Duke University came out originally in mimeograph form. Later on it was revised. I think that may have been also true of the one for Chapel Hill, the Southern Historical Collection. So there were a few of those but, of course, the main objective was the survey, inventory of county records. I think it was a very worthwhile thing. A lot of people were very skeptical about it because of the wide qualifications of the people who did the work. I'm sure there were a lot of incompetents in it, but over all under the guide lines that the Washington office issued and what supervision they got in the state, I think overall it was really a very remarkable job. Every once in a while, you know, there's talk about trying to revive it, to bring it up to date. I think the National Historical Publications and Records Commission as it now stands has something of that sort in mind if they could ever get enough money to do it.
Well, after the project ended the question was what was to become of all these records. They had all these files, you see, in the state offices, much of which had not been published. So the procedure of the Washington office was—well, I should say this first, I guess, that the whole HRS was operated as what you might call a federated project. In other words, although there was the Washington office and Evans was a very good administrator, still there was a great deal of local autonomy in the operation of these projects. After all, the records that they were inventorying were state records, not federal records, except for the survey of Federal Archives, that was in a different category. I guess it was felt that the proper procedure was that the records of these offices which were not closed up should be preserved in the states and not all taken to Washington. It would have been much better if there could have been an order requiring all these records to go to Washington and be put wherever they could have been preserved.

What happened to the records in each state was just a matter of who was interested and appreciated the value of these things enough to do something about it. Fortunately in Virginia the records went into the state archives, but I've heard it said that of all the New England states, records in only one of those offices was preserved. Everything else was destroyed, just from indifference or whatever. I think Leonard Rapport, who is with the National Archives, has made some kind of survey of these records that have survived throughout
the country. I'm sure in a good many other cases perhaps besides New England that they were just thrown out. Nobody had enough interest in them or thought they were of enough value to keep. That whole relief program really produced some impressive results. I think the most important was what the Federal Writers Project did in the preparation of the state guides. That was done, I guess, for practically all the states.

SMR
I think they were all done, as far as I know.

LJC
In some cases they were printed by a commercial publisher. They were that good. Some of them have been revised and brought up to date. That was really, I think, the most notable accomplishment of this whole WPA program.

SMR
Could you tell me a little bit about Luther Evans?

LJC
Of course, I got acquainted with him through the HRS and occasionally he would call a meeting of state directors for a particular area. Since we were near Washington we would go up there occasionally and get a pep talk from him and some advice. Once in a while he would travel and turn up at a state office. He was a very able administrator. He became Librarian of Congress and later head of UNESCO. He was a political scientist from Princeton, very able guy, very forceful. He had a kind of loud, raspy voice, but very forceful personality.

I recall not too many years ago at a historical meeting, or maybe it was an archival meeting, I've forgotten which, there was a session of the Historical Records Survey. Leonard Rapport, who was
with the National Archives, wrote a paper on the history of the Historical Records Survey. They got Evans to be the chairman. After Rapport read his paper and the meeting was open for discussion, Evans began reminiscing and boy, that was really something. Well, he corrected some things in Rapport's paper. It turned out to be quite an interesting session especially for somebody who had been connected with the HRS, as I had been. Too bad that those remarks of his weren't recorded. They were just off the cuff. I'm sure there's no record of them as far as I know unless Rapport used some of them in revising his paper. I don't recall whether that paper has been published or not. As I said, I'm not sure whether it was a historical meeting. It seems to me it was a historical meeting, not an archival meeting. I'm quite sure it has not appeared in the American Archivist.

SMR

Did the Virginia Historical Society cooperate on that survey?

LJC

Well, not that I know of. They weren't likely to. That was in the medieval period of the Historical Society, 1936. Well, I guess Stanard probably still was head of the Society. I'm quite sure he must have been at that time. Then his successor, Lancaster, was an amateur historian from the eastern shore of Virginia, I think. I guess maybe Stanard was still head of the Society. In those days the Society was very much a closed corporation, very self-sufficient and self-satisfied and interested more in genealogy than in history. The caliber of the magazine pretty much indicates what the interests
of the society were, a carryover from earlier days. It was really John Jennings who put some new life in the Society. I think it's a distinguished society now, thanks to him. There wouldn't have been any cooperation there. I'm sure they would have looked down their noses at the whole business because that Society was - I think it's still true to some extent - pretty much upper class stuff. Certainly in those days it was essentially a Richmond organization, the bulk of the members were from Richmond. The majority may still be from Richmond today, but it's much broader based than it was then.

SMR

The reason I asked is you were mentioning the Chesterfield County records as having been done. I was wondering if the Virginia Historical Society had said, "Let us do Henrico or Chesterfield or one of the adjacent counties"?

LJC

Not a ghost of a show. I may be wrong but I doubt that they had any participation in any of these WPA programs. I would doubt that very much.

SMR

It seems like it would have been a way to get a little money into the Society.

LJC

Well, that's the point. They might have gotten some funds to do something internally, but I don't know that they did. John Jennings would be able to answer that question, I'm sure. I would never have thought of even asking their cooperation. That would have been a waste of time in those days.

SMR

How about the different colleges and universities across the state?
In other words, was there any interest here in Williamsburg by Earl Swem, for example, to help coordinate for, say James City County or York County?

Not that I know of off hand. I can't recall anything about what was accomplished in James City County records. Of course, those records only go back to about 1865.

That's right. They were burned.

But even so that wouldn't prevent a survey being made of them. But there again, I don't recall any interest of Swem's in these things. I just may have lack of information about that.

I was just wondering how the different field workers were selected.

Well, of course, I think every county had its relief rolls and I suppose that was the way they were recruited. They would have some information on applicants as to their education and so on. I didn't have anything to do with the actual employment of the people.

It's an interesting period, certainly.

In those days Swem had always been engaged in collecting manuscripts for the College library here. I know he greatly resented De Roulhac Hamilton's invasion of the state, so to speak, his carrying off Virginia manuscripts. He was very bitter about that. Swem became librarian in 1920. I don't know how soon he got going on this business of collecting.

I think he started right away. I think he recognized the desirability of having these manuscripts.
He must have done some traveling but after all his main job was librarian here. He wasn't free to travel in the way that Hamilton was when the University of North Carolina accepted the idea of developing the Southern Historical Collection. I suppose it was Hamilton's idea; he was released from teaching or probably just did part-time teaching in order to do that. He was on the road a great deal and carried on a very systematic survey of old families and where they lived and what he could find out ahead of time about what papers they might have, all over the South. He was on the road very extensively. I don't know exactly when that field work of his began but it was certainly in the early nineteen twenties. With his knowledge of southern history, of course, he had a good background to begin with. So Swem was up against pretty stiff competition beside the fact that he couldn't spend as much time on it as Hamilton could. Then Hamilton's chief competition really came from Duke University when it got going in the later nineteen twenties and William Kenneth Boyd began collecting and, of course, had plenty of dough to buy manuscripts. They must have received a big gift from the Flowers family. The Flowers family, I think, had some connection with the Duke operation in the tobacco industry, I suppose. I think there was some family connection.

There was a connection there.

I don't know whether the Flowers' were related to the Dukes or what but Duke must have gotten a big gift and that still prevails today, I
know. I remember seeing newspapers in the Duke Collection with a stamp - Flowers Collection. That was probably an important source of funds for Boyd to do his work.

Now when you got into this, did you do a lot of road traveling yourself?

Oh, yes, I was traveling widely all over Virginia. Every once in a while I would run across Hamilton's tracks. I never met him in the field. Of course, I knew him, but our paths every once in a while would cross. I'd find I was either too late or at least he'd already been there and staked a claim. Sometimes I had the advantage because I represented a Virginia institution but the University so that was a great advantage. He and I were in the same boat pretty much on funds. We had very small funds for any purchases. That was often an advantage because some of these families would have been insulted if you had offered to buy their manuscripts. If they were going to part with them, they'd give them or least they'd put them on deposit, so in some respects it was an advantage for us to be poor, as many of them were, also.

Thinking back, would you care to mention a couple of the more significant collections that you brought into the University during this period, or are there any groups of papers or stories that stick out in your mind?

The purpose, of course, of the Annual Report was to report on the year's work and what was acquired. The report was quite widely
circulated, particularly in Virginia where it was supposed to do some good on acquainting the people and arousing their interest in this idea and so on. You can skim through those reports and pick out the names. I'm a little bit hazy on this. This is a long time ago.

SMR

This is why I was asking, if there was one big find or one group that really stuck out in your mind. Where, perhaps, you'd gone into a house and some little old lady had taken you up in the attic and there'd been ten or twelve steamer trunks full of papers.

LJC

I tried to think of the name of the people. There was a family, I think it was in Halifax County, I can't recall the name of the family now. I knew that they had operated a general store for many, many years so just on the hope that some of those records had survived, I got in touch with the family. The man said, "Yes, we've got an outbuilding with a big pile of records in there, old store records, sure." So we went out there and here was all this stuff piled up. I got all this collection of ledgers and journals—everything. The exciting thing was that after I began digging into the stuff and turning up these volumes I came upon records of the sale of public lands in the middle west and discovered that this family, before the Civil War, had run a plantation as well as the store and apparently had been making a good thing of it. So they began buying up lands, in the west, in Iowa, and I think maybe Missouri. I remember there were some Iowa records in it. Then they began selling off
the lands and these were records of land sales before the Civil War, then there was a gap and they resumed after the Civil War, quite a long series, just a wonderful supplement to the public lands records in Washington. So those are all in the University of Virginia Library. The amusing thing about it was that at that time Professor Paul Gates of Cornell University was working on one of his volumes on the disposition of the public lands. Easley is the name of the family. From his research in the public land records in Washington he had turned up their name and found out what they were doing. So he tracked the family down to Halifax County. He arrived there about a week or so after I'd been there, so he had to go to Charlottesville to do his research. I already knew Paul, had, in fact, known him for a long time. That was kind of funny. Of course, he wouldn't have been carrying off the records himself, but it's a good example of how accidental these things are and how the time element enters in. Who gets there first is the key.

SMR Did you and Dr. Hamilton ever sit down and swap stories or compare notes?

LJC No, we never did. About the only time I ever saw him was at meetings of the Southern Historical Association.

SMR So you did not know Dr. Hamilton practicularly well then, I guess?

LJC No, not terribly well.

SMR How about William Boyd? Did you know him at all, other than just in passing?
LJC Yes, I knew him a bit better. One year while I was a graduate student at Harvard he was up there as a visiting professor for a semester and I got a little bit better acquainted with him up there. Of course I would see him also occasionally at meetings. I wouldn't call him a friend of mine. Just as did Hamilton, he had a good nose for collecting. They always said that Hamilton could go by an old house and almost smell that there were manuscripts there. Of course, Boyd had the advantage of being able to buy things. I'm sure that some of these people were very well paid for their collections.

SMR Did you run into many instances where people wanted money or asked you for money? Did this come up a lot or did you find people wanted to donate or to give the records more than to sell them?

LJC Well, not a great deal. You had to kind of feel out the situation and you could sometimes tell by the trend of their conversation that if you were going to get anything you'd have to pay something for it. I would say that in most cases it was the other way, that a financial consideration really didn't enter into it.

I got quite a good collection of things from the Ambler family. There was a branch of the Ambler family who lived in Amherst County. They turned me loose in their attic and I found quite a bit of stuff there including a lot of good newspapers both in files and single issues. The most interesting thing there was that the Ambler who had inherited that plantation in the early nineteenth century had kept a diary for a long time. He had gone on
the grand tour of Europe as so many of those sons of wealthy plantation owners did. This diary had survived. I think there were four volumes and it had been divided so that different volumes were in the hands of different members of the family, kind of spread it around. I think the man at Amherst had one of the volumes. That's how I got to know about it. He was quite willing to part with his volume provided I could get the other volumes. So I worked on that a long time, seeing the other people and writing to them. Ultimately we got all four volumes reunited in the University Library.

Mr. Ambler in Amherst was astounded at what I was interested in taking. Like so many of these people he thought that most of what he had was of no interest to anybody outside of their family. He never thought of it as having historical value. Practically everything that was in that attic was of some value. There were a lot of pamphlets and newspapers along with letters and so forth. I really filled the car up. I remember his saying, "You'd make a good forager for the army." But that's the reason why so much of this stuff hasn't survived because the point of view of historical interest never enters into the consideration of these people.

There's a lot to the psychology of the thing, too. You go the first time and you plant the seed and you don't try to get results right away. Don't expect you're going to walk off with the treasures the first time around. You have to just sort of get them interested and acquaint them with what you're doing and let them think about it.
Maybe some months later or maybe a year later you'll go back and see what their point of view is and what they're willing to do. It takes a lot of patience. It's easy to push it too much and spoil the whole thing. Most of them in the long run would come around. Certainly the connection with the University was a great advantage. Sometimes it would be because some member of the family was a graduate of the University, but just quite aside from that there's a great deal of respect for the University and its prestige. That was always an advantage, I think.

SMR Did you have anything to do with the founding of the American Association of State and Local History? What can you tell me about it?

LJC The AASLH was founded after the SAA, which was in 1936. I think it was 1940. That group also came out of the AHA because the AHA had what was called a conference on historical societies which met usually annually when the main meeting was held. That went back to the early twentieth century, circa 1905, and their annual proceedings were always printed in the AHA annual report. The conference had sort of gone downhill and was poorly attended. It was obvious that something better was needed so it seemed that if you could really get a sort of national organization going that this might be a good thing. That's why they started it. Of course it's today a very thriving organization with its headquarters in Nashville; Bill Alderson is the head of it. C. C. Crittenden was very active in the early years. In fact, he was the first president, and was one of the people trying to keep the old conference alive.
The other area that I wanted to get into with you was—we may have touched on this last time—the founding of the Southern Historical Association. You were not at the first meeting, I don't believe, were you?

No, I wasn't involved in the organization of it. I don't really think I could say anything that's of any value.

When did you get into that organization? You were in it and, of course, you were president.

I joined it right away but that first meeting was just to form the organization among the people who had, I suppose, corresponded about the idea and got together. I've forgotten where they met; I think it was in Atlanta. I suppose they also started planning the Journal of Southern History. I joined after the organization got started so I wasn't a founding father.

Could you talk a little bit about the membership in the early days? Who were some of the people who were really behind this thing?

Certainly one of the persons who must have been in on the founding was E. Merton Coulter of the University of Georgia. He was always very prominent in the Society in the early days and, of course, was president. He's still living; I suppose he's in his eighties by now.

I would say he's at least in his eighties.

I think Thomas P. Abernethy was in the original group, too. He was at the University of Virginia by that time. I'm trying to think of the man from the University of Texas.
Ramsdell? Charles Ramsdell?

Ramsdell, yes.

When the Southern was first founded, what sort of membership did it have? Did it have a fairly large membership? Did it get off to a good start or did it kind of struggle for a while?

No, I think they must have got—I'm not speaking from really first-hand information here but they must have got a very good response, and I'm sure there was a pretty steady growth of the organization.

Bennett Wall has been secretary of that organization for many, many years. He really takes a proprietary interest in that job. I don't recall who was secretary in the earlier years, but he's been on the job a long time. Another person who was very active in it was William C. Binkley, who was at Vanderbilt for many years, and who wrote on Texas history. He was a regular attendant at the annual meetings. I know he was on the Council when I was president.

Owsley was very active in it too, Frank Owsley. Well, I think Craven was, too, Avery O. Craven. I guess he must have been at the University of Chicago. He was there a long time, you know. In fact he's still living. I haven't seen him, but I understand he's hale and hearty.

I just wanted to see if I could get you to talk about the early days and any significant things you could think of about the early days. It's gotten to be such a prominent association in a relatively short
period of time, it's come to the front, and the *Journal*, of course, has come to be one of the ranking publications.

**LJC** The *Journal* was started in 1938, I think. I was never on the Council of the Society, except when I was president. I never was really familiar with the inner workings of it so to speak. I don't think I can really be helpful on that.

**SMR** Was there anything particularly significant about your tenure as president of the SHA? What exactly did that involve, being president?

**LJC** You had to write a presidential address. Well, there was, of course, correspondence with members of the Council, but at this late date I don't recall any great issues that were before the Society at that time. Maybe they were, and I've forgotten them. This was all in the days before integration and the issue began to come up about attendance of black members. It wasn't that black members were excluded, but there was always the problem of no hotel facilities for them because all the meetings of that association were held in the South. The only alternative to hotel accommodations was invitations for black members to stay in private homes.
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