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**THE WINDSOR MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES: HERITAGE DEVELOPMENT IN HARD TIMES**  
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The Institute of Urban Studies is an independent research arm of the University of Winnipeg. Since 1969, the IUS has been both an academic and an applied research centre, committed to examining urban development issues in a broad, non-partisan manner. The Institute examines inner city, environmental, Aboriginal and community development issues. In addition to its ongoing involvement in research, IUS brings in visiting scholars, hosts workshops, seminars and conferences, and acts in partnership with other organizations in the community to effect positive change.
THE WINDSOR MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES:
HERITAGE DEVELOPMENT IN HARD TIMES

Urban Resources Paper No.1

by

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The Windsor municipal archives: heritage development in hard times

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Institute of Urban Studies
The University of Winnipeg was the location of a major national urban studies conference, hosted by the Institute of Urban Studies in August 1985. The "Canadian Urban Studies Conference" addressed the general theme of "The Canadian Urban Experience - Past and Present." More than ninety specialists spoke during forty separate sessions on such topics as housing and the built environment, economic and community development, planning and urban form, women and the urban environment, and urban government and politics.

This publication is a result of the Canadian Studies Conference. The Institute of Urban Studies is publishing many of the papers presented at the conference in the Institute's publication series. Some of the papers will also appear in the scholarly journal, the Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbaine and in book form.

This conference represented a major effort on the part of the Institute of Urban Studies in terms of fulfilling its role as a national centre of excellence in the urban studies and housing fields.

Alan F.J. Artibise
Director.
The title of this paper reflects the perceived radical dualism of economic and heritage management. It often seems that the development of heritage facilities is directly proportionate to the economic prosperity enjoyed by a community or region. An archives, for example, has its use in prosperity when surplus capital and staff are available, but has no place in hard times when funds and staffing are at a premium.

Windsor, Ontario is the City of Roses, the Automotive Capital of Canada, and certainly no stranger to hard times. It has the distinction of being the area of Ontario longest settled by Europeans. In spite of the area's long and distinguished history, Windsor is a relative newcomer in terms of archival development. The delay in developing facilities to preserve approximately two hundred and forty years of documentary evidence resulted in many records leaving the area. Large collections of private manuscripts from the Windsor area will be found in Ottawa, Toronto, Detroit, and as far west as Wisconsin. Fortunately, municipal records dating from Windsor's incorporation as a village in 1854 remained in the custody of the City. Unfortunately, the City Administration believed in the radical dualism referred to above and did not maintain its historic records in the best environment. ¹

As a result of the committed effort of a number of individuals, archival development got off to a start in the fall of 1978. ² At that time the University of Windsor began sending History graduate students on exchange to Wayne State University in Detroit where they studied archival administration under Dr. Philip P. Mason. The result of this exchange was initially felt when one of its first graduates became the project manager of a survey of archival materials in Windsor in the summer of 1979. Under the direction of Professors Larry Kulisek and Trevor Price, the project located and inventoried an impressive number of records pertaining to the City of Windsor, its boards and commissions. ³ A course in local history, taught at the university from 1979 by Kulisek, increased
the demand for access to municipal records. Price wrote an excellent brief on the possibility of developing a municipal archives. He suggested several models, one of which was that of Queen's University, where the university has been designated as the City of Kingston's official repository, and municipal and university archives programs are combined in one institution.4

The City Administration was reluctant to give up custody of its records to other than a municipal agency. Discussions between the City Administrator, City Clerk, Library Director, Museum Curator, Professors Kulisek and Price, and other interested parties continued throughout 1979 and 1980. By the fall of 1980, the Windsor Public Library had agreed to undertake the establishment of a municipal archives, thus satisfying the municipal agency requirement. The City envisaged a facility which would be limited to only municipal records - it was not prepared to undertake the preservation of non-public records.

The designation of the Windsor Public Library as the agency responsible for the development of a municipal archival facility represented a minor triumph for the pro-heritage forces, but then 1980 was to be a bright year for the City of Windsor. There was the promise of favour with the recently re-elected federal Liberals, as all three Windsor members had prominent cabinet portfolios. The much discussed government grants to Ford of Canada had gone ahead, the plant was to be built, and property values in the City's east end were at an all time high. General Motors had plans to construct a sheet metal plant near its trim plant. In short, Windsor was in a boom period. Archival development seemed immanent when the City Administrator sent a memo to all department heads on the subject of "City of Windsor Archives:"

Interest has been expressed by parties interested in the preservation of local government documents vital to the
study of the area in the establishment of an archives which would preserve such material. In examining this matter, the City Clerk has prepared the attached list of documents which are in the custody of his department. The list indicates which documents the Clerk recommends should be retained in City Hall... and those documents which may be deposited in an archives area in the Windsor Public Library....

It has been stated that numerous original documents are retained in various City Departments and these documents may also be of value to a local archives. I would therefore request that each Department prepare a listing similar to that prepared by the City Clerk setting out the original documents which they retain, their location, the time span which they cover and whether or not this material is on microfilm.\(^5\)

The remarkably progressive intention of this memorandum died an early death due to the recession, the ensuing high interest rates, and most importantly the resulting high level of unemployment. Jobs, housing, and matters more basic than heritage concerns were given first consideration. As the automotive industry ground down to one shift a day, the City and community-based organizations were faced with needs rarely seen on such a large scale, and certainly not for such a protracted time span since the depression.

The good intentions of the memo recited above and the ranking of archival development at the outset of the recession reflected the identification of this development with purely heritage concerns. Old dusty, dirty documents - useless to the City and wanted only by a small group of academics and others - could not possibly be made a priority. The debenture refunding plans of 1937 and 1945 - necessitated by financial insolvency at that time, continued to add strain to the already tight budgets of the early 1980s.\(^6\) The City did not have the means to initiate many new programs. Those which were not at least cost efficient, of great benefit to the community, and hopefully selfsustaining, could not be considered.
The economic climate of Windsor was such that a strong intervention in the form of government aid was required. While there were new programs which netted many million dollars in job creation funds, existing programs were also utilized. The Windsor Public Library, still committed to developing an archival program, applied for and received Canada Works grants in 1982 and 1983. Extensive inventorying of municipal records was undertaken by the two projects. During 1983 a resolution was passed amending the City's retention and disposal by-law, making the Library responsible for approving the disposition of non-current records. Progress was clearly being made; however, it was easy to justify because there were no costs to be absorbed by the City in either the resolution or the federally funded projects. To be fair to the Library, a budget of over $11,000.00 was established in 1983 as a starting point for staff, equipment, and supplies. When compared with other, well established archival institutions, this amount might seem inconsequential. Placed in its proper perspective, it is a remarkable amount for a library facing limited growth in most budgetary areas. Even more remarkable is the fact that the City Administration, Council, and Library Board passed the Library's budget with this item intact.

The Windsor Public Library prepared to enter into a new field of activity in the fall of 1983 when the position of Municipal Archivist was advertised in the Windsor Star and Globe and Mail. The Library Administration, although outside usual endeavours, had the foresight to include the development of a records management program for the City as part of the posting. The addition of this duty to the routine archival functions was the first indication that the Municipal Archives should have, if not a complete mandate for managing City records, then certainly something more than merely a reference service for historic records.

The establishment of a permanent archival program for the City of
Windsor commenced on 1 March 1984. The staff in general and professional librarians in particular watched to see how this new division would fit in with the rest of the Library System. Approximately three hundred linear feet of non-current Finance Department records had been transferred to the Library during the 1983 project, and was to be the first priority. On 5 March the City Clerk contacted the Library regarding the transfer of general correspondence files for 1972-1973. Immediately accepted, it was subsequently discovered that all sensitive material had been culled from the files before their transfer.

Within the first week of its existence the Municipal Archives was confronted with two problems. The first and most immediate was the general impression of the Library staff regarding archivists. One of the project employees had studied archival administration through the University of Windsor-Wayne State University exchange program. This person had become quite vocal in assessing the requirements for the establishment of an archival facility at the Library. Although many of the suggestions made were quite sound, some staff members were alienated in the process of discharging the perceived duties of the project position. The second problem was the lack of confidence exhibited by the first City department to transfer records to the Archives. The stripping of sensitive or confidential material from the Clerk's files indicated at best a misunderstanding of the Archives' role as custodian of the official record, at worst a lack of faith in the Archives' ability to preserve confidentiality, and most likely a combination of both.

Image-building was required on two fronts. Lack of support from either the Library or City Administrations would have meant a very stunted archival program for Windsor.

Two areas looked promising as solutions. The first and most important fits in with the patient effort and demonstrated value required for archival
development. Productivity, constant and visible, would demonstrate the value of an archival program for Windsor. Second, in order to get the attention of the Library and City, good public relations. The management experience of the Chief Librarian proved invaluable in both areas. At her request a five year plan and acquisitions policy were drawn up. Through these two documents it was possible to establish priorities and goals achievable at various points over the five year span. The acquisitions policy was extremely valuable. Working in an archivally underdeveloped region allows an archives the opportunity to become an octopus - reaching out in all directions and bringing in more collections than can be dealt with in a reasonable amount of time. An agreement had been reached early on in the discussions regarding the formation of a municipal archives between the Library and University of Windsor. The Library archives was to collect municipal records while the University concentrated on private papers. The scope of collecting for the Municipal Archives was more clearly defined in the policy statement, and was extended to include the private papers of municipal officials, elected and appointed, and certain community-based organizations closely affiliated with municipal affairs. The effect of these two documents has been to set realistic goals, thus measuring productivity, to establish a focus of activity in collecting, and to eliminate possible conflicts over acquisition mandates with one of the region's other archival institutions.

Many people in the library System were sympathetic to the development of an archives. Two divisions in particular, symbolic of the double task of heritage and municipal management, have been very supportive. They are the Main Branch's Literature and History and Social Sciences Divisions. The former, responsible for the maintenance of the Local History Room, services patrons such as genealogists and those interested in local history who may also conduct research in archival materials. The latter division has responsibility for published municipal documents and, like
In October 1984, Detroit and Windsor sponsored an exhibition celebrating International Archives Week titled "Celebrating the Border Cities." The exhibition displayed documents relative to the two cities social, economic, cultural, political, military, labour, and artistic history dating from 1699 to 1972.

Source: Clayton Commercial Photography.
the Archives, responds to requests for information from municipal sources.

Dealing realistically with archival development in Windsor also means dealing with archival institutions in Detroit. By early summer a decision had been made to sponsor an exhibition celebrating International Archives Week. The two cities are in a unique position for celebrating international events, the moreso because their histories are inextricably intertwined. In addition to the Municipal Archives, Windsor participants were the University of Windsor Archives and Assumption University Archives. Detroit archives sending copies of materials were the Wayne State University Archives of Labour and Urban Affairs, the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library, and the Archives of American Art, a branch of the Smithsonian. Titled "Celebrating the Border Cities," the exhibition displayed documents relative to the two cities' social, economic, cultural, political, military, labour, and artistic history with dates ranging from 1699 to 1972. Although International Archives Week was officially celebrated during the week of 1-7 October, the exhibition was on display for that entire month.

October 1984 was also the month in which the first annual Local History and Archives Program was held. The exhibition and program were planned to act as the means of introducing the Archives to the community. Sponsored jointly by the Literature and History division and the Municipal Archives, the October program ran for four Tuesdays with topics related to local history, genealogy, museum collections, and services for the study of local history. By most standards the program was reasonably successful with sixty-seven people attending over the four evenings. The display received adequate coverage in the local media, and the program introduced the Archives to many of the heritage-minded people in Windsor. The two events also demonstrated that an archives could fit in a public library setting where the commitment to public service and quality programming is very strong.
There remained two very important details to close 1984 on a note of success. First and foremost, physical facilities had to be completed. Second, solid relations had to be established with key departments at City Hall. The two were related. There was no point in opening discussions with the departments regarding the transfer of their records if there was no place to store them. The promise of access to the documents would be difficult to keep without a reading room facility. The Municipal Archives had been allotted a part-time position - a page to retrieve and reshelve documents and assist in other areas as required. Ten hours per week from July was the time set aside; it could not be used until the reading room opened. By November the area set aside for the reading room was ready for occupancy. The Main Branch of the Windsor Public Library is a modern building, erected in 1973 to replace the old Carnegie Library which had been built in 1904. Two thousand dollars had been set aside to furnish the new Archives reading room, but there was no actual cost. While the rest of the Main Branch has modern furnishings, the Municipal Archives was furnished from existing furniture formerly used in the Carnegie Library. Saving money is a good way of demonstrating the value of any new division.

December was a turning point for archival development in Windsor. Not only did work begin on the stack area, but the City Department Heads held one of their weekly meetings at the Library on 6 December. At the request of Library Director Fred Israel the Municipal Archives was placed on the agenda. The first face-to-face contact with officials of the Administration would be a critical step in setting up an archival program for the City. Knowing that archives were associated exclusively with heritage concerns in the Department Heads' view, the presentation purposely downplayed the heritage side in favour of efficient management. It was agreed that the Municipal Archivist would visit each Department Head over the course of 1985.
The fact that the presentation had been favourably received provided some assistance in the Archives' first budget session nine days later. While the Municipal Archives did not get everything asked for, the activity required to effectively operate the kind of program presented to the Department Heads would soon be too much for one full-time staff. Two new areas were added to the budget which reflect both heritage and management concerns: a small budget for conservation treatments off-site, and a second full-time permanent professional position.

During 1984 the Municipal Archives was provided with a base of support for both areas of activity. In addition to establishing relations with other Library divisions and City Hall, the Archives also participated in community based and professional organizations. The Mayor's Committee of the '80s was responsible for a series of thirty second television public service announcements called "Talk it Up Windsor," one of which involved reminiscing about specific places in the city. Archives photographs were used in part to illustrate the monologue. When the Downtown Business Association was looking for historic photographs of the central business district to go in its 1985 calendar, three were selected from the Archives' holdings.

In spite of successful programming, advancements in physical facilities and staffing, the Municipal Archives remained underused by both the City Administration and community. January offered some hope of changing that situation. Meetings with the City Administrator produced a complete transfer of that department's non-current records, and an agreement for the systematic transfer of similar materials in future. Discussions with the Commissioner of Finance pointed to the need for records management for all departments in general and Finance in particular. January, in addition to being the first month of the calendar year, is also the first month of the fiscal year and a very busy time of year for the Department of Finance. A decision on records management would have to wait until the
City budget had been finalized and the pace in the department slowed somewhat.

January also stimulated public relations with a large group of potential users - the academic community. A committee was formed at the request of University of Windsor President Ron Ianni to develop a data bank on the Windsor economy. From the start the Research Group for a Databank on the Windsor Economy identified a need for archival input and an invitation to participate was extended by its chairman. The membership of the Research Group was otherwise entirely academic from a variety of disciplines, including History, Political Science, Sociology, Communication Studies, Computer Science, Social Work, Psychology, Economics, Business, and the University Library. The databank was perceived as being of use to the business community initially, but having a wide application for the general community. Part of the goal of community benefit was to be the acquisition, preservation, and making accessible of source documents, whether library or archival materials. The Archives and Library Subcommittee was struck as one of four subcommittees charged with developing specific goals for particular aspects of the databank.

Participation in the Research Group proved that many academics hold the same opinion as civic administrators - namely that archival materials have no value in studies or operations which apply to a present or future situation or set of circumstances. Throughout the meeting with the Research Group, archival materials were stressed as long-term, authentic and verifiable data, quantitative as well as qualitative, of great value in identifying long and short-term trends and cycles, and with a definite application to a databank on the Windsor economy. Assessment data in particular provides a wealth of information on the local citizenry, their land holding patterns, ages, occupations, religious affiliation, and many other details. Records of municipal departments, boards,
commissions, and other agencies document the City's response to a variety of economic scenarios over a great deal of time. Comparisons of records show that similar economic situations can produce similar conditions. A commitment has been made by the Research Group to act as a catalyst for the development of an archival centre on campus, not only to store source documents but to establish a comprehensive university publications collection.12

The most immediate feature of the Municipal Archives' participation in the Research Group was face-to-face contact with academics ranging from the President to assistant professors, most of whom had little or no exposure to archives. To be sure, not all involved in the Research Group agreed upon the necessity of an archival component. The net effect, however, has been to raise the awareness of a small but significant group in the community and hopefully to make a contribution to a beneficial enterprise.

Additional public relations work was carried out in January through March in the formation of the Southwestern Ontario Archivists Association (SOAA). The SOAA was formed by persons interested in archival development for Essex, Kent, and Lambton Counties. These three counties were once tied together administratively under the Western District of Upper Canada and thus the documentary heritage of the area is related. The membership of the organization reflected the diversity of interests in archival development - archivists, historians, political scientists, municipal officials, genealogists, historical societies, librarians, museums, collectors, and others joined in an effort to promote archival development in the region. Although a relatively small group, it is nonetheless growing in importance. Officially founded by a general meeting in April, the Southwestern Ontario Association of Archivists has secured a seat on the Ontario Council of Archives, a provincial body responsible for coordinating archival facilities across the province. The Windsor
Public Library has played a major role in the establishment of the SOAA, with the Municipal Archives used as the organization's mailing address.

The role played by the Municipal Archives in seeking archival development through both the Southwestern Ontario Archivists Association and the University's Research Group demonstrates a number of things. It reflects the growing movement in Canadian archives away from centralized collecting by federal, provincial, and regional repositories to more local development. Some recognition is being given to the idea that maintaining custody in the location in which the records keeping activity took place adds a physical context which can provide insight into the spatial relations and other aspects of the subject under examination. There is a parallel line of thought to Professor Symons' statement regarding the place of archives in Canadian Studies which applies to local archives, namely that without local archives there can be no local studies. Federal and provincial departments may generate documentation on local governments, but these sources will provide at best a partial image of interplay of personalities and events in municipal government, whether rural or urban. Local archives will increasingly be recognised as an integral part of archival development in Canada.

The Municipal Archives, in addition to having to deal with misunderstandings regarding the heritage side of archival endeavours, has followed a course which some would not. Records management symbolizes the antithesis of archives to those who see only a heritage function. One author has written:

The ethos of the two are antithetical: the records manager seeks to destroy, the archivist to preserve. The former bends his talents to the rapidity with which he moves out large quantities of paper (efficiency of time, space, and money), while the latter concerns himself with a meticulous search and analysis of records, retaining as much as possible.
The idea behind initiating a records management program with the Department of Finance was to demonstrate clearly to the City that having an archives does mean "efficiency of time, space, and money" in the service provided. At the same time, records management allows the appraisal of record series before they ever reach the archives and the disposal of records which are of neither legal, administrative, fiscal nor historical value. The Municipal Archives, like many similar repositories, stresses stringent appraisal of records and maintains only those which are clearly of permanent value. Shelf space, along with many other commodities, is at a premium. It came as no surprise when the strongest opposition to the attitude expressed above came from City Archives for Toronto and Calgary. Few municipal budgets can tolerate "retaining as much as possible" and even fewer would support the "meticulous search and analysis of records."

One of the tests of the archives program established in Windsor has been the efficient retrieval of information for the public and the City. In this area there is no substitute for sound archival practice. Proper standards of physical and intellectual control over the documents must be maintained. This is a problem which has plagued many smaller local repositories where an archives has been started without if not employment of, at least access to, trained professionals and thus local archives have been considered to be amateur efforts. Professional standards have been the cornerstone of the Municipal Archives' policies and procedures. This translates into maximum access to records in the Archives' custody through procedures which commence the moment materials arrive in the Archives. Simple but vital things like accessioning, inventorying, and other measures allow even uncatalogued material to be brought under control. Arrangement and descriptive practices using the record group system allow appropriate levels of access - that is, the more important the record, the more detailed the processing. Access to the information contained in the Archives' holdings is crucial, regardless
of whether sought for heritage or information management purposes. It is, in fact, the synthesis of these two interests.

The Municipal Archives' modest but steady growth has been due in part to a commitment to universal reference services. Genealogist and academic are treated alike. The needs of the sponsoring institution are taken into account in the records management retention and disposal schedules and further in appraisal of City records for their evidential and informational values. Public user needs are constantly evaluated, based on trends and the appraised value of record series for research. Use of records promotes the development of more detailed description to allow better access. One such example is the City's assessment rolls. A grant has been received from Employment Canada to index these records from Windsor's Incorporation as a village in 1854 through to its amalgamation with East Windsor, Sandwich, and Walkerville in 1935. Patrons will be able to find volume and page references by property description or by names of owners and tenants. The application for this grant came about as a result of a high volume of requests for assessment information. Varying from studies of landholders to patrons wishing to research their homes, approximately 50% of reference inquiries concern these records. The requests have come from municipal, academic, genealogical and other sources.

The opening of the Municipal Archives has produced a new area of study for both academic and popular research. Historical analysis of the City of Windsor has been sorely lacking, in spite of many noteworthy personalities and events. Most of the research which has been done in archival materials has involved private manuscripts and government records at the Public Archives of Canada or Archives of Ontario. There has been a tendency to focus on military and native studies, primarily for the period of 1776-1840. This body of literature has made its contribution to Canadian historical knowledge and will continue to be an important area of
inquiry for the Windsor area.

Access to Windsor municipal records has, even in the relatively short time that the Municipal Archives has been open, contributed to a number of important works. A biography of Senator David Croll, former mayor of Windsor and Member of Provincial Parliament for Windsor-Walkerville, has made use of Municipal Archives materials. The materials became all the more important, as pre-1937 documentation on Senator Croll is very rare. The pivotal role of Windsor and Detroit in Canadian-American commerce and transportation is considered in a work on the Ambassador Bridge. Municipal records of the pre-1935 Border Cities document local concerns and the effect of the construction of the bridge in 1929. These are only two examples of the use of local archival materials.

There remains a large gap to be filled in the study of Windsor. To date, with the notable exception of the work of Professors Kulisek and Price, little work has been attempted on the municipal government itself, its response to national, provincial, and local events, and the presence of certain able personalities at critical moments in the City's history. Furthering the study of Windsor in terms of its political, social, economic, and other areas of development through the use of local materials remains one of the Municipal Archives' goals.

The establishment and progress of the Municipal Archives at the Windsor Public Library has not been the result of one individual's effort. Accommodating heritage and management concerns has allowed archival development to gain a foothold in less than prosperous times. Although the City and community were both ripe for growth in this area, careful planning and management were and are required for sustained archival activity. The opportunity for development, once presented, was grasped. Once taken, opportunity produced responsibility. A commitment to sound archival administration has produced a degree of trust in the Municipal Archives'
role as keeper of the official record for Windsor. The ability of the Municipal Archives to discharge its responsibilities under this trust will determine its future development, whether in hard times or prosperity.
NOTES

1. Municipal records including assessment and collectors rolls, financial, legal, and other documents were stored in the City Market basement. There the records were exposed to mold, water damage, vermin, and insects.

2. It should be noted that the Hiram Walker Historical Museum acted as a facilitator in preserving archival materials from Windsor. Owing to space shortages, and to the fact that archival activities were at best ancillary to the museum function, the Hiram Walker Historical Museum sent collections donated to it to the Archives of Ontario in exchange for microfilm copies.


4. T. Price, Report on the Proposed Establishment of a Windsor/Essex County Archives (Windsor: Department of Political Science, University of Windsor, n.d. [1979]).

5. City of Windsor Inter Departmental Communication, City Administrator to All Department Heads, Re: City of Windsor Archives, 15 October 1980.

6. For documentation on this subject, see Municipal Archives, Windsor Public Library RG 3 AV, Department of Finance - Refunding Plan, 1932-1946.

7. One such program was the federally sponsored Industrial Labour Assistance Program (ILAP) which brought approximately $85,000,000.00 to the Windsor area.

8. Although the acquisitions policy of the Municipal Archives has not been formally approved by the Windsor Public Library Board, it serves as a framework for collecting activity.

9. The Archives of American Art has three locations. In addition to the Detroit branch, housed in the Detroit Institute of Art, divisions also operate in Washington and San Francisco.

10. The reconciliation between heritage and effective management is discussed with each Department Head.

11. President Ianni serves on a City of Windsor committee which includes City and community-based organizations' officials. This committee
identified the need for a databank on the Windsor economy, and agreed that the expertise of the University faculty should be used to develop it.

12. The University of Windsor has been interested in developing an archives since the mid-1960s. Through the efforts of University Archivist Jerry Malone a small office, reading room, and environmentally controlled storage area have been set up. The Department of Archives and Rare Books has, however, remained a relatively low priority - something which the Research Group hopes to change.


17. David J. Bercuson and J.L. Granastein, "The Public Archives of Canada and the Historical Profession" The Canadian Historical Review LXII (March 1981): 1-2 provides a good example of a user attitude which makes many archivists uncomfortable, namely that a particular group of patrons has a unique relationship with archives which includes the right to set policies for a given institution.

18. The biography of Senator Croll has been undertaken by Mr. R. Warren James and should be available in the near future.

19. Authored by Dr. Philip P. Mason of Wayne State University, the book will be published early in 1986.

20. Robert Cancian and Karol F. Dycha, Windsor: A Statistical Package (Windsor: Employment Canada and the Essex County Historical Society, 1984). This work was directed by Kulisek and Price. They also have a more comprehensive study on the area in progress.
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