GUIDE TO THE HOOVER INSTITUTION ARCHIVES

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Foreword

For more than a half century the Hoover Institution has served the international community of scholars by freely offering them original documentation indispensable to their research. In pursuing this mission the Institution has followed the intentions of its founder, Herbert Hoover, when he initiated in 1919 the collecting program that led to establishment of a major archival repository on the campus of Stanford University.

Publication of this comprehensive *Guide to the Hoover Institution Archives* represents another step forward in the Institution's effort to make its holdings better known and more accessible for research purposes. I am particularly pleased that appearance of the guide closely follows completion of the new Herbert Hoover Memorial Building, which now houses the archives. These modern archival facilities enhance our ability to serve present researchers expeditiously and to preserve our collections for future scholars.

On behalf of the Hoover Institution, I wish to express gratitude to the National Endowment for the Humanities for a grant that made preparation of this guide possible. I also wish to thank the Center for Research in International Studies at Stanford University for a grant that helped with the planning and initial phases of the guide project.

It is always gratifying to hear about the excellence of Hoover Institution collections from writers and scholars who use our holdings. In presenting this guide I am reminded in particular of the words of Dr. Frederick H. Burkhardt, at the time chairman of the National Commission of Libraries and Information Science and longtime president of the American Council of Learned Societies, who, endorsing the passage of legislation for the Herbert Hoover Federal Memorial, stated that the Hoover Institution's special collections "will continue to be useful as far into the future as we can now see." We hope that publication of this guide will facilitate that use for many years to come.

W. Glenn Campbell
Director

Hoover Institution

Introduction

This guide describes the archival and manuscript holdings of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University. Totalling 3,569 accessions and occupying approximately 18,000 linear feet of shelving, they cover the fields of political, economic, social, and military history since the late nineteenth century for most geographical areas, including North America, Eastern Europe and Russia (also USSR), Western Europe, East and Southeast Asia, Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East. There are records of organizations, papers of individuals, special collections, manuscripts accessioned as single units, and audiovisual materials, as well as microfilm and other copies of collections held privately or located at other repositories. In general, they document the causes of war, propaganda, and military history; wartime dislocation and relief; underground resistance movements and governments-in-exile; political ideologies, especially communism, fascism, and nazism; revolutionary movements and liberation groups; colonialism; international organizations, conferences, and diplomacy; peace negotiations and pacifism; education; and political, economic, and social change in numerous countries.

Holdings vary by geographical area, as illustrated below:

HOLDINGS BY AREA (1979)

Area	Percentage by volume	Percentage by number of accessions
North America (primarily U.S.)	55.2	24.4
Eastern Europe and Russia (USSR)	17.2	26.1
Western Europe	13.8	27.1
International	4.9	5.3
East and Southeast Asia	4.4	8.3
Latin America	3.0	1.8
Africa	1.1	5.4
Middle East	.4	1.6

Within the broad geographical areas listed above, certain countries, historical periods, and themes are emphasized. United States materials dominate the North American section. They relate to politics and government since 1919; diplomacy; military involvement in both world wars, Korea, and Vietnam; communism and internal subversion; journalism and public opinion; economic and social problems.

Russian materials are among the most significant of the archival holdings. They document the czarist regime between 1880 and 1917 (especially diplomacy), revolution and counter-revolution, war relief, civil war, émigré movements, and the USSR. Holdings on Poland are also prominent, especially

those concerning foreign affairs between the world wars and the World War II government-in-exile (London). Materials on other East European countries, notably Yugoslavia, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and the Baltic states, primarily concern the interwar, World War II, and immediate postwar periods.

In the West European section, holdings are strongest for Germany, France, Belgium, Spain, and Italy. German subjects covered include the 1919 revolution, the rise of nazism, the Third Reich and its leaders, anti-nazi resistance, the Allied occupation after World War II, and the 1968 student revolt. The French collections emphasize interwar diplomacy, the Vichy regime, World War II resistance, trade unionism, the Fifth Republic, the Algerian war, and the 1968 student revolt. Additional subject areas within the West European collection are war propaganda, relief operations in Belgium, the German occupation of Belgium in both world wars, the Spanish civil war, Italian fascism, the rise of the British Labour party, and the Irish revolutionary movement.

Although smaller and less comprehensive, the other geographical area collections provide valuable archival documentation on selected topics. Among international organizations and conferences covered in depth are the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, the League of Nations, reparations commissions, the 1930 London Naval Conference, international military tribunals at Nuremberg and Tokyo, and the founding conference of the United Nations at San Francisco. East and Southeast Asian materials relate primarily to the Japanese occupation of Korea (1894–1910), missionary work in China, the rise of the Kuomintang under Chiang Kai-shek, the Sino-Japanese war, operations in the China-Burma-India theater during World War II, the postwar Allied occupation of Japan, developments in Indonesia from 1958 to the coup of 1965, and the Vietnam war. Latin American holdings focus on boundary disputes, the Panama Canal, the Cuban revolution, and major political events throughout South America for the period 1954–1964. African archival materials relate primarily to tribal customs, colonialism and colonial administration, nationalism, and revolutionary movements. For the Middle East, significant topics represented are the Arabian American Oil Company, the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, and Turkey since the first republic.

Research in the archives is strongly supported by the Hoover Institution's specialized library of published sources. The library houses 1.3 million books, 24,000 periodical titles, 6,000 newspapers, and an extensive collection of government documents, pamphlets, leaflets, and other published ephemera. Except for certain microfilms, the library holdings are not described in this guide.

Use of the Guide

The only previously published comprehensive guide to the archives is *Special Collections in the Hoover Library on War, Revolution and Peace* (1940), by Nina Almond and H. H. Fisher. The present guide supersedes that edition, as well as the special collections section of the printed card catalog published in 88 volumes by G. K. Hall (Boston, 1969–1977). It supplements but does not replace various other published guides that serve special purposes. These include subject and area surveys that describe both library and archival materials relating to particular subjects or geographical regions, finding aids to individual accessions, and a biennial checklist of major archival and manuscript collections. A complete list of these publications is appended to this volume.

The present guide covers virtually all archival and manuscript material accessioned at the Hoover Institution through 1978. Each entry sets forth an individual accession—that is, a group of papers or records, a special collection, or a single manuscript. Entries are numbered consecutively and arranged in two alphabetical sections. The first and largest section describes materials maintained in the archives. These accessions contain mostly originals, although some printed matter, photocopies, and microfilms may be present. The second, smaller section describes microfilms of archival and manuscript materials held in private hands or at other repositories. These microfilms are maintained by the Hoover Institution library, which is administered separately from the archives.

Guide entries have been prepared for the most part according to the *Anglo-American Cataloging Rules* (American Library Association, 1967). Elements of the entries are as follows:

a) **Main entry.** When an accession consists of materials written by or addressed to a person, family, government agency, or other corporate body, it is entered under the name of the person or corporate body. This rule also applies to such accessions if they include other material concerned with the person, family, or corporate body. Any other group of papers is entered under the name of the collector or, if this information is not known, under its title.

b) **Title.** If an accession has a name by which it is known, that is used as the title. In other cases, a title is supplied by the cataloger. The most commonly supplied titles are "papers" for personal or family material, "records" for materials created by corporate bodies, and "correspondence" for letters between persons. When evident in the material, inclusive dates are part of the title. For single manuscripts, the type of document (for example, memoirs, history, report), as well as the author's title, are indicated. English translations of foreign-language titles are given in parentheses.

c) **Volume.** This is given in terms of number of physical containers. The most common containers are a manuscript box, which holds approximately five inches of material; a cubic foot box, which holds fifteen inches of letter-size documents or twelve inches of legal-size documents; and a folder or envelope, which holds one inch or less. When unusual containers are present, their volume in terms of linear feet is indicated in parentheses.

d) **Form.** If the manuscripts or any substantial part of them are copies, rather than originals, the location of the originals, if known, is stated in a separate note.

e) **Scope and content.** This paragraph identifies the records creator, the types of documents constituting the accession, and the subjects covered.

f) **Finding aid.** These generally are of two types: register and preliminary inventory. A register is the more descriptive, accurate, and detailed of the two. Prepared in accordance with established archival standards, it contains a biographical or historical note about the records creator, a description of the record series, and a folder-by-folder container list. A preliminary inventory is a descriptive list that does not meet register standards. Preliminary inventories vary widely in their usefulness and include abbreviated descriptions prepared by donors or staff, shipping lists, box notes written during unpacking, and the like.

g) **Restrictions.** When an accession or parts of it are restricted, a statement governing accessibility is given.

h) **Provenance.** The donor or source of the acquisition, unless this information is unknown or confidential, is provided. Generally, there are three types of acquisitions: gift, purchase, and deposit. In the case of a deposit, the depositor retains ownership and sometimes control over access for a specified period of years.

Users should be aware that the amount of entry information is not necessarily in proportion to an accession's research value. Incomplete entries appear because some birth and death dates of authors, names of donors, and dates of gifts are unavailable. Some variation in entry length is present by design. For example, only those aspects of a person's life that are both significant and pertinent to the papers are generally given. In addition, scope and content descriptions are limited to subjects covered in a substantial way; topics covered only incidentally are usually excluded. It is possible, therefore, that a large, important accession dealing primarily with one or two topics may have a shorter entry than a smaller and less important accession with many subjects represented.

The index cites all names, places, and topics mentioned in the entries. Since entry descriptions are not exhaustive analyses of collection content, users should not expect to find in the index all names and subjects represented in collections. Accessions with large correspondence series, for example, may contain hundreds of names of correspondents, which could not be incorporated into the index. Access at this level is provided by more detailed finding aids that can be consulted in the archives reading room.

Subjects in the index conform to the rules and terms prescribed in *Subject Headings Used in Dictionary Catalogs of the Library of Congress* (1975). In principle, the same heading has been consistently assigned to materials on the same subject matter, and the most specific terms available in *Subject Headings* have been chosen. Since the archives' subject card catalog, on which the index is based, has been developed over a number of years by numerous catalogers, users are encouraged to search under related terms for like materials and to take advantage of the numerous cross-references provided.

Because of the international nature of our holdings, particular attention has been paid to geographical indexing. Every accession with materials of geographical significance has been indexed under the appropriate political jurisdiction or region. This has been done either directly (e.g., Russia-History-Revolution, 1917) or indirectly as subdivisions of topical headings (e.g., Agriculture-Russia). Cross-references have been made from all geographical place names indexed indirectly as subdivisions to the topical headings under which they appear (e.g., Russia. *see* Agriculture-Russia).

Use of Materials

Materials may be examined in the Archives Reading Room in the Herbert Hoover Memorial Building (courtyard level) by anyone who presents personal identification, completes a registration form, and adheres to rules regarding use. Reading room hours are 8:15 a.m. to 4:45 p.m., Monday through Friday. Archives are not available through interlibrary loan. A limited number of photocopies may be purchased in accordance with a reproduction price list and policy statement (available on request). Reference service is provided to reading room users, as well as to persons writing for information. For extensive searches involving detailed research, interpretation, or evaluation of materials, the

names of qualified persons who work for a fee can be furnished. Inquiries should be addressed to the archivist.

History

Since it was founded in 1919, the Hoover Institution has grown from a small documentary collection on World War I to a major research center for domestic and international affairs. Serving as a library and archival repository is now only one of its three principal functions. There is a resident staff of some 50 scholars, pursuing basic research in the fields of economics, education, history, international law, political science, and sociology. The National Fellows Program annually awards visiting fellowships to 15 younger scholars. In addition, the Hoover Institution maintains its own press. Since 1919, some 350 volumes have been published, and the press currently publishes more than 20 books each year.

The Hoover Institution owes its beginnings and much of its continued success to its founder, Herbert Hoover, a member of Stanford University's first graduating class and the thirty-first president of the United States. Inspired by two historians—Andrew D. White, Cornell University president, whose study of the French Revolution impressed Hoover with the importance of contemporary documents, and Ephraim D. Adams, a Stanford University history professor, who encouraged him to preserve his 1914–1919 Belgian relief records—Hoover initiated what he called a "historical collection on the Great War." In April 1919, four months after arriving in Paris to supervise European relief operations, he informed Stanford University President Ray Lyman Wilbur of his plan and requested his support. Receiving a favorable response, Hoover donated $50,000, the first of many financial gifts, and asked that Professor Adams be sent to Paris.

Adams arrived in June and recruited several young scholars from American military personnel; with Hoover's help he secured their release from military service. Among them was Ralph H. Lutz, a future director of the Institution. During the remainder of 1919, Adams and his group used Hoover's letters of introduction and logistical support to collect more than 80,000 items of research value and to establish a network of representatives and friends of the Institution.

The Hoover collection was at first housed in the Stanford University library, although it retained an independent identity. In 1941 it was moved into a separate building, the Hoover Tower, which still remains the central structure of the Hoover Institution complex. In 1946, the Stanford University Board of Trustees designated the Institution as a separate division within the university. This status was spelled out in detail in 1959, and the Hoover Institution defined by the trustees as "an independent institution within the frame of Stanford University." New buildings were added in 1967 (the Lou Henry Hoover Building, named in honor of Mrs. Hoover) and 1978 (the Herbert Hoover Memorial Building, which houses the archives and is the sole federal memorial to President Hoover).

Since its foundation, the Institution has had five directors: Ephraim D. Adams, who served as chairman of the directors, 1920–1925; Ralph H. Lutz, chairman, 1925–1944; Harold H. Fisher, chairman, 1944–1952; C. Easton Rothwell, director, 1952–1959; and W. Glenn Campbell, the present director, who assumed the post on January 1, 1960.

Initially, the collecting program focused narrowly on primary source materials relating to World War I. The wide-ranging concerns of the Paris Peace

Conference and the immediate postwar political turmoil, however, compelled Hoover collectors to expand their interests beyond the confines of the war. As a result, the collecting effort of 1919–1920 laid foundations for most of the Institution's present curatorial areas. Only the East Asian Collection originated at a later date, after World War II. By 1933, additional themes, including postwar reconstruction and the rise of fascism, had been adopted. In 1938, the collecting scope was further enlarged to include all aspects of war, revolution, and peace in the twentieth century throughout most of the world.

An emphasis on contemporary documents, fugitive materials, and other primary sources required a collecting methodology that differed substantially from the librarian's traditional reliance on publishers' trade lists and booksellers' catalogs. Frequent trips abroad, honorary curators in various European universities, permanent representatives in residence abroad, traveling students, and cash purchases—all became common features of a collecting strategy designed to save materials that appeared only briefly and in limited numbers. Although published and printed matter were on Hoover want lists more frequently than manuscripts and archives, the strategy was well suited to archival sleuthing, and from the beginning it led the acquisition of archival and manuscript materials.

Since 1919, growth of archival and manuscript holdings has been uneven. Of the 450 most important accessions in the archives, 8 percent were acquired in the first eleven years, 8 percent in the following fifteen years (1930–1944), 11 percent in the five postwar years (1945–1949), 9 percent during the 1950s, 21 percent in the 1960s, and 43 percent since 1970. The rate and nature of growth were influenced by a number of factors: budgets, availability of materials, the interests and energy of the Institution's staff and representatives abroad, varying opportunities relating to Herbert Hoover's public career, and circumstances of history.

Hoover's support, Adams' imaginative collecting program, and the abundance of war documentation accounted for the success of the first years. Topically, archival materials acquired then deal with international relief, for example the archives of the American National Red Cross (2254)* and the Hoover relief organizations (514, 762, 2817, 2818); war propaganda; European politics, represented in part by the papers of presidential adviser George D. Herron (1177), Austrian journalist Heinrich Kanner (1383), and Swiss journalist William Martin (1732); and the Bolshevik revolution and Russian civil war. Particularly significant are the Russian archives, among which are the papers of White Russian generals (1027, 1310, 1533, 1802, 2508, 3013) and diplomatic representatives (1004, 1172), records of imperial and provisional government diplomatic outposts (2365, 2367, 2369, 2372, 2378), and Paris office files of the czarist secret police (2358). Solicitation of Russian materials in the 1920s was the first instance of what became a characteristic concern for archives of dislocated peoples, exiled or defunct governments, and émigré organizations of every variety.

The rate of acquisitions declined during the subsequent fifteen years of economic depression and world war. Nevertheless, important materials were added to most subject areas. Significant collections on Europe are the files of James A. Logan (1629) and Henry M. Robinson (2303) on reparations and reconstruction, a collection on the separatist movement in the Rhineland (683), the cartoon drawings of Louis Raemaekers (2233), miscellaneous papers of

*Numbers in parentheses refer to guide entries.

Rosika Schwimmer (2474), and the diaries and letters of Rosa Luxemburg (1662).

Some important U.S. materials were received during the 1930s and early 1940s. After leaving public office in 1933, President Hoover and Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur deposited their papers (1216 and 3072),* as well as the records of a number of presidential commissions (2183, 2908, and 3063) and public interest organizations (215 and 1850). The archives of the antiwar America First Committee (52) and papers of pacifist Alice Park (2039) also were acquired.

The Russian collecting program continued successfully during the 1930s with the acquisition of personal papers (266, 1000, 1508, 1512, 1773, 1811, 2023, 2111, 2507) and diplomatic archives (2366, 2368, 2376, 2387, 2388), including the Washington, D.C., embassy files of the czarist and provisional governments (2373).

A concerted collecting effort, involving Herbert Hoover's participation, brought in a significant number of important archives between 1945 and 1949. Several international relief organizations in which Hoover had been active, such as the Commission for Polish Relief (513), the second Commission for Relief in Belgium (515), the Finnish Relief Fund (822), and the National Committee on Food for Small Democracies (1892), deposited their archives at the Hoover Institution. As head of the Famine Emergency Relief Committee after the war, Hoover was in a position to help the archival program. When Hoover visited Berlin in 1946, an American military officer presented him with the diaries of Joseph Goebbels (1019). In Japan, Hoover gained General Douglas MacArthur's cooperation in establishing a collecting office in Tokyo in November 1945. This represented the beginning of the East Asian Collection, which soon included materials on the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in China (2812), records of the International Military Tribunal Far East (1290), and microfilmed records of the Japanese government in Korea, 1894–1910 (1336).

In the same period, a number of important diplomatic archives of the prewar Polish government were acquired from former Polish Ambassador Jan Ciechanowski (2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2136, 2137). The papers of Imperial Russian Gen. Sergei N. Pototskii (2172) and records of the 1918–1922 anti-Bolshevik government in Siberia (1842) were received. West European materials, especially on Nazi Germany (182, 962, 997, 1019, 1213, 1620, 2925), the Nuremberg war crime trials (1289), war propaganda (1589), resistance movements (179, 1951), and the Spanish civil war (254), were well represented in the postwar collecting program, as were materials on the establishment of the United Nations (1403, 1742, 2808). The Burnett Bolloten Collection on the Spanish civil war (254) is particularly noteworthy.

The momentum of the immediate postwar period subsided by 1951, and during the rest of the decade the Institution experienced declining budgets. Nevertheless, a modest acquisition rate was achieved and valuable collections acquired in most of the Institution's curatorial areas. Among them are the papers of U.S. Sen. Ernest Lundeen (1657), Ambassador Hugh Gibson (1003), Gen. Joseph W. Stilwell (2661), and journalist Mark Sullivan (2690), as well as records of the Hoover Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch

*When the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library was established at West Branch, Iowa, in 1962, certain of Hoover's papers, including his Department of Commerce and presidential files, were transferred from Stanford to the new library.

of Government (2868) and of the Polish government-in-exile in London (2118). A special attempt was made to solicit papers from Hoover's former associates in war relief organizations, and many responded favorably: William Palmer Fuller II (901), Joseph C. Green (1066), Lewis L. Strauss (2670), and Edward Eyre Hunt (1254), among others. For the West European Collection, the Hoover Institution microfilmed the archives of the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (3424), photocopied selected documents of the German Foreign Ministry (959), and obtained the René de Chambrun Collection on Vichy France (417).

By far the most productive period of archival acquisitions has been in recent years. Sixty-four percent of the 450 major collections in the archives have been received since 1960. This growth resulted primarily from a steadily improving financial position. A systematic and centralized solicitation program was developed and holdings in all fields strengthened. In addition, several special collecting projects were instituted, including the development of a New Left Collection dealing with radical left-wing groups of the late 1960s and early 1970s; the re-establishment of the Imperial Russian Collection, named after the late Nicolas A. de Basily, with Prince Vasili Romanov as honorary curator; and the creation of the Paul and Jean Hanna Collection on Education, which focuses on the use of education as an instrument for achieving national objectives.

Solicitation efforts since 1960 have brought in a particularly large number of papers of American military officers, diplomats, statesmen, public administrators, educators, and journalists. Among them are the papers of presidential adviser and columnist Raymond Moley (1822); Gov. Ronald Reagan (2250); Cabinet members George P. Shultz (2534), Carla A. Hills (1192), and Caspar W. Weinberger (3046); Ambassadors Stanley K. Hornbeck (1227) and Howard P. Jones (1361); Generals Robert C. Richardson (2286), Claire Lee Chennault (431), and John R. Chaisson (415); and Adm. Charles M. Cooke (543). Also acquired were the papers of Jay Lovestone, onetime leader of the Communist Party of the United States (1645).

Russian holdings were significantly increased with the addition of the Nicolas A. de Basily Collection on Imperial Russia (156), the Boris I. Nicolaevsky Collection (1946), and the Bertram D. Wolfe papers (3111). The papers of Polish Premiers Ignace Jan Paderewski (2018) and Stanislaw Mikolajczyk (1793); Czechoslovak Ambassadors Stefan Osusky (2009) and Juraj Slavik (2550); Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Nicolae Titulescu (2755); and Yugoslav Ambassador Konstantin Fotitch (850) and diplomat and statesman Milan Gavrilović (927), enhanced the East European holdings.

West European acquisitions since 1960 include papers of French Ambassador Gaston Bergery (196), French Minister Louis Loucheur (1642), Belgian trade unionist Walter Schevenels (2449), Spanish political activist Joaquin Maurín (1760), Austrian pacifist Karl B. Frank (867), and German journalists Kurt R. Grossmann (1079) and Franz Schoenberner (2457). The African Collection has been enlarged by the acquisition of microfilms of the British Colonial and Foreign Office records, 1870–1922 (3205), and the research files of scholars S. Herbert Frankel (868), Lewis H. Gann (918), René Lemarchand (1583), Keith Middlemas (1788), Frederick Quinn (2218), and Herbert J. Weiss (3357), among others. Important papers on Homer Lea, military adviser to Sun Yat-sen (262, 2176), and of Arthur Young, financial adviser to the Nationalist government of China (3168), strengthened the East Asian Collection. The papers of historian Theodore Draper (689), documenting

revolutions in Cuba and the Dominican Republic, and the records of the Institute of Hispanic-American and Luso-Brazilian Studies (2633) have enriched the Latin American holdings.

As a result of recent acquisitions, current research opportunities in the Hoover Institution Archives abound. Moreover, some older accessions never have been extensively researched; and many of the most frequently consulted materials continue to provide documentation for scholars with new approaches. By disseminating information about these holdings, it is hoped that this guide will encourage new studies and enhance research already under way.