Project Documerica: A revival of government documentary photography in the 1970s

by

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INTRODUCTION

In the early 1970s, there was an innovative attempt to revive the government documentary photography of the 1930s. In the tradition of the work of the historical section of the Farm Security Administration (FSA), the new government project relied on the power of photography to inform and persuade the American people. Although the new project used electronic and computer technology unknown to the FSA, and color film instead of black and white,[1] it repeated the FSA efforts to mobilize the public on a national crisis, and it made a visual record for posterity of a critical time in the life of the nation.

The FSA project showed the hardships of the Great Depression of the 1930s. The new project, called Project Documerica, recorded the environmental deterioration and danger facing the United States in the 1970s. The project was initiated by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in the first year of the new agency. In addition to educating and mobilizing the public on environmental issues, Project Documerica was expected to record EPA progress in arresting pollution and changing the way people live. Like the FSA project, Project Documerica was originally scheduled to continue for a decade.

Within two years, Project Documerica produced more than 81,000 photographic images, and forty paintings by commissioned artists were completed.[2] Editors, publishers, educators and media educators,

government agencies, corporations, private citizens, and civic organizations began using Documerica images. The images showed up in books, textbooks, magazines, newspapers, educational film strips, multi-image productions, posters, and even on a parade float in the state of Kansas.[3] Traveling exhibits of Documerica images enjoyed record audiences and overwhelmingly favorable response around the country.[4] There were also Documerica exhibits at the Smithsonian Institution and the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, D.C.

Then, in 1973, after only two years of actual photographic activity in the field, Documerica rapidly lost financial and administrative support. The budget approved for the following year, 1974, cut Documerica operating funds by almost seventy-five percent--from $450,000 to $125,000. The budget for fiscal year 1975 cut the funds in half again, leaving only $78,000 for Documerica activity. Project Documerica was zero-funded in 1976, ending the photographic documentation of the American environment six years before the proposed ten-year project was scheduled to end.[5]

The important question is not simply what killed Project Documerica, but what sent it into obscurity? The other major government documentary photography project during this century, the FSA project, also ended short of its projected ten years,[6] and it suffered many of the same administrative and funding difficulties as Project Documerica,[7] but the FSA images are still visible today, and recognized as a "national resource."[8] People recognize FSA photographs as part of a government attempt to document the 1930s.

Only the photographers and administrators who worked with Project Documerica in the 1970s (and a handful of archivists and publishers) have ever heard of Project Documerica.

The project's beginning was accompanied by promises of repeating the scale and intent of the FSA photography project, and of renewing the government's commitment to documentary photography.[9] The ending of Project Documerica heralded an era of declining government support and involvement in documentary photography. The EPA project in the early 1970s stands as the government's last national documentary photography project.[10]

The Documerica file is now housed on the shelves of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) in Washington, D.C. Gifford Hampshire, former director of Project Documerica, tried to keep the file from being sent to NARA. Hampshire asked both the Library of Congress and the Smithsonian Institution to take the file when the EPA decided to abandon it.[11] Hampshire believed the file would be more accessible at the Library of Congress. He also believed it would more likely be evaluated as part of the FSA tradition, were it housed at the Library of Congress.[12] Hampshire believed the Smithsonian would also take better care of the Documerica file than NARA. Both the Library of Congress and the Smithsonian refused the file.[13]

Hampshire's efforts to get the Center for Creative Photography (CCP) in Tucson, Arizona to take the file succeeded. The CCP expected to get enough revenue from the sale of Documerica image

reproductions to pay for the file maintenance. The Documerica file was expected to draw national and international visitors to CCP.[15] However, the Revocable License Agreement under which the Documerica file was sent to CCP was revoked after only one year, following protests from NARA,[16] and before CCP could recoup the expenses it incurred during a year of preparing to exhibit, preserve and complete unfinished cataloging of the file. After the file was returned to NARA, its existence and its documentary and environmental significance were obscured by the limited access and maintenance available through NARA resources.[17]

Review of Literature

No complete history of Project Documerica has been written to date. Several articles appeared in the popular press before Project Documerica stopped sending photographers out on assignments in the early 1970s, and one brief article restating the information published in the mid-1970s appeared in a professional photography journal late in 1985,[18] but no work has been published since the mid-1970s analyzing the circumstances surrounding the early death of Project Documerica, its present obscurity, and its ultimate value and contribution to the tradition of documentary photography.

Many studies have been written about the FSA project, and they have been documentary "yard sticks" for those who have written

about Project Documerica. To date, the most exhaustive and authoritative study of the earlier project is F. Jack Hurley's book, Portrait of a Decade: Roy Stryker and the Development of Documentary Photography in the Thirties. The director of the FSA photographic work, Roy Stryker, is the main thematic focus of Hurley's work. Another in-depth study of the FSA photography project, Dorothea Lange and the Documentary Tradition, by Karin B. Ohrn, focuses on the work and life of one FSA photographer--Dorothea Lange.

Many books on the history of photography give insight into the photographic tradition into which Project Documerica was born, but the standard reference is The History of Photography, by Beaumont Newhall. The book, Documentary Photography, by Arthur Rothstein (the FSA photographer who also served for a time as a consultant to Project Documerica), is one of few texts on photography that mention Project Documerica. Rothstein is the only author whose report on Documerica is historically accurate and more than a paragraph long.[19] The Rothstein text contains several black and white reproductions of color images from the Documerica file. However, photo credits do not mention Documerica, only the EPA and the photographer.[20]

Books on ecology, the environment, conservation, social history, political and economic history, were also useful in researching the background of Project Documerica. And, although no text is a

standard reference for this research, each text listed in the bibliography offered some unique insight into the decade of Project Documerica. The books on ecology and the environment contained several Documerica images with credits to the EPA, Project Documerica and the photographer.

Methodology

Hurley's study of Roy Stryker and the work of the historical section of the FSA served as a model for this research in several ways. The first is in recognizing the role of the project director. Hurley's research indicated that the life and ideas of Roy Emerson Stryker influenced the photographic work of the FSA. My research indicates that the life and ideas of Gifford Dean Hampshire influenced the photographic and communication work of Documerica. Therefore, biographical information about Hampshire is a part of the story of Project Documerica in Chapter IV.

Many people who worked with the FSA photographic project were still alive when Hurley did his research. Hurley interviewed Roy Stryker and others associated with the work of the historical section of the FSA. Many of the people who worked with Project Documerica in the 1970s are still living today, as this history is being written. In addition to interviews with Gifford Hampshire, the project director, this research involved interviews with project photographers, administrators, and others with first-hand experience with Project Documerica in the 1970s.

Fewer than a dozen photographers worked for the historical section of the FSA at any one time; less than two dozen during the life of the project.[21] More than one hundred photographers worked for Project Documerica.[22] Significant and typical participants in Documerica were interviewed,[23] but this research in no way represents a survey of all living Documerica photographers.

Economic, political and natural resource issues influenced both Project Documerica and the FSA project before it. Hurley documents both conflict and cooperation between public and private interests in solving national resource problems at the turn of the century and in the mid and late 1930s. The environmental problems and politics affecting Project Documerica in the 1970s were rooted in the problems of the 1930s and before. Chapter II of this research is a brief history of those environmental and resource problems.

Original correspondence and public records were important to Hurley's research on the historical section of the FSA. They were equally important to this research on Project Documerica. Primary sources examined in compiling this history of the EPA project include the Documerica photographic file (images on microfiche and some duplicate slides and prints) at NARA, the paper document file at NARA, the files of professional and civic organizations, articles published about Project Documerica in the mid-1970s, and all available articles, chapters and parts of chapters

written about Project Documerica by individuals who had first-hand knowledge of the project.

Parallels between this history of Project Documerica and Hurley's history of the FSA project end with Chapter III, the review of the evolution of documentary photography up until the time of Project Documerica. The review includes the controversies over photography, within the photographic community, that touched both the FSA project and Project Documerica. Other photographic history connecting the two projects is also reviewed in Chapter III.

Some comparisons between the two projects are an important part of the story of Project Documerica in Chapter IV, and the Summary and Conclusions, Chapter V. Project Documerica was introduced as a revival of the FSA photographic tradition of documentation,[24] and it was continually measured against that introduction afterward. Although Documerica director, Gifford Hampshire, insisted that there were more differences than similarities between the two projects, he admits that Project Documerica was influenced by the work of the FSA, and he by the work of Roy Stryker.[25]

Chapter IV begins where the second and third chapters end. The year is 1971. The EPA celebrated its first anniversary. Life and Look magazines, the nation's leading publications for photojournalists, were closing their doors. The EPA announced the beginning of Project Documerica.

Chapter V is the summary and conclusion of this research. It discusses the implications of the story of the life and the

death of Project Documerica, and suggestions for future research.

Purpose

The primary purpose of writing this history of Project Documerica is simply to write a yet unwritten history of the project. Beyond that, questions about the ultimate success of Project Documerica in accomplishing what it set out to do, the value of Documerica as a documentary file on life in the United States in the 1970s, and the project's ultimate contribution to the tradition of documentary photography, are introduced in the chapters that follow. They are not necessarily answered there. The definitive answers to those questions may depend upon more public and scholarly exposure to the images of Project Documerica, because "finally, the accessibility of the material will determine its usefulness. . .the power and impact of great documentary photographs demand that they be seen."[26]

More than ten years have passed since the beginning of Project Documerica, and since the EPA decision to abandon the file, leaving it to a series of administrative defaults that sent it to NARA. The explosion of environmental activity and legislation of the early 1970s are almost as forgotten today as Project Documerica. The Vietnam War, the killing of student protestors in Mississippi and Ohio, the firing of Assistant Attorney General, William Ruckelshaus (also head of the EPA), and the resignation of President Richard M. Nixon, are some 1970s events painful for Americans to remember.

The FSA project chronicled events and conditions in America in the 1930s that were painful for Americans to accept at the time, and for at least a decade to follow. More time has passed since the work of the historical section of the FSA ended in 1942 than since Documerica field activity stopped in 1976. America has had time to accept the realities of the 1930s, and many opportunities to view and review the FSA photographs documenting those realities. With each publication or exhibition of the FSA file photographs, the perceived value of the file increased.[27] The file is now seen as "a survey with far broader implications than were suspected when it was made."[28]

Calling attention to the broader implications of the Documerica file, its contents, scope and significance, is one objective of this historical report. This history is written with the hope of creating an initial forum for resurrecting and evaluating Project Documerica.

U.S. ENVIRONMENTALISM PRIOR TO PROJECT DOCUMERICA

The year 1970 was a turning point in environmental history.[1] By 1970, people around the world were worried about the quality and the safety of their environment. They began to pressure their governments to stop dumping toxic pollutants into the air and water, and to pass legislation to improve and protect the environment.[2]

In the United States, public concern over toxic pollutants in the air and water, and worries about depleting natural resources, climaxed with Earth Day, April 22, 1970, the largest mass demonstration the U.S. and the world had yet seen.[3] In response to the growing public concern and pressure represented by Earth Day, President Richard Nixon created the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).

The Nixon administration was wrestling with demonstrations against the President's administrative policies. Two demonstrations resulted in the death of student protestors.[4] The administration was also struggling with an unpopular, seemingly unwinnable war in Southeast Asia, with racism at home, and with a recessive economy. Not only did Earth Day represent the largest and most peaceful mass demonstration in history, it represented national and international grass roots organization. It represented a mass movement with no generation gap, and with no divisive party politics.[5] Cleaning up the environment offered the Nixon administration a welcome diversion in 1970,[6] a new domestic

program that promised to unite people in a cause, and take their minds off problems that seemed to have no solution.

A new science of ecology was basic to the Nixon administration's environmental programs, and to the growing environmental movement. The concept of ecology embraced in the early 1970s was a fairly recent twentieth-century phenomenon, but it did have strong roots in America's literary and political past.

The term ecology itself came from the natural sciences. It was first coined in 1886 by a German zoologist named Ernst Haeckel. He combined the Greek word meaning household or living relation (oikos) with the Greek word meaning to study, or the study of (logos), in order to describe the study of relationships between organisms and their environments.[7]

The concept of ecology permeated Charles Darwin's nineteenth-century treatise on evolution, The Origin of Species, but the ecological implications of Darwin's evolutionary thinking "were all but lost in a furor over the religious and social implications of the animal origins of man."[8]

Ecological ideas and ideals informed the work of many nineteenth-century writers. James Fennimore Cooper, Henry David Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Herman Melville, Mark Twain--writers and writing that were inseparable from their environment.[9] More than a century ago, those writers began "to measure the quality of American life against something like an ecological ideal."[10] Thoreau and Emerson said in their writing that "true progress comes from achieving a har-

monious relationship with nature, rather than through exploitation."[11]

Some of the ecological ideas published in the late nineteenth century by naturalist George Perkins Marsh and conservationist John Muir later became part of the conservation programs of the administration of President Theodore Roosevelt.[12] Marsh, a U.S. ambassador to Italy and Egypt, proposed in his book, Man and Nature, in 1864, that civilizations fell because of the use and misuse of nature.[13] The fall of Rome, according to Marsh, was linked to misused farmland and exhausted soil.[14]

Although President Roosevelt incorporated some of Marsh's ideas into his conservation efforts, his administrative programs were concerned primarily with the profitable management of government land and national forests and wilderness.[15] Beyond that, early environmental protection efforts begun during Roosevelt's administration involved small groups of people with enough money to enjoy the great outdoors,[16] even though pollution was already a serious problem in the U.S. by the turn of the century, in places like New England mill towns.[17]

The theories and predictions of George Perkins Marsh seemed more imminent and evident during the New Deal Administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Many of Roosevelt's New Deal programs to get the country out of the Depression targeted farmland, as well as the country's natural resources. Programs such as the Civilian Conservation Corps employed several thousand young adults to

plant trees, develop parks, improve waterways, and reclaim lands through controlling soil erosion and flood control programs.[18]

In 1935, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed an executive order which brought the Resettlement Administration (RA) to life.[19] The RA had three major responsibilities. It made low-interest loans available to poor farmers and helped those working marginal land to move to better farms. The RA was responsible for soil rebuilding, and for purchasing available tracts of ruined land in order to restore them to productivity. The RA also provided subsistence housing for the people it moved from the cities (where there was no work for them) to rural areas (where they were to support themselves with home garden plots and part-time work).[20]

The historical section of the RA began in 1935, with the RA. When the RA became the FSA (Farm Security Administration) in 1937, the work of the historical section continued. That work produced a file of photographs that documented the ravaged land, the conditions of the people trying to live off that land, and government efforts to improve the quality of the land and the lives of the people.

Although the programs of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal administration extended the concepts of conservation and wise land management beyond the wilderness and national forest management of President Theodore Roosevelt's conservation programs, the New Deal efforts were still too narrowly defined to be called ecological.[21] The New Deal programs did not really encompass the ideas and questions

of nineteenth-century writers and scientists. Early conservationism in the administrations of both Roosevelts failed to raise the questions of overall survival raised by ecology. Human life was still seen as the master of all nature, rather than as simply a part of nature, and nature itself was still seen as a commodity to be exploited and changed for personal and public profit.[22] The private sector interests supporting government preservation of wilderness and government conservation programs were often the same private sector interests responsible for exploiting and polluting the resources in the first place.[23] This continued to be true through the 1970s and the creation of the United States Environmental Protection Agency.

Between the many programs of the New Deal administration in the 1930s and the programs of the Nixon administration in the 1970s, the role of the federal government in managing national resources did expand, but it was not until the late 1960s that people began to see the ultimate survival of the human race as depending on cleaning up and monitoring the environment, and on re-defining the role of human life in the ecosystem of planet Earth.[24] With the publication of Rachel Carson's book, The Silent Spring, in 1962, the public began to recognize the fragility and interdependence of all life.[25] The media began to call attention to the animals that had become extinct, or were threatened by extinction, drawing parallels with human extinction. Ecology was relevant to human sur-

vival.[26] In 1968, Paul Erlich's book, The Population Bomb, again warned that the resources of the planet were fragile and finite, and that human life might not survive any more abuse of the environment. The Population Bomb galvanized a new union between environmental protection groups and population control groups.[27]

Because of writers like Carson and Erlich, and writers like Frank Herbert, who said: "I wrote in the mid-sixties what I hoped would be an environmental handbook. . .called Dune, a title I chose with deliberate intent that it echo the sound of doom,"[28] and because of grass roots organizing to do something about the warnings of writers and scientists,[29] people in the late 1960s began to look to the 1970s as the "environmental decade."[30] The warnings and the media coverage of environmental problems did not change basic economic and political realities. Earth Day, more environmental publications, the creation of the EPA, the founding of more environmental groups, did not change one important fact--at the heart of the new ecology movement was a pollution-control industry whose future economic growth depended upon continued pollution and population growth.[32]

Private companies like Monsanto, one of the major polluters of the time, were excited about the pollution-control systems that could be developed and marketed.[33] A head count of polluters turning to the pollution-control business, published in Ramparts, May 1970, showed Dow Chemical, W. R. Grace, DuPont, Merck, Nalco, Union Carbide,

General Electric, Westinghouse, Combustion Engineering, Honeywell, Beckman Instruments, Alcoa, Universal Oil Products, and North American Rockwell, all began developing and marketing pollution-control products.[34] While many citizens and environmental groups were uneasy with corporate interest and involvement in pollution control, the federal government argued that the industrial and corporate involvement was not only desirable, but essential to the success of environmental clean-up. The federal government looked to the new pollution-control industry to provide new growth to a depressed U.S. economy.[35]

In December of 1970, the new United States Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) created by President Richard Nixon officially assumed its duties. The EPA, according to a Nixon reorganization plan, put environmental responsibilities formerly scattered between nine different federal agencies under one roof--the EPA.[36] The EPA was the new central agency for monitoring and enforcing environmental protection controls and legislation.

At the time the EPA was created, several citizen organizations, such as the Sierra Club, the Wilderness Society, the National Wildlife Society, the National Wildlife Federation, Friends of the Earth, the Environmental Defense Fund, and the National Resource Defense Council, were lobbying for better protection and management for public lands, especially those being overgrazed and exploited by business, with federal consent.[37] These same groups were taking the government to court to secure enforcement of

environmental laws.[38]

There was skepticism in 1970 about the Nixon administration's commitment to controlling pollution and protecting the environment. There was also skepticism about the effectiveness of the new EPA, and resentment from agencies that lost funding and authority to the EPA in Nixon's reorganization plan. Some alleged the EPA was only created for appearances, to distract attention from Nixon's actual track record on environmental issues. The year before creating the EPA, Nixon tried to reduce air pollution research funds from $38 million to $27 million.[39] There were charges in 1970 that Nixon policies on air and water pollution worked to legitimize and spread pollution, and to exploit natural resources in other areas.[40] Also, of the $10 billion the Nixon administration estimated that it would cost to clean up the air and water in the U.S., it was intended that the federal government spend no more than $4 billion.[41] Local communities, strapped by economic recession, were to somehow make up the other $6 billion.[42]

Time would be the test of the Nixon administration's environmental programs, including the effectiveness of the EPA. During the first two years of EPA activity, deadlines were set for cleaning up the environment and restricting the discharge of toxic substances into the air and water. During those same two years, a documentary photography project was initiated by the EPA to make visual records of the U.S. environment as it was, and as it improved because of the work of the EPA. EPA's Project Documerica

would record the successes and the failures of the new agency in cleaning up the environment and keeping the deadlines and promises made by the federal government during the first few years of the "environmental decade."

DOCUMERICA AND THE DOCUMENTARY TRADITION

Project Documerica faced from the beginning many questions about its value and purpose. The technology and the administrative organization of the project were different from that of the FSA project that inspired it.[1] Some critics questioned whether Project Documerica could really contribute to the documentary tradition established by the FSA. Others doubted whether Project Documerica could really revive and sustain the FSA tradition within the federal government.[2] Some critics asked whether Project Documerica was a documentary project or an advertising campaign for the EPA.[3]

The doubts and questions were not completely surprising. They are part of the photographic tradition. With each new development in photography came questions about what photography was--an art, a science, a toy?[4] Since the first cameras were built before there was any real use for them, what early photography became depended upon the uses people could find for the gadgets, and later the chemistry, that made it possible to literally "write with light."[5]

Artists were among the first to use cameras, and to argue about the purpose and proper role of photography.[6] In the fifteenth century, cameras were actually dark rooms big enough for the artist to walk into and trace an image projected on a wall or canvas by light entering the darkened room through a

tiny hole in the opposite wall. These dark rooms (camera obscuras) were elaborate drawing aids.

By the early 1800s, a portable version of the camera obscura (the camera lucida) was popular with amateur artists.[7] Some carried it with them on their travels, making drawings of exotic places. Others made portraits of family and friends. Professional artists complained that the camera lucida was giving amateur artists the false notion that anyone could make art. The professional artists insisted that the images being made with the camera lucida were not art.[8]

By the mid-1800s, professional photographs of people and of landscapes were being made on light sensitive plates, and documentary photography began.[9] Arguments about whether photographs were art or documents soon followed.[10]

When photography was established as a commercial enterprise in the 1850s,[11] it had close ties to the art world, and to the ready-made market for portraits and landscapes established by centuries of oil painting.[12] Mathew Brady, an internationally known photographic portrait maker by the 1860s, left his successful portrait business to document the Civil War--the first federal documentary project.[13]

The government did support Brady's project, but it was moral support only. When his Civil War work was finished, Mathew Brady tried to sell and exhibit the photographs in order to recover what he had spent, but there was no market for his documents of war.

Brady was all but destitute. He was forced to sell his portrait studio. Except for a belated $25,000 grant from the federal government, Brady was not rewarded for his labors.[14] He died penniless.

As with many documentary photographers to follow, Brady made little money from his work, and he himself subsidized the cost of making the photographs, and then exhibiting them when the project was over. Although there was no immediate market for Brady's photographs, they eventually became valuable national documents that mark the beginning of documentary photography and photo-journalism in the United States.[15]

At the time Brady was working, there was no distinction between documentary photography and photojournalism. Different criteria and definitions for each evolved during twentieth-century changes in photography and in the communication industry. The term documentary photography was not coined until the 1930s,[16] although the French father of documentary photography, Eugene Atget, called his photographs "documents for artists" before 1900.[17]

When Mathew Brady finished his documentation of the Civil War, the critical distinction in the profession was between photographs as works of art and photographs as documents. Arguments about that distinction, and about the proper role of photography, appeared in the photographic press by the turn of the century. Some argued that photography was art and needed to find its place in the art world. Others argued that the role of photography was to

document. From the beginning of that controversy, those arguing for photographs as documents fought the idea of "artistic" photography, insisting that photography should not be used to make the romanticized landscapes and portraits that established photography as a commercial enterprise in the mid-nineteenth century.[18] Early documentary photographers argued that photography was not for making "pretty" pictures, but for recording reality without improving upon it.[19]

Photographs in the documentary style began to appear in half-tone reproduction in magazines, books and newspapers by the turn of the century, but they were still a novelty.[20] Although the press had been using illustrations since the 1840s, problems of technology and style kept many editors from using photographs. The technological problems were solved in 1880, with the invention of the half-tone plate,[21] but the question of style continued to be an obstacle to the use of photographs in the press. Editors thought readers preferred engravings because they were "more artistic."[22]

In 1893, the editor of The Illustrated London said: "I think the public will in time become tired of mere reproductions of photographs."[23] The editor was wrong. People did not tire of photographs. They began to demand the "feeling of presence and authenticity photographs offered."[24] Newspapers began to use more photographs, soon more photographs than engravings, and photojournalism began. The introduction of smaller, hand cameras, and of flexible film and flash powders, contributed to the growth of

photojournalism. Public demand for the on-the-spot photographs grew with the growing use of photographs in the press.

The distribution of photographs through the press--newspapers, magazines and trade journals--signalled the first difference between photojournalism and documentary photography. Photojournalism is the production of photographs for the printed page. That began to influence the kind of photographs taken. Photographs for the press had to have some action, and something that was "news."[25] Since documentary photographs were sometimes published in the press as the two areas of photography developed, other criteria separated, at least in theory, documentary photography from photojournalism.[26]

The photojournalist is a journalist. The photojournalist reports facts with photographs. The job of the documentary photographer is to interpret facts, put them in a context of time, place and significance, even to persuade viewers to take some action because of the point of view presented in the documentary photograph.[27] Documentary photographs may have immediate distribution, but their role is to preserve and interpret life for posterity.[28]

Photographs published in newspapers have moved people to action; some may have interpreted life for posterity, but that is not the concern of photojournalism. Where documentary photography must record an era for posterity, photojournalism must capture a moment on film for the next day's news, the "decisive moments" recorded in many of the famous news photographs of assassinations, explosions,

executions, news conferences, debates, auto accidents, train and plane crashes, riots, sporting events, etc.[29] Those moments include the "sneak photographs"[30] of politicians, celebrities, actors, and other famous people in embarrassing situations.[31]

During the Great Depression of the 1930s, there were outlets for the two kinds of photography that had evolved from the early documentary efforts of the late 1800s. Two new magazines, Life and Look, used the strengths of both documentary photography and photojournalism. During that same time, the mid-1930s, the historical section of the FSA hired a staff of photographers and established, with the file of work that staff produced, a standard against which future documentary photography would be judged.[32]

The FSA photographs demonstrated the power of photography to influence a nation.[33] Before the turn of the century, a photographer had demonstrated the power of photography to influence national policy. The landscape photography of William Henry Jackson is credited with helping to convince the government to create the national parks.[34] Jacob Riis' work in the slums of New York City in the early 1900s showed how photography could be useful in a local campaign for social reform.[35] Beginning in 1929, Berenice Abbott used her camera to record the building and growth of a city--ten years of the construction and changes in New York City.[36] When the FSA staff photographers began to use their cameras to show the life and the problems of rural America in the 1930s to the rest of the nation, there was already a tradition of using

photographs to record and to persuade, a tradition distinct from that of photojournalism by the mid-1930s, even though both had a common beginning in the work of Mathew Brady during the Civil War.[37] The FSA photographs had a profound effect on legislation, and on the national conscience. They continue to have a profound effect as documents of our nation's history and heritage, and a standard of excellence in documentary photography.

During the 1930s and the 1940s, documentary photographers and photojournalists traveled the nation and the world, looking for stories. Films and cameras became more portable and reliable. By the 1950s, however, readers were no longer surprised and impressed by spectacular photographs of exotic places. Documentary photography had not fulfilled the promise of the FSA project.[38] Many disillusioned photographers from both camps turned to another approach, an approach signalled by the publication of Robert Frank's book, The Americans, in 1958.[39]

By the 1970s, the photo book replaced Life and Look as the major outlet for many documentary photographers. Life and Look had ushered in a golden age for photography when they began publication in the 1930s. When they stopped publication in the early 1970s, many photographers feared an age of electronic journalism was eliminating the role of still photography. Dwindling outlets for photojournalists spurred both amateurs and professional photographers to look for new outlets.[40] Changing technology, new do-it-yourself

cameras that promised to make the novice an instant professional, more expensive photographic chemistry, a shortage of silver, some concerns about the pollution from photographic processing plants, a slump in advertising, moving production plants to developing nations, and a general market decline contributed to the plight of the professional photographer in the early 1970s.

A new government photography project planned to use new photographic and electronic technology to employ at least fifty photographers. It actually offered an outlet for the work of more than one hundred photographers during the early 1970s. Former FSA photographer, Arthur Rothstein, out of work when Look closed its doors, took a job as consultant to the new government photography project. The new project, called Project Documerica, was initiated by a new government agency, the United States Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).

The EPA project chronicled changes in the photographic profession, in mass communication, in the federal government, in life in the United States, and in life on the planet. Project Documerica struggled to document these changes in the world in the 1970s, within a documentary tradition that was established by the FSA in the 1930s.

THE STORY OF DOCUMERICA

Beginning in Diversity

Project Documerica began with one foot in the past and one in the future. Arthur Rothstein, the first photographer hired by the historical section of the Farm Security Administration (FSA) in the 1930s, agreed to be a consultant to the new 1970s project being administered by the United States Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). The director of Project Documerica, Gifford Hampshire, relied on Rothstein to bring the experience of the 1930s project to Project Documerica.[1] Hampshire brought his own extensive work with color photography at the National Geographic Magazine to the project. He also brought plans for a computerized viewing and filing system for Documerica images that predicted the stock files commonplace in commercial photography a decade later.

In addition to straddling the demands of tradition and changing technology with his original plans for Project Documerica, Hampshire juggled ties to the fine arts, to education and to photojournalism. He hoped the diversity would insure a long life for Project Documerica, and for documentary photography within the federal government.[2]

Two things were foremost in Gifford Hampshire's mind when he conceived the plans for Project Documerica: (1) reviving the documentary tradition established in the 1930s by the historical section of the FSA, and (2) finding some way to institutionalize

that tradition in a permanent, centralized government office for documentary photography. That office would be similar to the U.S. Government Printing Office in establishing and monitoring standards for all government offices.[3] However, it was a fine arts program, one Hampshire devised to take advantage of the Nixon administration's government-wide support of the National Endowment of the Arts, that gave Project Documerica its foot in the door.[4]

During an effort by the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) to get federal government support for the arts in 1971, a letter signed by President Nixon was sent to all federal department heads.[5] The letter asked each department to report to the President on what it was doing, or planned to do, to support the arts.[6] When the EPA's copy of that letter reached the desk of the administrator, William D. Ruckelshaus, an assistant deputy in the EPA's Office of Public Affairs at the time--Gifford Hampshire--was ready with a proposal that became the EPA's answer to Nixon's question about what the EPA was doing to support the arts.[7]

Ruckelshaus approved the plans Hampshire presented. They included some still photography and motion picture and video documentaries on environmental problems, and EPA success in solving them, in addition to an initial plan to commission artists on a yearly basis to create paintings on environmental themes.[8] That was the last time the fine arts program was the major focus. When the first project statements and press releases were issued on

Project Documerica, it was the photo documentary work, not the fine arts program, that was emphasized.[9] "Public education," "resources for media specialists," and "recording the progress of the EPA in solving environmental problems," were frequently published justifications for Project Documerica in early press releases, in EPA Congressional defenses of Project Documerica, and in EPA project statements and guidelines.[10]

Project Documerica officially began on December 2, 1971, the first anniversary of the EPA. One month earlier, in the November 1971 issue of Environmental News, an EPA in-house newsletter edited by Gifford Hampshire, Project Documerica was announced and described as a "contemporary application of photojournalistic principles established in the volatile 1930s when profound change was occurring in the fabric of American life."[11] The announcement explained that Project Documerica was a new federal program for documenting the environment, and that the project would "use the talents of photographers assigned by the EPA to document national progress towards solutions of environmental problems."[12]

The plans for Project Documerica outlined in that November 1971 issue of Environmental News indicated that fifty photographers would be hired. They would do only still photography in the beginning of the project. As the file of still photography grew, documentary motion pictures and videos would be made on environmental progress.[13] Hampshire's published expectation was that "over half a million still color images would be freely available on loan to the

media and to the public for publication or other communication purposes" before the end of the decade.[14] After the announcement of the documentary plans for Project Documerica in the November 1971 issue of Environmental News came the announcement of the beginning of the EPA's fine arts program. Articles about Documerica in the popular press focused on the documentary photography, forgetting to mention that "each year (the EPA) would commission about fifteen artists to create a painting on any environmental theme associated with the EPA's mission."[15]

In defending Project Documerica to Congress, Ruckelshaus said: "The purpose of Project Documerica is to attempt to fulfill some of the educational responsibilities which our agency has."[16] After describing what the photographers and their work would accomplish, Ruckelshaus said: "The effort is primarily an educational effort and mirrors a similar effort by NASA. The Department of Defense did the same thing in World War II."[17] When Ruckelshaus was pressed to defend the fine arts program, he referred again to a NASA project and added that "the fine arts program was initiated to share the vision of a better environment with the public."[18]

The ASMP Controversy

Before any visions could be shared with the American public by artists or photographers, a conflict developed between the American Society of Magazine Photographers (ASMP) and the EPA. That conflict was the first stumbling block to repeating the federal docu-

mentary photography efforts of the 1930s.

Hampshire planned to hire only photographers who had proven themselves by national publication of color documentary photography, the medium and the method of Project Documerica.[19] Arthur Rothstein was hired, in part, to identify and select photographers for the project who met those qualifications. After the conflict with the ASMP, Hampshire revised his plan to use only nationally published professional photographers, a plan some critics and some supporters of Project Documerica saw as a major flaw in the original plan for Documerica.[20]

The original plans for Project Documerica emphasized professionals in other aspects of the project. Unlike the artists hired by the Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) in the 1930s, the artists commissioned to do paintings for the EPA in the 1970s were commissioned on the recommendations of directors of national galleries, on the basis of merit and reputation, and not on the basis of financial need.[21] Hampshire made it clear from the beginning that the ten-year project he proposed was not a plan for subsidizing unemployed artists or training fledgling photographers.[22] Hampshire's intention was to hire "the best professionals in the field, at competitive rates, to produce the highest quality images possible."[23]

Professionals were also targeted as users of Project Documerica images. That was a major complaint of the ASMP. Media professionals would misuse the file. Although anyone could use the file once it

DIS (Documerica Image System) is designed for immediate response to anyone who knows what he wants. It consists of two viewing devices, each of which has a 40,000 image capacity. One screen shows the photographic image, the other its caption information. The devices are controlled by a computer through a typewriter terminal next to the screens. Each photograph included in DIS is cross-indexed in a thesaurus programmed into the computer containing more than 500 key words. The computer is also programmed to tell the user whether or not DIS has the subject he wants and how many can be seen:

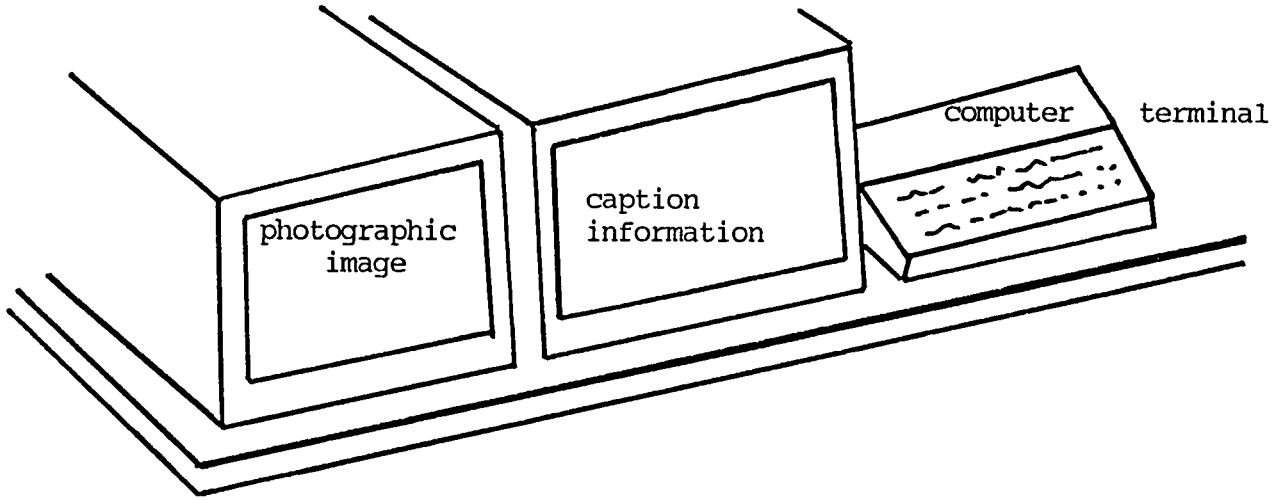

Figure 1. Documerica Image System (DIS) [28]

was in operation, the first conditions and directions for using the computerized file said priority belonged to media professionals and government officials. To discourage the non-communicator (private citizen) from tying up the system, according to directions for using the file, "the non-communicator (private citizen) would be given free Documerica slides only on special occasions."[24] Depending on quantity, they would be distributed routinely at no cost to "anyone in the communication business."[25] Individual citizens would be charged two dollars per slide after the first two or three slides.[26] "Instituting such a policy would keep the computer system readily available for professional use."[27]

That was a problem for the ASMP because photographers working for Documerica were not given the wages or the rights to their photos established as standard in the field by ASMP guidelines, but the complaint went beyond that to the Documerica Image System (DIS) itself. The DIS had two viewing devices, each with a 40,000 image capacity. One screen displayed a photographic image while the other displayed its caption information. The viewing devices were controlled by a computer, through a typewriter terminal next to the display screens. Accompanying directions for priority use and viewing and retrieval of Project Documerica images was the following DIS illustration. (See Figure 1 on page 33a.) This system was far beyond the budget of any commercial photographer working in the early 1970s. The system was not run by a personal computer, but by time purchased from a mainframe computer.

An editor (or other media professional) using DIS to find a photograph on a specific subject gave key words, such as "children" or "water pollution" or "swimming hole" (depending on the subject of interest) to a DIS operator. The DIS operator entered the key words through the typewriter terminal. The computer then reported the number of photographs on the subject in the system. The images could then be called up, viewed side-by-side with caption information on the dual viewing screens, and the user could then decide if he or she wanted any of those images. If any were requested, the DIS operator could "turn to the electronic filing system, retrieve a reproduction quality dupe of the selection, ask the computer to make hard copy of the caption, and turn them both over to the editor."[29] The photographic and caption information the editor saw on the viewing screens were projected from microfiche made from Kodachrome slides printed on Ektachrome film.[30]

Before the DIS was in operation, before the first microfiche were made, before the first Documerica photographers were sent into the field to make the Kodachromes from which the microfiche would be made, Project Documerica struggled through a series of negotiations with the ASMP and with EPA administrators over how much control and money should go to the Documerica project photographers. The EPA insisted all rights to photographs should belong to the government. The ASMP objected to the government retaining all rights to photographs at the wages being offered. The ASMP also objected to the computerized viewing and filing system, and to the free

photographs for media professionals.

In January of 1972, one month into the organization and implementation of Documerica, the ASMP was enthusiastic about Project Documerica, at least in its official communication to its almost 800 members. In the January 1972 issue of its newsletter, the ASMP Bulletin, the ASMP announced that the EPA had initiated a new project that would be an opportunity for professional photographers.[31] In that same newsletter, the ASMP reported: "It is the intent of the EPA to conform to all established practices in the trade."[32] However, one month later, in the February 1972 issue of the ASMP Bulletin, the ASMP withdrew its endorsement of Project Documerica.[33]

In the February bulletin, the ASMP warned its members against working for Project Documerica, telling them that if they signed the EPA contract they would have no rights to their photographs.[34] The ASMP warned that not only would all rights to photographs belong to the federal government, but photographs would be freely available "to any publisher anywhere in the world, at no cost," and in direct competition with photographers' other work.[35] In a special ASMP Bulletin published to update members on the Documerica controversy in April of 1972, the ASMP made a strong appeal to its members "not to sign the EPA contract agreement" until representatives from ASMP could negotiate with representatives from EPA.[36]

Ultimately, negotiations failed. The ASMP published a final report of the findings of their special committee on the EPA problem.

After the report was published, the ASMP threatened to censure and expell any ASMP member who continued to work for the EPA or Project Documerica.[37] The reasons were explained in the report published of the ASMP's EPA Committee meeting of March 18, 1973. Although the photographers' rights to their photographs was the issue that initially prompted ASMP complaints, the ASMP worried more about the entire structure and mission of Project Documerica.

The same question of photographers' rights surfaced during the FSA project in the mid-1930s, but rights then ultimately remained with the government.[38] Photographers not satisfied with those terms simply left the FSA project.[39] Some photographers kept "unofficial" files and copies of their work, without the approval of the project director, Roy Stryker.[40] The ASMP said they appreciated the reasons the government wanted rights to the photos, to keep them in the public domain, for public use, but times had changed, and photographers in the 1970s could not accept the terms of the 1930s project.

One anonymous verse in the April 1973 ASMP Bulletin summarizes the ASMP position with satire:

SHADES OF ARCHIE

1973 is not 1933
and epa is not fsa
nor is rothstein 73 the rothstein of 33
dan mccoy is not dorothea lange
and giff hampshire is not roy stryker
nor is william ruckelshaus henry wallace
and a fast shuffle is not a new deal[41]

A more detailed explanation of the ASMP's objections to Project Documerica was published with the findings of the report of the March 18, 1973 committee meeting:

> The Society believes that the Documerica program establishes a precedent that is a threat to the standards and practices that the Society is trying to establish in the industry.
>
> The use of photographs in other areas is growing. These markets are not able, for the most part, to assign first class photographers to shoot for them, and they fill their needs from already existing stock pictures. The sale of stock pictures has become vital to many photographers' survival. In our opinion, this will become more so in the future. In one agency the percentage of income from stock versus assignment has risen from 20% to 50% in less than five years. A cursory survey of some stock sales operations shows that in the same period actual income has increased more than 200%[42]

After the above introductory information about customer preference for stock sales, now and in the future, the report described the ideal system for handling those sales:

> Obviously, the ideal set-up for the stock customer would be to have a large collection of pictures gathered into one file, which is then computerized. The client would then be able to punch into the system the subjects he is looking for and flash on a screen in front of him a selection from which he could make his choice and place his order.
>
> This kind of system would cost millions of dollars to set up and program. No photographer or group of photographers has yet come close to being able to afford this.[43]

The ideal stock system the report described was just like the Documerica Image System (DIS). After calling attention to the fact that the Documerica system already surpassed anything available to commercial photographers at the time, the summary comments about the report of the ASMP's EPA Committee's findings made predictions about the future of photography, if Documerica were

to continue for a decade with the funding and the computerized filing and viewing system:

> Now comes Documerica, with all the existing Government computer hardware behind them, with an appropriation to program and feed all their photographs into these computers. Their plan is to say to all the various kinds of publishers of books and magazines, film makers and producers, to all the manufacturers of greeting cards and record albums and posters, to all the packagers, to all the exhibitors, to all the industries, to all the T.V. networks, indeed, to all the business men who now buy photographs and pay for them and use them for profit, "come to us, you can not only locate your pictures easier and faster through the use of our computers, but once you find them you can have them free. You will not have to pay anything."[44]

The predictions in the report were somewhat hyperbolic, but they did identify a problem that arose during the active years of Project Documerica, and one that continued when the project was retired to the shelves of the National Archives--misuse of the Documerica images by individuals and corporations who used the images for profit, and without credit to the photographers, to Project Documerica or to the EPA.[45] The final warnings of the report summary have no basis in fact, but they may have come true, had Project Documerica continued for the decade originally planned. The final warnings made it clear that Gifford Hampshire's enthusiasm for a strong, centralized government photography office was not shared by the ASMP:

> If Documerica is successful and goes on for ten years as they project, it could eventually remove a million dollars from the market. But, further, if they are successful, if Mr. Hampshire garners some glory, and Mr. Ruckelshaus abets his ambitions this year, what is to deter other ambitious bureaucrats and administrators from trying a similar program next year?

> Why not a Documerica from the Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare? And why not eventually the Dept. of Agriculture, the Dept. of Commerce, Defense, Interior, or others, all feeding photographs into one computerized retrieval system, and all being given away free?
>
> In one generation photographers could easily have the option of working for very specialized advertisers, or of working for the government. And what do you think the day rate will be then? It takes monumental insensitivity for the EPA to ask ASMP not only to support this program, but to contribute to it.[46]

By the time that report was published, Project Documerica was already suffering from funding and administrative difficulties from which it would not recover. Before the round of negotiations between the ASMP and the EPA that produced the report, Gifford Hampshire had been sensitive to the concerns of photographers and their petition to retain rights to their photographs. While the first Project Documerica photographers were being assigned, while contracts were being drawn up and project guidelines being established, Hampshire complied with ASMP requests as far as EPA policy would allow. When ASMP demands went beyond established EPA policy, Hampshire took those demands to his superiors.

Photographers for Project Documerica were paid the established ASMP minimum day rate--$150 a day, plus expenses. Film and processing were provided by the EPA. When the Documerica budget did not allow for the buy-out of photographers' rights--double the minimum day rate--Hampshire took the photographers' concerns to his superiors, repeatedly, to work out some other arrangement to give photographers more control over future use of their photographs.

In a letter to the EPA's Office of Public Affairs General Council, dated July 28, 1972, Hampshire summarized those concerns:

> If we have no control over use in advertising, it is likely that DOCUMERICA images will be used to mislead the public. For example, an image showing a clear clean river could accompany text which says "this is the river our plant is on" and that would be true except the plant is down stream from the place where the photograph was taken. The distortion would be compounded if the advertiser credited the image to the EPA. In that event I suppose we could complain to FTC, but I shudder to think what the press and the public would make of EPA's failure to even attempt to control such misuse.[47]

After presenting EPA's interest in controlling the misuse of photographs in that July 28, 1972 memo, Hampshire went on to argue for photographers' rights to control future use of their photographs on the basis of fairness to the photographers:

> I am concerned, of course, about keeping faith with the photographers on this. I am also concerned because these photographers do depend upon fees for advertising and annual report photography for their livelihood. With the magazine market drying up, they have turned to commercial photography which is more profitable. A photographer can demand and get a daily fee of $1,000-3,000 for advertising photographs for which clients get exclusive rights. If advertisers know they can use Documerica images free, even though they have no exclusive rights, many will do so and EPA will be responsible for depriving photographers of this income.[48]

Hampshire concluded the memo with one last pitch for the Conditions of Release statement he worked out with representatives from the ASMP. The conditions were that the photographers would agree to release all rights to the federal government, with the exception of the rights to use their images in advertising.[49] The July 28, 1972 memo was no more successful than Hampshire's previous memos sent to his EPA superiors in behalf of Documerica

photographers' rights. The EPA officials were adamant. Office of Public Affairs Director, Tom Hart, sent a final memo to the ASMP:

> After careful review of Mr. Hampshire's recommendation, we find that it does not adequately insure the accomplishment of the objectives enunciated by the Administrator William D. Ruckelshaus in his original announcement of the project.
>
> We find that the retention of rights by photographers, although minimal, will inhibit free use of the DOCUMERICA images by the American public.
>
> We find that the media is not assured the exercise of the photographers' rights will be prompt enough or clear enough to allow editorial decisions for the use of the images.
>
> We find that it is not in the public interest to allow photographers to retain any rights to photographs taken under assignments paid for at a professional fee with public monies.[50]

Some photographers worked for Project Documerica under the EPA's conditions, in spite of the warnings, and in spite of the threat of censureship and expulsion which eventually followed Tom Hart's letter to ASMP. Once Gifford Hampshire modified his methods (though not his standard of quality) for identifying professional photographers for the project, Project Documerica did not want for qualified photographers,[51] but it did suffer from the loss of support from the profession during later efforts to keep the project alive.

The Mission and the Method

The first Documerica photographers received assignments in the spring of 1972. Policies were published by then for the use of photographs, for the assignment of project photographers, for the distribution of photographs, for the filing of photographs, and for the priority use of the computerized viewing and filing system.

The official statement of Project Documerica's mission published with the policy statements mentions only the photographic aims of Project Documerica. There is no written policy or mission statement about the EPA fine arts project that began with Project Documerica. There is no mission statement for the fine arts program in the entire EPA file at NARA, and, according to Gifford Hampshire, there were no mission statements or guidelines published for the fine arts program after the initial agreement to commission artists to do paintings each year. The mission statement published for Project Documerica explained that:

> Project Documerica is an Environmental Protection Agency program aimed at documenting photographically the environmental problems in America and the efforts being made to cope with environmental pollution.
>
> Its objective is to make dramatic pictorial images available to the American public through the EPA's Office of Public Affairs, through the Press, through every conceivable communications medium, so that the story of our current environmental problems can be better understood and accepted and thus brought to reality.
>
> As we work toward cleaning up our environment, it is EPA's hope that these photographs, having assisted in bringing attention to the need for change, will then help document these changes so that future generations will better understand our successes and our failures.[52]

The mission statement for Project Documerica repeats two goals already identified by Gifford Hampshire in early proposals and press releases: (1) to inform and persuade the public, and (2) to document the present for posterity through photographs. The two goals were two of the same goals of the photographic work of the

historical section of the FSA. The methods identified in the policy statements of Project Documerica differed from the methods of the historical section of the FSA. Instead of hiring a small group of staff photographers, as Roy Stryker did for the FSA, Project Documerica's director proposed to hire as many as fifty photographers at one time, but only on an assignment-by-assignment basis. The area to be documented exceeded that of the FSA. Project Documerica's plan included all of the United States and territories, and the land and air and water near the continental U.S., Hawaii and Alaska.[53]

The EPA had already divided the U.S. into regions and established headquarters for its environmental work in those regions.[54] Project Documerica planned to assign photographers by region, meeting with them in those regions before any photo assignments were made. The procedure outlined in the photo assignment policy called for project director, Gifford Hampshire, to set up a meeting with the regional EPA Public Affairs staff, the photographers, environmental specialists on regional problems, and Hampshire and Rothstein. After the meeting, assignments would be made.[55]

Where the photographers would work was determined by the EPA regions and the problems identified in those regions, but how they would work, the methods they would use and the aspects of the problems they would focus on was up to them. The standard format was 35mm, and the standard film was Kodachrome, but other films and

formats could be used, including black and white.[56] What was not clear to photographers was what "exactly" to photograph. The project's mission statement said to document photographically "the environmental problems in America and the efforts being made to cope with environmental pollution."[57] Hampshire did not give photographers much direction beyond that. It was the photographer's job to come up with an idea and suggest it to Hampshire. What the environment was, and what an environmental problem was, was a matter for each photographer to investigate and interpret.

This disturbed some photographers early in the project, when they did their assignments, and later in the project, when they received no feedback from Hampshire about the assignments they had submitted.[58] It was another way in which Project Documerica differed from the FSA project, but it was Hampshire's intention that it be different. It was his idea of how to get the most out of photographers and insure a broad interpretation of "environment."[59]

"From the very beginning," Hampshire said in an interview in 1986, "I had to overcome the idea that we were documenting the environment. At the same time, I had to justify the program by saying that we were."[60] Hampshire said the autonomy he gave photographers was the basis of his relationship to the project photographers. It was founded in the belief that photographers would work best with as little direction as possible in the finding and the interpreting of their subjects.[61] How did he

define "environmental" for the project photographers?

> What I did was to announce at the outset that our mission was to do as Barry Commoner did--define the environment as everything connected to everything else--and we were going to look at it that way.
>
> Yes, we were going to photograph the environmental problems of our country--water pollution, air pollution--but we were also going to look for the human aspects that connected all those things to us, and that the human condition of our country was very much a part of Documerica.[62]

As simple and straightforward as those directions sound now, Hampshire said they were difficult to follow during Project Documerica, for two reasons. The first reason was:

> very few photographers could approach it that way. They were great to go out and photograph air pollution and solid waste and all that, because it was right there and all very graphic, but to go out and look at a community and the people in that community and their relationship to the problems in that community, be they air pollution, water pollution or what have you, they were hard put to do that.[63]

The second problem Hampshire identified in working with such a broad definition of "environment" was the pressure from his superiors and co-workers. "I could just go so far pushing the human aspect of it, because there were the EPA program people, and their specific interest was air pollution, water pollution."[64]

In spite of pressures from his superiors, even from project photographers, for more control and specific directions, Hampshire's policies and philosophy of his role as Documerica project director prevailed. Hampshire communicated regularly with EPA specialists on priority environmental problems in EPA regions, but he did not necessarily assign photographers specific tasks

based on those problems. Hampshire relied on the initial regional meetings to give photographers the information necessary to spark their own interest and investigations. During the project, and after it ended, Hampshire insisted "that in documentary photography, the burden of the intellect is on the photographer."[65] Hampshire said that in his study of the FSA project he "could find no evidence that FSA photographers did their best work as a result of any of Roy Stryker's assignments."[66] The talks Hampshire had with Roy Stryker and FSA photographer Russell Lee, during Hampshire's student days at the University of Missouri at Columbia, and an interview with Stryker in Colorado, early in 1972, convinced Hampshire "that Documerica should not be structured with me playing photographic director, or the intellectual czar over the whole thing, telling people what to photograph."[67]

After attending a regional EPA informational meeting and signing the Documerica contract, the next step in the assignment process was initiated by the photographer. Hampshire explained: "The photographer says, 'I want to photograph such and such.' And I say, 'O.K., let's talk about it.' Then we agree that there will be a documentary of such and such a subject."[68] After the photographer made the commitment, according to Hampshire, he or she would go out "independent of me, except for support. We give them the film. We give them the processing. We give them all the support we can, but we can't give them any advance money."[69]

The $150 per day rate, plus expenses, was not paid until the EPA project office received the assignments, reviewed them, found them satisfactory, labeled and numbered each slide in the assignments, and finally sent an invoice to the business office.[70] Once the paper work was sent to the payroll people, it was six to eight weeks before photographers were paid.[71] That may be a major reason for the increase in the number of letters to Gifford Hampshire as the project went on--letters from photographers asking for the specific images and treatment Hampshire was looking for. Carbon copies of Hampshire's replies, informing photographers that he did not make those kinds of decisions for photographers, also began to collect in the Documerica file.[72]

Although Hampshire's laissez faire editorial policies frustrated many Project Documerica photographers, and potential Documerica photographers,[73] by November of 1972, 81,000 images had been produced and were being edited for the Documerica Image System (DIS). The 81,000 images included subjects ranging from the scientific to the social, in half of the fifty United States.[74] The decision about which images would be entered into the file, according to Hampshire, were "as much the photographer's as mine. If I honestly felt that the photographer had done everything he or she could, within the documentary tradition, I put it in the file."[75] Hampshire said that he was willing to risk some substandard work in the file, in order to maintain a policy of cooperative decision-making that

placed the "burden of intellect" always with the photographer.[76]

The photographer's role in making decisions about which images would go into the file was in practice a de facto role, unless there were some problems with images or caption information submitted that required in-person or over-the-phone discussion between Hampshire and the photographer.[77] Basically, when a photographer had finished shooting an assignment for Project Documerica, the photographer edited images after processing and sent the select images to the Documerica office at the EPA. The photographer was free to keep the outtakes for his or her own file.[78] All the selects submitted by photographers were labeled and numbered, and as soon as possible, were copied onto Ektachrome film by the New York laboratory contracted to make all the microfiche for Project Documerica.[79]

After the photographs were edited and captions reviewed, they were entered into the computerized selection system.[80] A summary report[81] was then issued by the Documerica project director, Gifford Hampshire, notifying all public affairs operations of the new file offerings, and of special viewings of the new additions to the file for people specifically interested in certain assignments.[82] At that point, the Communications and Film Distribution operation took over the responsibility for all the Documerica image distribution that would follow. Plans for distribution initially included the printing and circulation of inexpensive color prints of

the most popular images, free slides to communication media professionals, ten and twelve-slide packets for teachers' kits, twenty-five and fifty-slide presentations on general environmental subjects and on specific program areas, and gallery and traveling exhibits selected from the best of the first round of Project Documerica assignment images.[83]

Beginning in October of 1972, there were acquisition bulletins published whenever additional images were converted to microfiche and available in the DIS. The bulletins referenced the images filed on the microfiche, and the counterpart caption information on the caption microfiche.[84] The Documerica mission stated on each acquisition bulletin repeated the initial project statement that "Documerica is a program for photographically documenting subjects of environmental concern in America."[85]

In 1976, the mission statement of the project was the same, but lack of funds prevented any new images from being printed on the Ektachrome microfiche and entered into the system. Because of budget cuts and general EPA loss of interest and support, the final photographic assignments were contracted and completed without the photographers attending regional information meetings, and often without Hampshire ever meeting the photographer in person. In 1976, the mission statement on the acquisition bulletins had not changed, but only Gifford Hampshire remained to fight for Project Documerica and its mission.

Two thousand images remained to be entered into the DIS system in 1976. The computerized DIS stopped operating in 1974, when Hampshire chose to sacrifice the computer time in order to use the money to keep photographers in the field.[86] Entering images into the DIS in 1976 amounted to printing them on microfiche and hoping the file user could match the image with the caption.

Because the microfiche system was designed for computerized filing and retrieval, there was no need to worry about the organization of the microfiche for manual inspection or reading on a microfiche reading machine. However, from the time the computerized DIS was no longer operable until the present day, the cumbersome, time-consuming process of examining the Documerica fiche with a loupe or dual microfiche reading machines has been one more obstacle to the impact and success of Project Documerica.

The Documerica Image System (DIS) Acquisition Bulletins after 1974 describe a very confusing process for looking at Documerica images. They also warn the viewer that the microfiche do not have the sharpness and contrast of original Kodachrome images. The bulletins offer these hints for viewing the fiche, which are 4" by 6" sheets of film containing, respectively, seven 10mm photographic images and seven 10mm caption images, enlarged twenty times in a microfiche reader. The question is how to view the fiche. The answer:

> A: VIEWING the fiche depends on personal preference and the particular file being used. The simplest way is to hold the

fiche to a light source and examine each image with a magnifying glass. Correct left-to-right viewing is insured if one can read the title of the fiche (e.g., DOCUMERICA Fiche #200). In this position read Row One through Five from top to bottom, and Column A through L from left to right. The caption fiche, of course, will read correctly only one way.

Most files will have a microfiche reader available. This is a rear projection device and the person in charge of the file should be able to show you how to insert the fiche correctly.[87]

The instructions for matching the image with its caption in the later DIS Acquisition Bulletins were no less confusing:

Q: HOW DOES ONE MATCH AN IMAGE WITH ITS CAPTION?
A: MATCHING the image with its caption is simple when one knows that both are in the same position on the fiche. For example, the image in Row One, Column B on Fiche #69 is an aerial of a bridge over a river. The caption in position 1B reads:

THE KEY BRIDGE TO VIRGINIA
CROSSES THE POTOMAC AT
GEORGETOWN.
WASHINGTON, D.C.
MAY/ 1973
YOICHI OKAMOTO[88]

Photographic costs were trimmed to the bone, and very few photographers were assigned during the later years of Project Documerica, but the most drastic modification in the project plan was the change in its viewing and filing system. The system described in the bulletins after 1974 are a far cry from the promises of easy access and complete services described in the early DIS Acquisition Bulletins. The computerized DIS provided hard copy of caption and photographer information. That was important in the proper crediting and identifying of photographs. The revised DIS instructions after 1974 said;

Q: HOW DOES ONE GET A COPY OF THE CAPTION?
A: ONE MUST COPY the caption from the microfiche. Neither EPA-

> DOCUMERICA nor the contractor can provide hard copy of the caption information from the microfiche.[89]

The original DIS provided some insurance that the Documerica photo distribution policies would be carried out. The policy called for (1) using photos within the context of the caption information, and (2) crediting Documerica, the EPA and the photographer. Because the revised manual system left the accuracy and integrity to the manual and ethical dexterity of the file user, Hampshire said, "We will strongly urge that these policies be followed, in every situation, but of course, we can't demand or guarantee it."[90]

What Gifford Hampshire did demand during the five active years of Project Documerica was that those working for the project interpret the term environmental in the broadest terms possible, never forgetting the human aspect, never abandoning a very tight definition of documentary photography, using Kodachrome film whenever possible, and making images visible and available to the public. Experiences in Hampshire's life and career that led to his definition of, and commitment to, documentary photography, deserve some mention in any analysis of Project Documerica, a project whose mission was still important to him more than ten years after the EPA abandoned the project. Hampshire created Project Documerica. He influenced its content, and he prolonged the survival of the project long after others would have killed it. Project Documerica is the product of Hampshire's "missionary" work.

Gifford Hampshire: Commitment, Career and Documentary Tradition

When he was ten years old, Gifford Hampshire was first exposed to the conditions that would become the subject of the work of FSA photographer, Arthur Rothstein, and others, but Gifford Hampshire was not thinking about photography at the time.[91] He was worried about his own survival.[92] When Hampshire's father lost his job with the public school system in Fort Dodge, Iowa, he took ten-year-old Gifford with him to Kansas to look for work. Gifford's uncles, farming in the dust bowl area, were the family's last resort.[93] It was 1934.

"The dust was everywhere," Hampshire remembered.[94] "It was in your food, in your bed, and when you were in bed at night, it was even in your teeth. You just couldn't get rid of it."[95] Hampshire recalled his mother using brown tape on the cracks between windows and sills, and around the doors, and then still "literally having to shovel the dust out of the house after each storm."[96] The dust bowl conditions the FSA photographers would begin to document a year later "had to be very hard on any woman, on a mother, and I believe it contributed to her breakdown," Hampshire said.[97] A year after leaving Iowa, the state where he was born, his mother was declared legally insane. She lived out her life in an institution.[98] Gifford survived the dust bowl years in Kansas with his father, Mark Anthony Hampshire.

Gifford Hampshire's memories of growing up in Kansas with his father include "the magic of seeing prints come up in the pan under the yellow light" in the makeshift darkroom that Mark Hampshire set up in the bathroom.[99] Gifford Hampshire remembers his father's fascination with photography, and with the new films and cameras and developing methods being marketed by the late 1930s. Hampshire also remembers, with great respect, the work his father did with Kansas farmers during the senior Hampshire's job with the state, dispensing welfare subsidies to needy farmers. Gifford Hampshire remembers that his father worked as hard to help the farmers keep their dignity as he did their land, "sometimes meeting proud farmers at the back door to give them the help they needed, without taking away their pride in front of other people in the community."[100]

The 1940s found Gifford Hampshire serving with the 13th Air Force in the South Pacific. During one mission, Hampshire was wounded. He explained the effect it had on the rest of his life:

> A man was killed on that mission in which I was wounded. He fell on top of me. His head was blown off, and our airplane was on fire, in jeopardy of crashing into the ocean. And, in those brief seconds, I more or less became converted and grew up the thought that stayed with me the rest of my life: Life is a precious commodity we have, and those of us who survive experiences like that are supposed to do something with it, something that has some benefit beyond just ourselves and our immediate family.
>
> After the World War II experience, I looked for something like that. I never set out to be a do-gooder, but I decided not just to have money for the sake of material gains at the expense of other things.[101]

After the war, Hampshire enrolled in the University of Missouri's School of Journalism. When he graduated in 1949, he refused a job with the Milwaukee Journal to take a job with a small Indiana newspaper, because the small Indiana paper was interested in starting a weekly magazine in which Hampshire would be free to use his ideas about word/picture essays. Hampshire said he accepted the job over the telephone and then burned all other bridges behind him.

"Early on, I set a goal for myself that I would be a photojournalist in Wilson Hicks' definition of the term, in that I would be working with words and pictures, but not be a photographer in the process," Hampshire said in explanation of his decision to go with the small Indiana paper. He further explained that the Indiana job came closest to his carefully planned goal "decided from the outset at the University of Missouri":

> I was taking photographs. In fact, I was doing very well, winning some prizes at the Kappa Alpha Mu competition, publishing some photo essays, and I had some complimentary things said about my work, but even then, I wasn't really working as a photographer. I was working as an editor.
>
> I agreed with Wilson Hicks' point of view. As an editor, I could be more objective in looking at photographs and not interjecting myself and my own thoughts as a photographer, but look at the image as an image.
>
> I think I have been able to do that very successfully, but I did set out to build a career as an editor and as an administrator from the start.[102]

Hampshire thought that the start would be with the Indiana paper's weekly picture magazine, but when he called the editor back to say that he was on his way, the editor said that he had never

heard of Gifford Hampshire, and that the paper had hired someone else who was "already on board," doing the job Hampshire thought he had been hired to do.[103] Hampshire said that he was angry enough then to have given up on journalism as a career entirely, but, fortunately, his professor, Cliff Edom (the person responsible for bringing Roy Stryker and Russell Lee to campus during Hampshire's student days, and the person who started the University of Missouri Workshops) talked Hampshire into going through with an interview with Crockett A. Harrison, from the Fairchild Camera and Instrument Corporation.

The interview with Harrison went well. Hampshire was hired to do "missionary work among the smaller newspapers on the use of photographs."[104] The job took Hampshire to New York City, at first, as Fairchild (the firm that made all the aerial cameras used by the military during World War II) was launching a new product called a "scannergraver."[105] The machine engraved images electronically, through a scanning system, scanning photographs and then burning the dot structure into plastic for letterpress printing of the photographic half-tones.

In June of 1949, when Hampshire moved to New York City and began working for Fairchild, C. A. Harrison told him that since his education had been in journalism, he should learn something about the business world:

> so he put me in the Chicago or mid-western district, as a salesman, to sell the device (scannergraver) for a six-month period.[106]

The sales work was quite an experience for Hampshire. It reminded him of the painful discovery he had already made during his boyhood days in Kansas--he was not a salesman:[107]

> I went to the train station with a bag full of magazines slung over my shoulder, magazines that aren't even in print anymore, and whenever a train would pull into the station, I would go up to the people getting off the train and say, "You wouldn't want to buy a magazine, would you?"
>
> And, of course, they wouldn't. It was the Depression. They would use the five cents to buy food, not magazines, and I somehow felt that before I even asked. I was no salesman.[108]

When Hampshire found himself on the road in 1949, "with a briefcase full of literature and very little else to sell the machines," he believed in his product, and he believed in his mission to get the editors of small magazines and newspapers to use more photographs, and use them more effectively, but he would simply make polite suggestions, and the editors, for the most part ignored him. Hampshire found that he was still a failure as a salesman.[109] "Had I been hired in that capacity, I would have been fired," Hampshire admitted.[110]

Since he was not hired as a salesman, he was called back to New York. C. A. Harrison gave him the job of publishing a quarterly magazine for the editors and publishers of small papers and magazines. Impressions was "a slick publication, 24 to 26 pages, photographs throughout, with 120-line screen (more than the 65 screen most newspapers used), all done with the new Fairchild machine."[111]

By 1951, Impressions was off the ground and on its way, and Hampshire began to be involved in more of Fairchild's corporate

public relations. By 1952, Hampshire was manager of the corporate public relations at Fairchild.[112] The "quick promotions up the corporate ladder" did not really impress Hampshire as a sign of success: "Through all the meetings I had to attend, the corporate politics, the arcane financial matters, I was out of my element."[113]

In May of 1954, Hampshire left Fairchild Camera and Instrument Corporation to accept a position with the National Geographic Magazine. Six years at the Geographic had a profound influence on Hampshire's thinking about color photography and documentary work, but by 1960, he was disillusioned with the limits at the Geographic, not of color photography, but of doing work that Hampshire felt was truly documentary.[114] He described the positive influence the Geographic had on his thinking about color:

> I became a great believer in color photography for communications through my experience at National Geographic. I think I also learned there that with the advent of Kodachrome in 1935, color photography became the medium for photography, the medium that best rendered our natural environment for two-dimensional images in a way that everyone could understand what they were seeing. Color definitely contributes to the message.[115]

The other important memory of the National Geographic experience was more negative for Hampshire. "The policy of that magazine or institution was definitely to avoid controversy," Hampshire said.[116] Hampshire could understand the policy: "If you can't say something nice, don't say anything at all," if that referred to rules for personal relationships, but he could not understand that as a rule of thumb for documentary work.[117]

Hampshire's problem with the work of the National Geographic, in spite of his recognition of the fact that they did bring the wonders of the world to people who otherwise might not have seen them, was that:

> they turned their backs upon conditions, upon geographic and human conditions that were not pleasant to view. And in that sense, they were just out of this world; they were in a never-never land, and I suffered from that prohibition.
>
> I just could not bring myself to ignore those factors in a story I was working on, and that was one of my greatest difficulties in working with Melville (Gilbert M.) Grosvenor the editor of the magazine while I was there. He respected my opinion, and he was troubled by some of the things I had to say, but he was firm in not wanting to change the policy of the magazine. I had to accede to his view, or get out, and I finally got out in 1960, when I had another opportunity to use my editorial views more realistically.[118]

The opportunity in 1960 did not turn out to be the chance to use his editorial views more realistically that Hampshire had anticipated it would be. He took a job with the United States Information Agency (USIA), editing a magazine for the Arab-speaking world.[119] He soon discovered that what he thought would be an opportunity to do more realistic editing and communicating turned out to be an informational and ethical juggling act to satisfy himself and the USIA. The USIA wanted a publication that was primarily a pro-United States propaganda magazine.[120]

In 1969, after an incident which sent to market cranberries that had been treated with a proven carcinogenic agent, Hampshire took another job with the government in the Public Information

Office of the Food and Drug Administration.[121] The job took him away from working with photographs, but he felt that it took him to the heart of issues. "I said to myself, 'Here's an agency working right at the heart of the American people.'"[122]

In 1970, Hampshire took a job with the newly formed EPA in the same spirit, and he began exploring ways to bring photographs back into his work with issues and information. He succeeded in getting a documentary photography project approved--Project Documerica.

Hampshire minimized his role in Project Documerica beyond that of facilitator for the photographers who produced the file, and the media specialists and educators who used the file. Hampshire talked about his own life reluctantly in 1986, insisting that he was not claiming for himself the role or accomplishments claimed for and by Roy Stryker since interest in the FSA project was renewed in the 1950s.[123] Hampshire concluded:

> As far as my work on Documerica is concerned, my own personal stature, or whatever it is, I'll say this, that it is very much a personal thing. I have to admit that I went into it with ideas about accomplishing some objectives. I don't think there's anything wrong with that.
>
> I really think it's O.K. for a person to think, "O.K., I want to do such and such, and I want to do such and such badly enough that I'll do the work necessary to get the job done." Maybe that's an old-fashioned notion, too. But, that's the way I always look at things. I don't like to undertake a task otherwise.[124]

A heart attack stopped many of Gifford Hampshire's plans to keep Project Documerica alive. In 1977, when Hampshire had the first of three heart attacks that would convince him to retire from

the EPA by 1980, he was negotiating with New York publishers for a Documerica book. In spite of the first heart attack, he came back to work and continued to look for ways to keep the Documerica file visible and accessible. He knew he could do no more to convince the EPA to continue the project, but they had not yet abandoned the file.[125] When Hampshire left the EPA in 1980, he thought he had found a home for the Documerica file at the Center for Creative Photography in Tucson, Arizona.

Hampshire's final goal was to keep Documerica visible and accessible as documents of the 1970s and environmental problems to which Americans could go for information about that period of American history. Hampshire was concerned that Documerica and what it represented not be forgotten. He was not concerned that his role in Project Documerica be remembered, because:

> I'll say I think I'm fair to myself and everyone else when I say I did not go into this with any idea of earning myself a niche in history. I really have been through enough in my time to know that that is a pretty empty notion. Anyone who expects more than Andy Warhol's fifteen minutes of fame is on a mistaken notion. I think to expect fifteen minutes is too much.[126]

Hampshire's expectations are reflected in his ideas about documentary photography, and his ideas about the government's responsibility to documentary photography. Hampshire felt that the government should do another project like the FSA project. He also believed that the government should establish a permanent, centralized documentary photography office, because "citizens of a

country should be able to go to a library and find photographic documents on a subject and a period in history as easily as they can find written documents and information.[127] Hampshire believed that documentary photographers should enter the profession because they believe in the importance of making photographic documents, because they feel strongly about a subject they are documenting, not because they want to become rich or famous through their work.[128] Only with that kind of understanding and commitment on the part of photographers could a revival of the FSA tradition really work, according to Hampshire.[129] Hampshire also believed, when he conceived the plans for Project Documerica, that a revival of the FSA tradition through another project should be sponsored and funded by the federal government, because:

> It just seemed like a perfectly natural thing for our government to do.
>
> Early on, I recognized there was no commercial value to documentary. There's no way Life or Look would use most documentary photography, because I could see that most of the photographs would be too commonplace. They weren't editorially interesting. And, they weren't interesting for other commercial purposes, certainly not for advertising. Many of them were too depressing.
>
> So, the only way I could see to justify doing any documentary work was through government sponsorship. And, that idea settled in my mind back in college, although I certainly had no idea of working for the government back then.[130]

In 1971, after working for the government for ten years, Hampshire conceived the plans for a project that could be the beginning of the kind of permanent, public documentary file that he had thought about thirty years before--Project Documerica.

The Artists and the Paintings

The EPA Arts Program[131] is even more abbreviated than Project Documerica. The paintings are now even more invisible and inaccessible, because there is no record of them. There is no list of the painters commissioned by the EPA in the file at NARA. There is no inventory of the completed paintings. There is also no indication of what happened to the paintings when the EPA Arts Program ended. When questioned about what happened to the paintings from the arts program that gave Project Documerica its foot in the door, Gifford Hampshire said in 1986: "The last time I saw them, they were on the walls of the EPA offices. Then they were gone."[132] Where are the paintings today? Hampshire said: "By now, the (EPA) people may have taken them home and hung them in their kitchens, for all I or anyone knows."[133]

Hampshire said that he could not keep the Arts Program going "with the same conviction of rightness" that he could the photography program. When Project Documerica began to lose its funding in 1973, Hampshire was willing to let the Arts Program go, in order to keep the photographic program going. "At least the photography was of real things,"[134] he said, explaining that "sometimes the art work was so far out I couldn't hang it."[135] He remembered one painting that was a caricature of Uncle Sam injecting himself with dollar bills: "That's all the Jamie Whittens (the politicians opposed to funding Documerica) would have to see, and it would be all over for Documerica."[136]

The name of the painter who did the "Uncle Sam" painting is not in the file at NARA, nor is it in Hampshire's memory, but one painting and one artist are recorded in a letter from Hampshire to the artist in the NARA file. The letter, dated September 19, 1974, is addressed to Miss Mona Jordan, Indian Harbour Beach, Florida. The letter informs Jordan that she might want to retrieve her painting, because there was no plan to exhibit the forty paintings "collected during the two-year program."[137] Hampshire told Jordan in the letter that her painting, "Two Bathers with Symbolic Figure," was one of his "personal favorites," but if she had any plans for the painting, she should come and get it, because "the future of the EPA Fine Arts Program is undecided."[138]

In a letter to John DeWitt, Director of the Visual Arts Program of the Department of the Interior, dated September 18, 1974, the day before the letter to Jordan, Hampshire asked if the EPA paintings could be exhibited "in the Bicentennial Exhibition of the Interior," because "we have to face the realities of the (EPA) Public Affairs budget. This adds up to no Fine Arts Program for EPA."[139] The final realities of the reduced OPA budget and reduced Documerica staff meant that no one monitored the exodus of the environmental theme paintings from the EPA. Funds were never found to exhibit the paintings. The fate of the paintings, and the names of the artists who created them (with the exception of Mona Jordan) are officially unknown.

The Photographers and the Photographs

All the names of all the Project Documerica photographers whose work appears in the Documerica Image System are in the files at NARA. They are on the caption fiche, on the image fiche and listed in the DIS Acquisition Bulletins published between 1972 and 1976.

The first DIS Acquisition Bulletin was published in October of 1972. It announced which images would be available by late November of 1972, through a computerized viewing and filing system that would "display any one color image in four seconds, and will produce a hard copy of any caption in seconds."[140] The first bulletin in 1972 established a format for all future DIS Acquisition Bulletins. There was a Project Documerica mission statement at the beginning of the bulletin, a list of the photographic projects being entered into the DIS (listed by area or location, followed by the name of the photographer), a brief description of each project, and occasionally, suggestions of why, and to whom, a particular project might be of interest.[141] Project summaries were followed by remarks about the projects entering DIS and the work of Project Documerica from the beginning to the time of the publication of the bulletin. There were also directions for using DIS.

The only really drastic change in the bulletins was not in the format, but in the content and length of the directions for viewing Documerica images after 1974, the year Gifford Hampshire tried to keep Project Documerica photographers on assignment by giving up

the project's computer time. DIS 1972 and DIS 1974--they were both called the Documerica Image System, but their names are the only thing besides color microfiche that the two systems had in common. After 1974, directions for viewing and retrieving Documerica images required two full pages of the bulletin, compared with a brief paragraph in the 1972 bulletin--a brief paragraph which assured the file user of quick retrieval of both reproduction quality slides and hard copy of the caption information. The confusing directions from the 1974 bulletin are excerpted in the section of this chapter titled, "The Mission and the Method."[142]

Length of written descriptions of projects increased in later bulletins. Hampshire attributed that to more conscientious reporting of caption information by photographers in later years of the project. Hanpshire had difficulty impressing upon many Documerica photographers the importance of thorough documentation of what they photographed.[143] "Some of the captions in the file are sadly inadequate," he said, remembering that for some bulletins he had to research the information himself, because "all they sent was the place of the photograph."[144]

Charles O'Rear was one of the photographers Hampshire remembered as turning in consistently good work, both caption information and photography. Hampshire did complain of having to remind O'Rear that he was doing documentary work, not photojournalism or advertising, when some of O'Rear's camera angles and filtering "got a little too gimmicky."[145] O'Rear's work was some of the first entered into

the DIS (listed as the second project in the October 1972 DIS Acquisition Bulletin). O'Rear's work and his name are also the last entry in the final DIS Acquisition Bulletin in 1976.

Under the heading of "Completed Assignments" in the first bulletin in 1972, Hampshire wrote: "Someone had to finish first, and as it happened these assignments turned out to be mostly in Regions IX and VIII. (See Figure 2 on page 68, the next page in this chapter on "The Story of Documerica.") Consequently, these images will be the first to enter the system."[146] The second entry listed after Hampshire's introductory comments on "Completed Assignments":

> 2. Lower Colorado River, Imperial Valley, Las Vegas, EPA Lab - Charles O'Rear - 0026
> From Lake Meade to Yuma, Arizona we have documented the conditions associated with salinization of the Colorado. These photographs show relationships of people to the river, and they underline some of the political problems EPA has faced in the enforcement of conferences.
> The latter is emphasized in our documentation of the agricultural complex in the Imperial Valley images where irrigation and heavy use of pesticides are vital to agri-business. Here, too, we can see the solid waste problems associated with large feedlots. The Colorado River and Imperial Valley images should be useful because of the agreement the U.S. has made with Mexico.
> This assignment has also produced many images documenting the work of the Western Environmental Research Center.[147]

In the last DIS Acquisition Bulletins, the geographic location is not the feature by which each project is listed. Instead, there is a fiche number, where the photographic assignment can be found in the Documerica microfiche file, followed by the photographer's name and a project description. The last entry in the last DIS Bulletin:

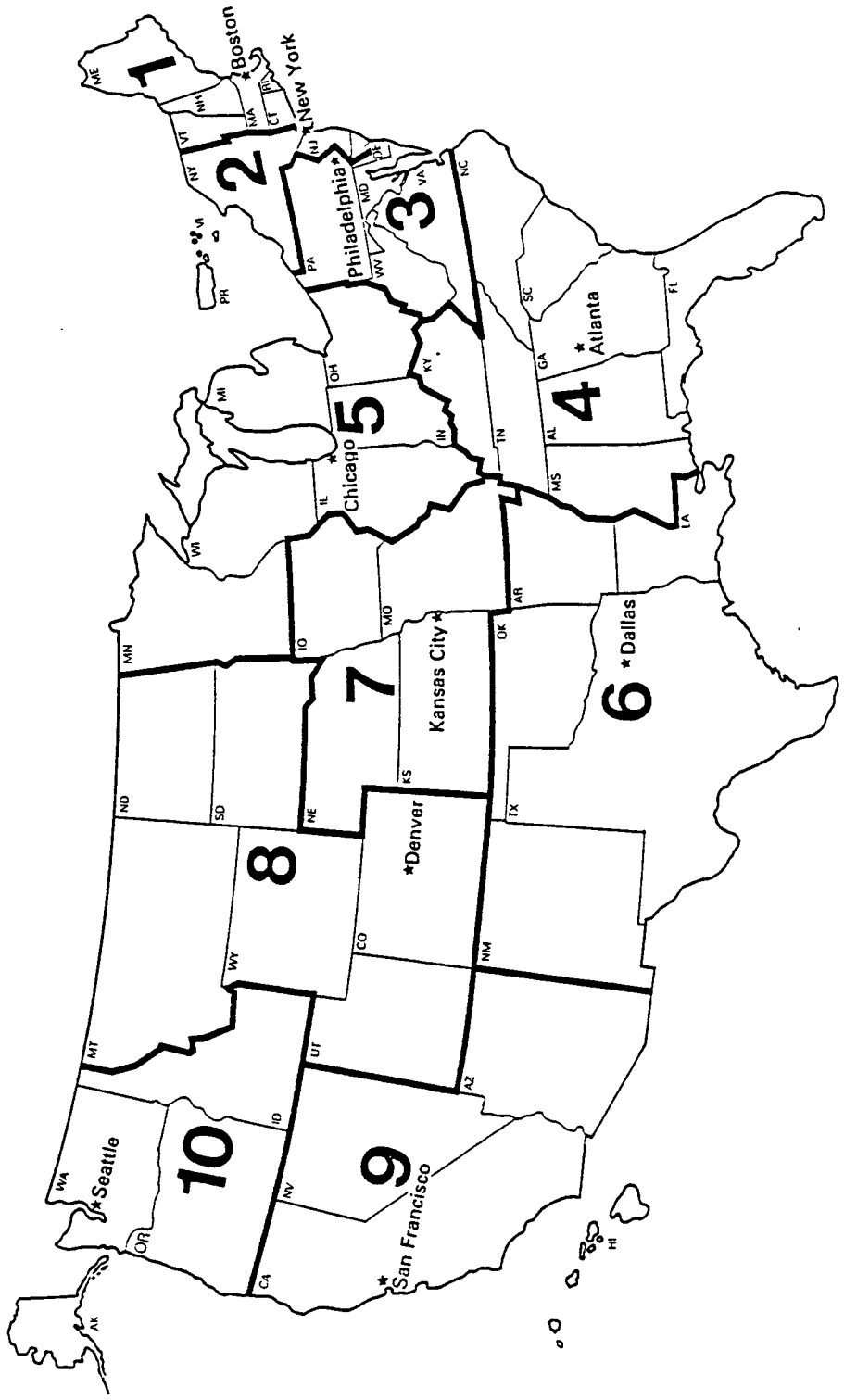

Figure 2. Map of EPA Regions, Regional Headquarters starred.

Fiche #250 --- Charles O'Rear --- 0150

Irvine, Los Angeles area, Upper Newport Bay, Newport Beach and Laguna Beach, California area.

Project is the beginning of documentation of areas of the southern California coastline, developed and undeveloped. The entire coastline will be affected by the Coastal Zone Conservation Act which allowed six regional commissions authority to regulate development within 1,000 yards of the shoreline. The commissions were to submit a final plan regarding the future shoreline development by January, 1976, which then will be acted on by the California legislature.

Subjects include: newspaper real estate advertising, housing projects along the coast, tidal flat, youngsters washing horses, future development sites, aerials of Upper Newport Bay showing developed and undeveloped area, surfer, residential development, multi-lane highway, flowers, shots of foothills, farmland with housing and foothills, various shots of Upper Newport Bay water, vegetation, marine life, construction stake, hillside development, sunset and shorebird, marina aerial and land development aerials.[148]

A look at the DIS Acquisition Bulletins or the Documerica microfiche file shows that photographic studies were completed in all of the EPA regions, all the United States and territories (excepting Iowa), and in areas of environmental importance in other countries. There are photographs in the Documerica file of rural and urban environments, of industry, mining, agriculture, recreation, transportation, community and religious celebrations, migrant workers, native Americans, schools, political protests, senior citizen protests and other problems of the aging and the young, racial unrest, toxic pollutants on the land, toxic waste in the water, air pollution, poverty, automobile-free pedestrian malls, and many other aspects of the U.S. environment and their impact on the

quality of life of the American people during the first half of the bicentennial decade. Photographs in other countries include the first pedestrian malls in Germany and Sweden and problems on the shore of the Adriatic Sea.

Neither the DIS nor the DIS Acquisition Bulletins contain the names of the photographers who produced the 2,000-6,000 images for which there were no funds to make microfiche.[149] Since no microfiche were made of those images, there is no way for the public to see them. There are no original or complete dupe files for public inspection at NARA. There is, however, a written inventory of 2,000 of the "unfiled" images. It is part of the paper document file at NARA.

Three assignments from Documerica photographer Danny Lyon in the DIS--two from Texas, and one from New York--focus on the problems of the young, the poor and the alienated--the victims of urbanization. Lyon's first Documerica project in early 1972 shows:

> what happens when an old, established inner-city neighborhood environment becomes an urban renewal project. This assignment documents that happening in a Chicano neighborhood.
>
> The images show the abandonment of nineteenth-century buildings and a way of life which the photographer found important to the culture of these people.[150]

Danny Lyon's work was some of the best documentary work turned in by Project Documerica photographers, according to Documerica director, Gifford Hampshire. Danny Lyon, Hampshire said, was "one of Documerica's most dedicated and sensitive

people photographers."[151] Just as the FSA project had some photographers, like Dorothea Lange, who did their best work with people, and other photographers, like Walker Evans, who did their best work with scenes and objects in peoples' lives, Project Documerica had photographers who worked well in special areas.[152]

The Documerica file reflects the varied interests and skills of the photographers. There are photographs of people and places, of natural and industrial environments, of animals dying in oil slicks, and of children romping in the National Parks. The 16,000 images in the microfiche file are too numerous to mention here, but the list of photographers is not too long to list here. Some photographers have become better known than others since the end of Project Documerica, but then, as far as fame goes, especially in the area of documentary photography, even fifteen minutes of fame "might be too much to expect."[153] A quality file of images was not too much to expect, and these are the photographers who produced it.

Frank Aleksandrowicz
Hope Alexander
Wil Blanche
George Burns
Erick Calonious
Joe Clark
Paul Conklin
Jane Cooper
Jack Corn
Dennis Cowals
Gene Daniels
Jonas Dovydenas
Patricia Duncan
Lyntha Scott Eiler

Terry Eiler
Donald Emmerich
David Falconer
Bill Gillette
Arthur Halberstadt
Declan Haun
Ken Heyman
Chester Higgins
David Hiser
Ron Hoffman
Tom Hubbard
Cornelius Keyes
William Kuykendall
Anne La Bastille
Mike Lien
Lee Lockwood
Frank Lodge
Danny Lyon
Michael Philip Manheim
Ivan Massar
Bruce McAllister
Dan McCoy
John Messina
Gary Miller
Hank Morgan
Boyd Norton
Yoichi Okamoto
Jim Olive
Charles O'Rear
Kenneth Parks
Deborah Parks
James Pickerel
Blair Pittman
Belinda Rain
Bill Reaves
Dick Rowan
Ted Rozumalski
Harry Schaefer
Flip Schulke
Thomas Sennett
Paul Sequeira
Bill Shrout
Bob Smith
Charles Steinhacker
Marc St.Gill
Bill Strode
Dick Swanson
Suzanne Szasz

Arthur Tress
John Vachon
Ike Vern
Fred Ward
John H. White
Doug Wilson
Leroy Woodson[154]

There is a letter in the Documerica file at NARA, from Gifford Hampshire to Eugene Smith, asking Smith to do photographic work for Project Documerica.[155] The NARA file contains no reply from Smith. The well-known photographer's health was already beginning to fail at the time Smith went to do some work at the CCP shortly after the letter from Hampshire was written, but Eugene Smith died before the Documerica file arrived in Tucson.[156]

Documerica photographers seemed to have little in common, save their contracts with the EPA. Unlike the FSA photographers, they were not a permanent staff. They had little feedback from the project director. They had no contact with other Documerica photographers, and no idea what work other Documerica photographers were doing.[157] The only feedback from Hampshire came if work was unsatisfactory, or their caption information incomplete.[158]

Distribution, Publication and Exhibition

The DIS Acquisition Bulletins were part of the distribution efforts. The buletins were sent to EPA and other government offices, and to a select mailing list of media and corporate offices.[159] The bulletins informed potential users about images being entered into DIS, where and how to view them, and how to get copies of them--for

publication. The first bulletin published in 1972 announced that from "the moment an assignment is conceived, Documerica operates in anticipation of publication, and Documerica images from a file in minutes. There is no paperwork or other restrictions on OPA or media use of the images."[160]

There are records of the publication of Documerica images during the active years of the project, but they are not complete. Because of the liberal distribution policy, it was difficult to follow the reproduction copies of Documerica images when they left the EPA office, or the contractor's lab.[161] Images were often used without crediting Project Documerica, the EPA or the photographer. Most records of the publication of Documerica images in the paper document file at NARA are letters of complaint about the publication of Documerica file images without crediting the project or the photographer.[162]

A chapter on Project Documerica was published in the 1973 edition of Photography Year. The seventeen-page spread on Project Documerica includes sixteen full-page color reproductions of Documerica images, beginning with Bill Gillette's "Afternoon Sun over the Rockies," and ending with Charles O'Rear's "Sunset."[163] Bill Gillette wrote one of the letters in the NARA file calling Hampshire's attention to publication of a photo without crediting. A follow-up letter from Gifford Hampshire to the picture editor of Time Magazine , where the photo was published, said that a photo

of Gillette's done on assignment for Documerica, was published, without credit, in the January 28, 1972 issue of Time.

Charles O'Rear's work appeared in the bicentennial issue of the 1976 United States Department of Agriculture Yearbook: The Face of Rural America. Some of the O'Rear photographs in that yearbook are in the Documerica file, entered before the yearbook was published. No credit is given to Documerica or the EPA.

William Kuykendall, the photographer who documented the effect of development on the fragile ecosystems of the Ozarks, never knew how, or even if, his Documerica photos were ever published from that file, except for a surprise viewing of his Documerica work, when it flashed across the screen during a promotional slide-tape show for Busch Gardens.[164] Kuykendall saw the show by chance, while vacationing with his family in Florida. He did not see any credits to himself, Documerica or the EPA.

Bill Gillette found one of his color Documerica photographs on a book jacket. He was unable to get compensation from the author.[165] Reports of publication were not required of file users. The only indication of how widely and frequently Documerica images were published comes from the memories of project photographers' accidental discoveries.

More careful records were kept of Documerica exhibits. In addition to exhibits at the Smithsonian, the Corcoran and the EPA in 1972, two traveling exhibits were organized by the Smithsonian.

Records list them as Documerica I and Documerica II. Documerica II is really Documerica I with a few more images added. Both exhibits were called "Our Only World."[166] The traveling exhibit went to colleges, universities, libraries, public agencies, private offices, community centers, museums, corporations, newspaper offices, campus student unions, and state and county fairs.[167] Its travels took it from the Erie County Fairgrounds, near Buffalo, New York, to the streets of Tokyo, Japan.[168] Letters of appreciation and praise were sent to the EPA Documerica office. They indicated record audiences and enthusiastic responses to the exhibit. Ann Dore, Hampshire's superior at the time, quoted the following letter, from from the Director of Vocational Education Productions at California Polytechnic State University, when giving sample responses to the traveling Documerica exhibit:

> I called the Pomona campus to see about the. . .exhibit. . . and I wish you could have heard the extremely enthusiastic things that were said about the show by the Pomona library staff. . . they said this exhibit has drawn '50 times' as much interest as any other. . .school children are being bussed in from all over the area. . .college professors are meeting their classes in the exhibit area. . .I don't think I've ever heard a librarian so enthusiastic about anything in my life. All this convinces me that the film strip planned, based on the pictures in the exhibit will be a winner.[169]

Even though Project Documerica's file has no images from the state of Iowa (although Hampshire insists they are among those too late to be cataloged),[170] Iowa State University brought the "Our Only World" exhibit to the Ames campus twice, in 1975 and 1977. An exhibit

of one of the photographic assignments from Project Documerica was funded by a grant from the state of Minnesota. The photographer, Flip Schulke, sent the following letter about the exhibit to Gifford Hampshire:

July 28, 1977

Dear Giff:

For all your trials and tribulations with DOCUMERICA, I just wanted you to see that the pix are living on, and we were able to get a grant from the Minnesota State Arts Board, which was matched by the City of New Ulm, and mounted a 120 BW, and 24 (16/20 color print) show, on "New Ulm."

Over 3,000 people saw the show last week, and that's not bad for a town of 13,000.

The show will travel about the state, and the major showing will most probably be at the Minnesota Museum of Art, St. Paul, Mn. if all goes well in a few months.[171]

In addition to the letters about the traveling exhibits of Documerica images in the NARA file, there are letters from corporations and professional organizations, thanking Documerica for the use of images, ordering copies of Documerica images, ordering complete sets of microfiche or complete sets of slides of the project.[172] Even the Pompidou Center in France bought a complete set of Documerica microfiche.[173]

The records of Documerica exhibits are not totally complete, but they give a better picture of the size and make-up of the audiences, and of the impact the Documerica images had, than the publication and distribution records. The "Our Only World" exhibit is still intact as it was when it traveled in the 1970s. It is now in storage at the

Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. The names of the photographers and the descriptions of the images from the two Documerica exhibits are on separate microfiche in the DIS. The Documerica I exhibit is on Fiche 175, 176 and 177. The Sites exhibit is on Fiche 190 and 191.[174]

The poor documentation of the distribution and the publication of Documerica images is not simply an oversight. The first two years of Project Documerica were devoted to making images and implementing the plans for distribution and publication. Before the staff could get to the record-keeping, budget cuts got to the staff. The computerized filing system was sacrificed to keep photographers in the field. Hampshire was acting as administrator and staff, answering all correspondence personally by the end of the project, when budget cuts left him without a secretary.[175] Hampshire spent his energy looking for ways to keep Project Documerica alive. Keeping files on who used the Documerica file, and how, would have been simple, if computer time were available for an automatic bookkeeping program. Manual bookkeeping was not a priority in the face of problems that threatened to end the project.

The Beginning of the End

Some critics saw the ASMP conflict as the decisive blow to Documerica. The conflict between the EPA and the ASMP began before the first Project Documerica photographers were assigned by Hampshire. Before Project Documerica suffered its first budget cut, the ASMP

threatened its members with censure and expulsion from the society if they worked for Documerica.[176] After Project Documerica was zero-funded in 1976, and all photographic field work stopped, the ASMP published its final word on Documerica: "It is worth remembering that DOCUMERICA might have succeeded if it had been structured to secure the active support of ASMP and thereby a majority of America's important photographers."[177]

Hampshire said the ASMP overestimated the impact of its censureship. "The ASMP didn't kill Documerica. It didn't help it, but it certainly didn't kill it."[178] The troubles began with changing priorities in the EPA's Office of Public Affairs, in the EPA as a whole, and in the nation in the early 1970s. The money the EPA was willing to commit to Project Documerica, from the budget of the Public Affairs Office, diminished steadily with the changing priorities and leadership of that office, and of the EPA.

Project Documerica began with a skeletal budget of $68,000 in the spring of 1972.[179] The 1973 budget (approved at the peak of EPA support for Project Documerica in 1972) was $450,000. In 1974, the budget was only $125,000. In 1975, it was $78,000. In 1976, it was zero. Because Project Documerica was administered under the auspices of the EPA's Office of Public Affairs (as the 1930's project was administered by the Department of Agriculture's FSA), its budget was not a line item. Funding for Documerica was approved on a yearly basis by the sponsoring office, which for Project Documerica was the

EPA's Office of Public Affairs.

During a 1972 Office of Public Affairs reorganization, Tom Schroth, who was Gifford Hampshire's most immediate, and most supportive superior, left the OPA Office. Upon leaving, Schroth wrote an informal memo to his temporary replacement--Tom Hart--about the need to support Documerica when Schroth's permanent replacement as OPA Director, Herman Gordon, took over. Schroth feared Gordon's indifference to Documerica, an indifference that was turning to antagonism in the face of challenges by politicians as to why the EPA was spending taxpayers' money on "art."[180] The following memo reflecting both the early support and increasing indifference to Project Documerica within the EPA is reproduced exactly as it appears in the NARA paper document file:

May 18, 1972

Tom Hart--

Please do not kill Documerica.
I know that Herman wants to. He said so.

But you and WDR[181] are different--and the taxpayers of this country need that difference.

DOCUMERICA is the only single item in the EPA Public Affairs list of activities that will live in history. All the rest--some good, some terrible--are ordinary, expected, mundane.

But Documerica is not a WPA[182] project. It is an imaginative, energetic public information program of the most progressive and modern sort. It is youth oriented, tomorrow--ideal to communicate the essential environmental messages this Agency has been charged by Congress to communicate.

Lesser men than William D. Ruckelshaus and Thomas T. Hart have stood up to Jamie Whitten.[183] I

> sincerely hope that his spectre does not inhibit our budgetary plans for Documerica.
>
> You are surrounded by FLM (frightened little men) who fade easily before the Whittens of the world, whose sole and lonely aim in life is safety--job safety. Don't give in to them.
>
> Courage, imagination, quality, innovation, EXCELLENCE should mark your brief tenure as Director of the Office of Public Affairs. Your own leadership is the only guarantee that these factors characterize your performance.
>
> The government has all the mediocrity it needs. What it needs most is what you have demanded of others--excellence.
>
> ts[184]

Tom Hart did not kill Documerica. The budget approved in 1972 for Project Documerica's fiscal 1973 operations was the largest budget the OPA ever approved for Project Documerica. The next year, however, the appropriation was cut by almost seventy-five percent--from $450,000 to $125,000 for Documerica activity in 1974. The computerized DIS was sacrificed to keep photographers in the field on assignment. Cataloging of images slowed, even stopped for a period of time, when staff reductions found Hampshire without an assistant or a secretary. He spent time negotiating for Documerica funds, and answering correspondence personally, when there was no secretary to help--he felt that ignoring correspondence would not have been so much unprofessional as "impolite."[185]

The political and popular climate of the country did not help Project Documerica in 1974. Documerica, even environmental concerns, faded from the public's mind during the chaotic reorganization after

President Richard M. Nixon's resignation in August of 1974. The Assistant Attorney General, William D. Ruckelshaus (also the first head of the EPA) had been fired in the infamous "Saturday Night Massacre" before the resignation. The EPA began to realize that it was not going to meet the goals and deadlines it had set for cleaning up the environment, especially the 1975 deadlines established by the Clean Air Act.[186] Dramatic Documerica images of abuse and violation were not being followed by positive, corrective images from the work of the EPA. Corporations who were some of the major users of the Documerica file when it began no longer saw the file as good publicity for its pollution-control industries.[187] Finally, Herman Gordon, OPA Director, the feared adversary in the 1972 Schroth memo, said in 1974 that there was no need for Project Documerica, "because the only problem ahead is biological pollution, and how can you take a picture of a virus?"[188]

During the year 1974, Project Documerica Director, Gifford Hampshire, looked beyond the EPA for ways to keep Project Documerica and its mission alive. Proposals for photography projects on a national scale were emerging from the ethos of the bicentennial that was beginning to grip the nation.[189] Hampshire's explanation for trying to combine Project Documerica with other emerging documentary photography proposals:

> The budgetary problems that descended upon us in the fiscal year 1974 were the real blow to Documerica. At that point, all of these people he (Tom Schroth to Tom Hart, in his 1972

> memo) was talking about, Herman Gordon and others. The budget office for the Office of Public Affairs in EPA was so reduced, and there were so many operations that had to be funded--like the Press Office and the Publications Office--that Documerica kept coming up with fewer and fewer dollars.
>
> Bill Ruckelshaus was long since gone, and most of the people with him long since gone. Tom Hart was long since gone, and I was just unable to get the money we required to put photographers in the field--and that was what stopped the photography.
>
> Now, from time to time after that, there were a few funds available here and there, and up until 1976, we did have one or two assignments here and there.[190]

It was under those conditions that Hampshire began to look for funding outside of the EPA, but not outside of the government. In addition to the public statements of Herman Gordon discounting Project Documerica, there was the public and private animosity of Hampshire's Office of Public Affairs superiors at the EPA.[191] Pat Cahn, Director of the Office of Public Affairs, said: "It may be producing a file of very beautiful photography, but it isn't doing much that is relevant to our mission."[192] That comment was to the press. Another EPA offical, Leighton Price, echoed both Pat Cahn and Herman Gordon when he said to the press that it was a mistake to subsidize Project Documerica, because the EPA's mission was changing: "We've already photographed water pollution and detergents, and we're almost over the detergent problem. We're talking now about viruses. But how the hell do you photograph a virus? The whole idea doesn't work."[193]

Hampshire believed the whole idea did work, because he believed that Project Documerica was about more than photographing detergents or viruses.[194]

When someone from the USDA asked Hampshire to talk to him about Project Documerica in relationship to a similar project the USDA was considering for the bicentennial, Hampshire was:

> of course delighted to do that, because, again, I was looking for ways to keep Documerica alive. The best way to do that was to get a pluralism of ownership throughout the government. If there were other departments and agencies that had a piece of the action, the more diffuse would be the effort, and the more broad the base of support.[195]

Hampshire was disappointed to find out that the USDA "was just interested in that one year, 1976, and I was interested, of course, in having a continuing program developed."[196] The other disappointment for Hampshire was the difference between his ideas about documentary photography and the ideas of the people planning the USDA project:

> What they were interested in was to construct a series of assignments that would more or less substantiate an editorial point they wanted to make, and they did not really have the idea of doing a documentary as I understand the term. They were interested in doing a book which would reflect well on the programs of the Department of Agriculture for that year.[197]

Hampshire dissociated himself from the USDA yearbook project for two reasons. The first was that the project as described to him brought back to him "the problem of government propaganda and what is the real idea of documentary?"[198] Hampshire also found out that the USDA wanted to do its own project, with its own staff, and it did not want to make use of the photographers on assignment for Project Documerica. The USDA did not want to be associated with the long-term mission of Project Documerica, nor did it want to

use the methods and mechanisms available through Project Documerica:

> They wanted full control over the thing. The wanted to reinvent the wheel. So, rather than taking our wheel, which was already turning, although rather slowly, they were going to reinvent their own wheel completely, and the fellow who was brought in, Brian Schumacher, got their own group of photographers who were happy enough to have the assignments and go out and do the work. But, you look at that book today, and it's just another government story. There is no body of work that can be labeled documentary.[199]

Not everyone in the field of photojournalism and documentary photography agree with Hampshire's assessment of the product of the USDA yearbook project, but many agree with his criteria for documentary photography. Hampshire's own rules for doing documentary photography, and the similarly strict criteria of many of his colleagues in the profession who were part of efforts to get other projects funded in the mid-1970s, may have been an obstacle to getting those projects funded, and to keeping Project Documerica alive by combining it with other documentary projects. Hampshire's ideas were ignored during final proposal meetings for several reasons, the least of which may have been his "criteria": (1) Project Documerica was a lost cause to many, and they did not want to be associated with it,[200] (2) many thought Hampshire was trying to keep Documerica going to save his job,[201] (3) Hampshire's plans were too long-range and ambitious for some,[202] and (4) some representatives from the arts were aware of Hampshire's strong antipathy for "art" photography, and they felt that art photographers would not be given equal opportunities in any project involving

Gifford Hampshire or Project Documerica.[203]

Hampshire, sensing many of those things, offered to step down as project director if his proposal for using the mechanism already set up by Project Documerica were accepted.[204] However, when the proposal for the last major project--Photo 200--failed, Hampshire felt that perhaps he should not have taken such a "hard-nosed documentary line." Most "participants in this unhappy phase of contemporary documentary photography (felt) that it (Photo 200) didn't work for two main reasons":[205]

> One was the problem of bad timimg--attempting an expensive undertaking[206] during a serious economic recession, and having both occur just before an election. But the most important, it is widely felt, was the schism[207] within the photographic ccmmunity.[208]

Critics of Project Documerica point to the same reasons for the ultimate "failure" of Project Documerica.[209] Hampshire points to a heart attack in 1977 that interrupted his negotiations to keep Project Documerica alive.[210] Hampshire was negotiating with the EPA and with publishers in New York for a Documerica book; he had not given up on saving Project Documerica, and with it, a chance for a continuing, permanent government office or agency for documentary photography.[211]

The End

When the EPA decided it no longer wanted to keep Project Documerica or its file of images, it wanted to send the file to NARA. Hampshire tried an alternative, offering it to the Library of

Congress and to the Smithsonian Institution--without authorization. Hampshire explored other alternatives when those two institutions refused the file. Finally, an agreement was reached--A Revocable License Agreement--between the EPA and the Center for Creative Photography (CCP) in Tucson, Arizona. Althought the agreement could be revoked and the file removed at any time, Hampshire and the CCP did not anticipate that it would.[212] Some people at NARA resented Hampshire's success in getting the agreement with the CCP approved. They felt that Hampshire wanted Project Documerica to stay at the CCP indefinitely, because Hampshire believed that "the Archives is not equipped to preserve and service photographs, especially color."[213] That is exactly what Hampshire believed.[214] The letter from the NARA spokesperson stating what they believed to be Hampshire's view could have been written by Hampshire himself.

In October of 1979, a memo from William H. Leary, head of the Still Pictures Branch of the Audiovisual Archives[215] of the NARA,[216] complained that the transfer of the Documerica file to the CCP was illegal.[217] Leary wrote: "Can anything be done to remind EPA of statutory requirements and to schedule, precisely, the transfer of this valuable inactive collection to NARS?"[218]

Hampshire petitioned to keep the file at CCP, because the CCP had spent a year preparing to make the file accessible to the public, attempting to catalog some of the 6,000 unfiled images.[219] Hampshire argued that the CCP needed time to recoup expenses incurred in

setting up the file[220] through the sale of Documerica images to the national and international visitors the CCP anticipated that the exhibit would bring to Tucson.[221]

The NARA relented and agreed to let the CCP keep the Documerica file until 1984,[222] but the CCP shipped the file to NARA in 1981, little more than a year after it arrived in Tucson. Since then, no records have been kept of the use of the file, although publishers still order copies of the images. Duplicate slides the public can see are being sold, without replacement, on a cash-and-carry basis. Archival black and white prints of color images have not been made, and no microfiche were made from the 2,000-plus unfiled images.[223]

The only way to see Documerica images at NARA is on microfiche which do not adequately represent image quality. To see an image as a slide, the file user must order a copy of the original slide, pay $2.65 and wait six to ten weeks for it to arrive by mail.[224]

A spokesperson for the NARA Still Pictures Division admitted that the treatment of the Documerica file is less archival than the Documerica founders intended, but the NARA employee suggested that the present state of the file is a document in itself--of what happens when an agency abandons a file.[225]

Adversaries Reflect

The present maintenance of the Documerica file led project director, Gifford Hampshire, and former ASMP adversary, Burt Glinn, to agree on one thing: The government is not the place for

documentary photography. When Project Documerica ended, Gifford Hampshire felt that he had failed because he had failed to institutionalize documentary photography as a priority within the structure of the federal government. He said:

> It's very important to have a program of documentary photography in this country. We have so many wonderful things available to us. As a citizen of this country I can go to a library and find word references to what happened in this country on a particular day, at a particular time. I should be able to find the same kind of photographic reference as easily. The function of documentary photography in our society is to work in the same way that museum collections and other things work--creating a place people can go to get knowledge about the past.[226]

However, Gifford Hampshire changed his mind about what the government's role should be in documentary photography, after the treatment of the Documerica file at NARA during the past decade confirmed his worst fears.[227] Hampshire believed then that a permanent facility for photography would be established in the U.S. someday, but he decided that it could only come about through some private institution or foundation.

Burt Glinn believed even a private institution or foundation could not do it:

> The only people who can treat and preserve photographic images are the photographers themselves.
>
> If this country is going to support documentary photography, it will have to be through grants or endowments made directly to the photographer, with funds for preservation and maintenance of images, as well as funds for the creation and initial exhibiting of photos. And all rights should belong to the photographer.[228]

Robert Gilka, a photographer involved in the Photo 200 proposal who was deeply committed to the tradition of documentary photography, both agreed and disagreed with Hampshire and Glinn:

> What we needed then (during the mid-1970s) and now--was and is a strong national visual archive. We are unlikely to get it because our immediate resources already are so widely scattered, and the custodians are so jealously protective they would never let go of what they have, even if operating money was provided in perpetuity.[229]

Gilka, Glinn and Hampshire agreed that Project Documerica could have been an important resource, if it had continued, under conditions acceptable to the government and the photographic profession.[230] The three photographic professionals also agreed that no one person or event "killed" Project Documerica, but rather, in the words of Robert Gilka:

> It (Project Documerica) was part of a government agency. As such, it was subject to changes in the political climate and subject to budgetary considerations. It had, in final analysis, a low political priority.[231]

Project Documerica began with one foot in the past, and one foot in the future. It ended with barely a toehold in either. Because of a law passed by Congress[232] governing the disposition of inactive government agency files, a law passed after the FSA project went to the Library of Congress in the 1940s, Documerica could not be housed at the Library of Congress with the FSA project, the only other major government documentary photography project this century, nor could it be housed at the Smithsonian. Its fate, by law, would be determined by the NARA. Because the Documerica Image

System was not computerized when the Documerica file left the EPA, the NARA did not feel obliged to duplicate that public accessibility, even when it began to computerize its operations in the mid-1980s. The NARA is not maintaining a complete file of duplicate slides of Documerica originals for the public to see. The only way to see the file images, at the time this history of the project was being written in 1987, was on Ektachrome microfiche of Kodachrome originals. There were no records being kept of users of the Documerica file, or of frequency of use, although an Archives' employee said that could change when all their operations were computerized. Project Documerica's documentary footing is very dubious--past, present and future.[234]

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Universally agreed upon criteria for documentary photography[1] insist that photographs: (1) be made with simple, realistic, unmanipulative technique,[2] (2) show the significance of the commonplace, (3) be instruments for social understanding and/or social change, (4) educate and inform, and (5) move people and influence them to act positively.[3] The question is not whether Project Documerica's file images met those criteria during the active years of the project, when the images were being distributed, published and exhibited as soon as they were made, but whether Documerica continued to inform, educate, move and influence, and show the significance of the commonplace of the 1970s to the decades and generations that followed.

The problem is that few people know about Project Documerica. The few people who do see the images from Documerica today may not be aware that they are Documerica images. Those who would like to see the Documerica images do not have access to them--not in their originally published and exhibited format--with the exception of the book, Photography Year 1973. A few texts on environmentalism and ecology published in the 1980s use black and white conversions of Documerica images. The EPA's ten-year retrospective review makes no mention of Project Documerica, even though project images appear in that journal and other EPA promotional materials.

Documerica images can be seen fully credited, in color and in context only on the microfiche at the NARA.[4] That experience is captured by the author of a short article on Project Documerica published in 1985. The following excerpt from that article accurately describes the frustrations of the four visits made to NARA in compiling information for this research:

> I arrived at the Still Pictures Division on the 18th floor. Once there, I signed in again (it is necessary to sign in, have all packages inspected and apply for a research card at the door to the research branch of the Archive, the place where Documerica is housed), and I was asked to lock up all my possessions except for a pad and a pencil. The federal government calls this public access.
>
> Research assistants brought me the collection on microfiche, rows and rows of itsy-bitsy, faded color pictures on black film. The fiches were to be enlarged by way of a viewer, with matching captions read at the same time on a second machine. Since the machines' viewers were cloudy and scratched,[5] the enlargements had the color quality of some vacation pictures I once took underwater without a strobe. Mysteriously, a pair of white cotton gloves was provided.[6]
>
> Tired of squinting, I asked for a loupe[7]. . . . What I was looking at were probably beautiful pictures.[8] I don't really know because I still could not see much. But that was the best available viewing at the Archive, since originals are not available to the public.[9]

Audiences of Documerica images published and exhibited in the 1970s were not faced with the technical access limits viewers of the file face today. Audiences of the FSA photographs today are not faced with those technical limits. The FSA project is on microfiche in libraries, but not as the only format for viewing the images. The images have been resurrected periodically in exhibits in galleries and museums over the last thirty years. There is also a well bibliographed body of published photographic and historical

material on the FSA project. Many of them contain excellent reproductions of the FSA images. All of them contain some photos from the project.

Records show that people were moved, educated, informed, and shown the dignity of the commonplace by the Documerica photographs during the active years of the project. A representative of one professional organization that enjoyed a special showing of Project Documerica images wrote a thank you note to Gifford Hampshire saying : "We came expecting to be computerized, and left, instead, humanized."[10] The Documerica file has several thousand images of the commonplace of the 1970s rendered with a dignity and compassion that "humanize" the viewer. A study of a mother and child in the Documerica file is reminiscent of Dorothea Lange's "Migrant Mother, Nipomo California," from 1938.[11] There are Bill Gillette's photos of migrant workers, Lyntha and Terry Eiler's photos of Native Americans in the southwest, studies of the urban poor by Danny Lyon, Ken Heyman and Leroy Woodson. These human studies that parallel and rival the work of the FSA are in addition to images of chemical pollution and environmental problems and projects, but all the images document scenes as unique to the 1970s as the FSA images were unique to the 1930s.[12]

Some critics have dismissed Documerica from the tradition of documentary photography, not because of the quality or the impact of its images, but because the images were made with color film. The

argument is that color film has not been around long enough to be archival, at least, not as archival as black and white film.[13] However, the Kodachromes made by the FSA photographers in the mid-1930s have survived for fifty years.[14] The argument for or against photographs as documentary by that standard of "archival" is becoming archaic, if not meaningless, for two reasons: (1) The computerization and digitalization of photo transmission and storage are making the process of photography and photo storage dry, electronic, instantaneous, also, (2) with the rapid changes in technology and society, a "generation" is no longer defined by the fifty to one hundred years of one individual's lifetime. Ten years in contemporary society may constitute a "generation" gap. Documerica has already influenced more than one "generation." If it does not continue to be a document for many more generations to come, it will not be because of the technology that preserves its images, but because of the bureaucracy which makes Documerica inaccessible to the public.

Criteria for defining documentary photography, including the preference for black and white over color, have not changed appreciably since books and articles began to appear about the FSA project--ten to fifteen years after the project ended. The FSA photographs might have failed to meet the standards they are said to have established, if those same standards had been applied to the FSA file during the project, or immediately upon its ending, before

the Library of Congress organized the file, and before reviewers and historians had viewed and reviewed the FSA images, establishing implications for the file "far broader than were suspected during the life of the FSA project."[15]

Two years into Project Documerica, the Documerica file was reviewed as already surpassing the FSA project, because "the present program places more emphasis on the natural world and the humans within it, and as such is considerably broader in scope."[16] That evaluation was doubly significant because documentary photography was all but eclipsed by photojournalism during the thirty years between the FSA project and Project Documerica. Laws changed. The government changed. The country changed. And, the photographic profession changed, mostly in response to changes in communications technology. The time was not right for Project Documerica, not because of its new technology or its mission, but because of a reality predicted by Stryker at the end of the FSA project. The time would never be right, according to Stryker, for another project like the FSA photography project:

> It was all just a little like the process of evolution that I learned about years ago at the Colorado School of Mines. When the water temperature was right; when the sun was right; when the salts in the river were right; the salamanders came out of the water and pretty soon human beings were created. Now, do you know what the water temperature down in Washington is? Do you know if the salts are right? Well, don't do it (start another project like the FSA) until they are right! There may never be another Farm Security. . . . It was one of those freaks; it can't happen again. Something new will happen--something different.[17]

Something new and different did happen--Project Documerica. It was the first systematic photo-documentary of scale on environmental problems. It was the first computerized image bank of scale. It is the only single-source comprehensive photo-documentary of life in the U.S. in the first half of the bicentennial decade. It is also the first documentary photography project of scale to use what had been learned about Kodachrome film since 1935 to create an archival color documentary photo collection of scale. Finally, it is the second of only two major documentary photography projects attempted by the federal government during this century. In spite of these facts, few people know that Project Documerica ever existed. Few people are aware of its extensive file of photographs in the public domain.

What does this mean to the tradition of documentary photography? What does it say about the importance of visual documents? About public use and access? What does it mean in terms of the human and economic resources the project represents? What does it say about the importance of the people, the events and the period of national history recorded and preserved in the Documerica file?

Further research on Project Documerica should include not just a verbal inventory of Documerica images, but photographic reproductions of them. The visual documents speak for themselves. An inventory of the careers and accomplishments of the photographers and artists since 1976 might give some perspective to Documerica's historic value. A bibliography of articles and files on Documerica

would increase the project's visibility. A computer search in 1986 indicated no books, articles, files, or other sources of information on Documerica. Many exist. A more thorough comparison of the FSA project and Project Documerica might provide some basis for judging Documerica as the "something new. . .something different" that Stryker predicted, and not simply as a failed attempt to repeat in 1970 the methods and the product of government photographic efforts in the 1930s.

More interviews with photographers and administrators might reveal what happened to Documerica photographs and paintings since the project--how and where the photos were published, and where the paintings are today--but only if individuals kept written records. Memories failed the last of the people interviewed for this history of Project Documerica.

Russell Train, the EPA head under whose administration Project Documerica was zero-funded, had conversations with Gifford Hampshire about Documerica. However, he answered the questions submitted to him during the summer of 1987 as follows:

1. Are you familiar with the images in the Documerica microfiche file?

   No.

2. Do you recall any subject or images or any details of Project Documerica?

   No.

3. Do you feel that Project Documerica was a valuable part of the EPA's public information campaign?

   Yes.

4. Do you recall the major reason (or any circumstances) leading to zero-funding Project Documerica in 1975 (for 1976)?

   No - but I would guess

simply budgetary
stringency

5. Do you recall any of the circumstances surrounding the EPA decision to abandon the Documerica file and send it to the National Archives?

No.

I am afraid that all this is quite some while ago and my recollection is extremely faint on the whole thing.

RST

Russell Train, now head of the World Wildlife Fund, was appointed by President Nixon to be chair of the forerunner of the EPA, the Council on Environmental Quality. Train's evaluation of Project Documerica's value to the EPA's public information campaign may be based in vague memory or diplomacy. The EPA itself does not report Documerica as one of its memorable projects or accomplishments in its own history of itself as an agency, but Project Documerica did exist. It still exists.

The word of Russell Train, Robert Gilka's word, Burt Glinn's word, Hampshire's word--no one's word or memory has to be accepted in evaluating Documerica. Unlike a career or a piece of legislation killed by poor timing, circumstance, or bureaucratic default, Documerica is still there, for perhaps the most important part of the life of a documentary file--its value to posterity.

William D. Ruckelshaus stated that value as a primary goal of Project Documerica when he introduced the first exhibit of Documerica images in 1972:

> We are working toward a new environmental ethic in this decade. . . . It is important to document that change so that future generations will understand our successes and our

> failures. Project DOCUMERICA will record what we do as individuals and as institutions.[18]

Those introductory comments, Project Documerica's mission statement and Gifford Hampshire's formal and informal agendas for Project Documerica influenced the production of a file of documentary images that meet the criteria for documentary work written by FSA director, Roy Stryker, for the 1963 edition of the Encyclopedia of Photography:

> Today's photographers. . .can become the historians of the present. . .anywhere--on doorsteps, in living rooms, in bus stations and kitchens, in assembly lines and automobile graveyards, on the front porches of a country town, in the view from Pike's Peak, and in the broken toys on a nursery floor. Every phase of our time and our surroundings has vital significance. . . . The job is to know enough about the subject matter, to find its significance in itself and in relation to its surroundings, its time, and its function.[19]

Although current access to Documerica is limited, the images are there to be looked at, learned from, and evaluated as a national visual document that meets the goals set for it by EPA founders, and the criteria established by its FSA predecessors. Documerica is part of the history of the EPA, of the federal government, of the photographic profession in the United States, of life in the United States, of the environmental movement, and of the tradition of documentary photography.

Part of the documentary tradition has been the invisibility of valuable photographic documents, such as the Brady Civil War collection and the "documents for artists" of Eugene Atget, until their final documentary value was discovered--their value to

posterity, to people who did not live through the times documented, to those who did, without appreciating their significance, and to anyone who wants to confirm the events and their importance. The Documerica file is waiting.

NOTES

Introduction

[1]The historical section of the Farm Security Administration did produce Kodachrome color images, but they were in the minority, and, because of printing technology costs in the 1930s, were not widely published. Project Documerica did produce some black and white photographs, but they, like the color images of the FSA project, were the exception.

[2]The first Documerica Image System (DIS) Acquisition Bulletin, October 1972, reported that there were 81,000 Documerica images to look at. In 1974, a DIS Acquisition Bulletin reported 47,000 edited images. Only 15,960 of those were recorded on color microfiche. There is no record of the number of black and white photographs, only a reference in the Documerica paper document file at the National Archives and Records Administration (hereinafter cited as NARA Document File) to a box of black and white negatives of an unspecified number.

[3]Correspondence in the NARA Document File.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Project Documerica officially began in December of 1971, but that first month was spent in office and project organization. The first photographers were not assigned until the spring of 1972, so the project was scheduled, pending funding, to continue for a decade, from 1972 until 1982.

[6]The FSA project was absorbed by the War Department in 1942, before it was finally ended three years short of its projected decade.

[7]F. Jack Hurley, Portrait of a Decade: Roy Stryker and the Development of Documentary Photography in the Thirties (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972), especially p. 147: "Assured that his precious pictures were safe, Stryker resigned. . . tired of the struggle for existence within a government bureaucracy."

[8]Arthur Rothstein, Documentary Photography (Boston: Focal Press, 1986), p. 39.

[9]James R. Gains, "DOCUMERICA: Photographic Promises to Keep," Saturday Review LV (26 February 1972): 1.

[10]Regional projects have been funded since then, through the

National Endowment for the Arts. Also, the United States Department of Agriculture funded a national photography project to produce a special photographic issue of the USDA's annual yearbook for the nation's bicentennial. However, that was only a one-year project, limited in scope. The federal government has not undertaken a documentary photography project of the scale and scope of Project Documerica since Project Documerica ended. Even the USDA, in spite of testaments to the importance of photographs to the history and heritage of the nation (The 1976 Yearbook of Agriculture: The Face of Rural America (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Agriculture/United States Government Printing Office, 1976), pp. 2-5), has not funded another photographic project for another yearbook since

[11]William H. Leary, Still Pictures Branch, Audiovisual Archives Division, NARA, Interservice Memorandum and Endorsement, 31 October 1979, NARA Document File; interview, Gifford Hampshire by Constance M. Tanczo, November 20, 1986, Fairfax, Virginia.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Ibid.; they could not legally accept. (See note 217, p. 120.)

[14]"Documerica is Coming to Town," Tucson Daily Citizen, 1 December 1979, p. 1.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Harold R. Masters to Gifford Hampshire, 27 March 1981, NARA Document File.

[17]Barbara Lee, "Whatever Happened to Project Documerica?" Photo District News VI (November 1985): 62.

[18]Gains, "DOCUMERICA: Photographic Promises to Keep," Saturday Review LV (26 February 1972): 1; Richard Busch, "Project Documerica," Popular Photography 72 (April 1972): 87-91, 123-125, 184; Busch, "Documentary Photography USA," Popular Photography 79 (December 1976): 91-100, 152-158, 184, 202, 223, 254-255, 258; Lee, "Whatever Happened to Project Documerica?" Photo District News VI (November 1985): 62-64.

[19]In Charles Rotkin's dismissal of Project Documerica in a chapter on the ethics of free photographs in his book, Professional Photographer's Survival Guide, Rotkin calls the project "DocuAmerica" in his several references to the project, and gives a starting date for the project that predates the EPA: Charles Rotkin, Professional Photographer's Survival Guide (New York: AMPHOTO, 1982), pp. 118-119.

[20]Rothstein, Documentary Photography, pp. 138-144; the black and white reproductions of color images are not identified as black and white conversions of color images in the photo credits, although in all earlier Rothstein texts, conversions are labeled: Rothstein, Words and Pictures (New York: AMPHOTO, 1979), pp. 61, 93, 96, 102, 103, 104, 112, 113, 117, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 126.

[21]Rothstein, Documentary Photography, p. 137.

[22]Ibid.; NARA Document File.

[23]After interviewing the director of Project Documerica, every effort was made to interview people whose names were mentioned by Gifford Hampshire, people whose names appeared in important documents in the NARA Document File, and people mentioned in articles written about Project Documerica in the 1970s. Some individuals declined to be interviewed. Some preferred a brief list of questions to which they could make a written response. The photographers interviewed were some of those remembered by Hampshire whose names also appeared in the NARA Document File. One photographer was interviewed because he had worked for other government projects simultaneous with Project Documerica, and shortly before and after (William Kuykendall). The photographers interviewed were typical in that they were talented photographers who did not enjoy the national reputation or publication profile Gifford Hampshire had initially expected of Project Documerica photographers.

[24]Environmental News, November 1971, NARA Document File; Gains, "DOCUMERICA: Photographic Promises to Keep," p. 1.

[25]Hampshire interview, November 20, 1986.

[26]Project Documerica's ultimate contribution to the tradition of documentary photography depends on its value to posterity. That value is difficult to determine because of current limited access to the file at NARA and lack of records of file use. See Summary and Conclusions of this research for further discussion. Also, Rothstein states: "Finally, the accessibility of the material will determine its usefulness. Some collections are inhibited by legal restrictions; others are hard to locate and buried in remote warehouses. The power and impact of great documentary photography demand that they be seen, exhibited and published in order to influence, educate, and inform the public." (Rothstein, Documentary Photography, p. 162.)

[27]Karin B. Ohrn, Dorothea Lange and the Documentary Tradition (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980), p. 113.

[28]Ibid.

U.S. Environmentalism Prior to Project Documerica

[1]Encyclopedia Year Book 1971 (Canada: Grolier Inc., 1971), p. 165.

[2]The World Book Year Book: A Review of the Events of 1971 (Chicago, London, Rome, Sydney, Toronto: Field Enterprises Educational Corporation, 1971), p. 273.

[3]Ibid.; Encyclopedia Year Book 1971, p. 165.

[4]The World Book Year Book, 1971, pp. 260-261.

[5]James Ridgeway, The Politics of Ecology (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1970), p. 14.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Robert Stauffer, "Haeckel, Darwin, and Ecology," Quarterly Review of Biology 32 (June 1957): 138-144.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Willis H. Johnson and William C. Steere, eds., The Environmental Challenge (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1974), p. 301.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Tyler G. Miller, Jr., Environmental Science: An Introduction (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1986), p. 14; Daniel B. Botkin and Edward A. Keller, Environmental Studies: The Earth as Living Planet (Columbus: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1982) p. 394.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Ridgeway, The Politics of Ecology, pp. 39-41.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Ibid., p. 31.

[18]Miller, Environmental Science: An Introduction, pp. 15-16.

[19]F. Jack Hurley, Portrait of a Decade: Roy Stryker and the Development of Documentary Photography in the Thirties (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972), p. 95: ". . .bureaucratic attacks. . .weathered, and a more peaceful and productive atmosphere existed in the Washington office. Several factors contributed to this change. Primary among them was the transformation of the Resettlement Administration from an independent agency, created by presidential order, to a duly constituted agency within the United States Department of Agriculture. The RA was taken into that department in 1937."

[20]Ibid., pp. 96-98.

[21]Johnson and Steere, The Environmental Challenge, pp. 302-303.

[22]Ibid.

[23]Ridgeway, The Politics of Ecology, pp.41-42.

[24]Miller, Environmental Science: An Introduction, p. 16.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Ibid.; Encyclopedia Year Book 1971, p. 165.

[27]Ridgeway, The Politics of Ecology, p. 187.

[28]Frank Herbert, ed. New World or No World (New York: Ace Books, 1970), p. 5.

[29]Encyclopedia Year Book 1971, p. 165.

[30]Ibid.; Miller, Environmental Science: An Introduction, p. 16.

[31]Clay A. Schoenfeld, "The Environmental Movement as Reflected in the American Magazine," Journalism Quarterly 60 (Autumn 1984): 470-475.

[32]Ridgeway, The Politics of Ecology, p. 200.

[33]Ibid., pp. 200-201.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Ibid., pp. 203-208.

[36]On July 9, 1970, President Richard M. Nixon proposed a major realignment of federal agencies to achieve better management of the environment and increasing environmental problems. (There was a precedent for realignment in conservation history. One hundred million acres of federal forests were transferred from the care of the Department of the Interior to the Department of Agriculture for better management in 1905.) Nixon's plan became effective on October 3, 1970, and on December 2, 1970, the new Environmental Protection Agency became an official agency of the United States government. The World Book Year Book: A Review of the Events of 1970, p. 319: "Merged into EPA were the Federal Water Quality Administration (2,669 employees and a $650-million budget), formerly in the Department of the Interior; the National Air Pollution Control Administration (1,141 persons, a $107-million budget), formerly in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW); and the Bureau of Solid Waste Management (206 persons, $15-million budget), also formerly in HEW.

Also transferred to EPA were pesticide, radiation standard, and water hygiene responsibilities formerly in the Department of the Interior, HEW, and the Atomic Energy Commission. In a related move, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) was established in the Department of Commerce."

[37]Ibid.; Miller, Environmental Science: An Introduction, pp. 16-17.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Ridgeway, The Politics of Ecology, p. 175.

[40]Ibid., p. 176.

[41]Ibid., pp. 161-204.

[42]Ibid.

Documerica and the Documentary Tradition

[1]The FSA project hired a small group of staff photographers. Project Documerica planned to hire as many photographers as were needed (up to fifty at one time) on an assignment-by-assignment basis. The FSA project hired quality photographers, not all of whom had proven themselves nationally by work or reputation. Project Documerica planned to hire only photographers who had proven themselves by publication of their color photographic work in national magazines and publications. The color film and 35mm format

created more controversy among documentary photographers who believed only black and white and larger formats could capture images that would stand the test of time. (See pp. 94-95.)

[2]James R. Gains, "DOCUMERICA: Photographic Promises to Keep," Saturday Review LV (26 February 1972): 1.

[3]Interview, Burt Glinn by Constance M. Tanczo, November 30, 1986, New York, New York.

[4]Phil Davis, Photography, 5th ed., (Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown Publishing Co., 1986), pp. 2-3; Beaumont Newhall, The History of Photography (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1982), pp. 9-25.

[5]Ibid.; the word "photography" is the combination of two Greek words meaning "light" (photo) and "to write" (grapho).

[6]Ibid., pp. 10-11.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Davis, Photography, pp. 10, 19.

[10]Newhall, The History of Photography, pp. 73-78.

[11]Davis, Photography, p. 3.

[12]Newhall, The History of Photography, pp. 13-78.

[13]It has become a government documentary photography project in retrospect. Some historians report that Brady had President Lincoln's approval and moral and administrative support, but that Brady was never fully compensated for the time and materials he put into documenting the Civil War. In the twentieth century, the government took measures to preserve the collection of photographs Brady produced, recognizing their value to our national history and heritage. A minority of writers, one of them Richard Busch, report that the Civil War project was lucrative for Brady. Richard Busch, "Documentary Photography USA," p. 100: "Records show he earned some $12,000 a year between 1861 and 1865, fabulous sums in those days." The consensus of Davis and Newhall, however, is little or no financial backing; Brady died penniless.

[14]Ibid.

15 Photojournalism is seen by most photo historians to have its roots in documentary photography in the nineteenth century, with its

development influenced by the development and demands of twentieth-century communications technology. Newhall's treatment of the subject in his book, The History of Photography, places Brady's Civil War photographs, and engravings for the press made from those photographs, in the chapter on photojournalism. Newhall describes the FSA documentary work as establishing itself in the midst of and in spite of growing demands for photojournalism. See the chapters, "Documentary Photography," pp. 235-246, and "Photojournalism," pp. 249-266, in Newhall, The History of Photography.

[16]The term documentary was first used to describe the motion picture documentary film work done in the 1930s, modeled after Russian and European work done after World War I and the Russian Revolution.

[17]Newhall, The History of Photography, p. 195.

[18]Arthur Rothstein, Words and Pictures (New York: AMPHOTO, 1979), pp. 5-6.

[19]Ibid.

[20]Davis, Photography, p. 19.

[21]Newhall, The History of Photography, p. 251.

[22]Ibid., p. 252.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Arthur Rothstein repeated in his third and final book, Documentary Photography (Boston: Focal Press, 1986), p. 77: "Photo-journalism is the production of photographs for the printed page."

[26]There is a consensus of professional and academic opinion that the best of photojournalism has its roots in documentary photography. Definitions and distinctions between photojournalism and documentary photography vary greatly, from : "Any photograph can be considered a document if it is found to contain useful information about the subject under study" (Newhall, The History of Photography, p. 235) to the six criteria usually listed in formal texts on documentary photography (see p. 92 of Summary and Conclusions of this research).

[27]Ibid.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Arthur Rothstein's definition stands: "The selection of the decisive moment shows in many famous news photographs of assassinations, from the 1910 shooting of Mayor Gaynor in New York to the 1960 shooting of socialist Inejiro Asanuma in Tokyo. When Jack Ruby shot Lee Harvey Oswald, in the wake of the assassination of President Kennedy, Bob Jackson of the Dallas Times clicked his shutter as the gun went off. His picture won the Pulitzer Prize in 1964." Moments such as these separate the "commonplace" of the documentary tradition from the "newsworthy" of photojournalism. (Rothstein, Words and Pictures (New York: AMPHOTO, 1979), p. 31; Rothstein, Documentary Photography, p. 77.)

[30]Rothstein, Words and Pictures, p. 28: A photographer from a Fellini film--named Paparazzi, from the Italian word "pappataci," meaning gnat or annoying, buzzing insect--brought the "sneak" photograph to the height (or depths) of popularity.

[31]Ibid.

[32]All texts consulted during this research acknowledged the FSA project as the "greatest documentary photography project of all time." (The quotes come directly from passages in three of the texts. Other texts paraphrase the same sentiment.) All articles on Project Documerica compare Project Documerica with the FSA project when they attempt to evaluate Documerica's possible contribution to the documentary tradition.

[33]Rothstein, Documentary Photography, pp. 33-37.

[34]Davis, Photography, p. 12.

[35]Ibid., p. 20.

[36]Newhall, The History of Photography, pp. 245-246.

[37]Davis, Photography, p. 45.

[38]Documentary Photography (Alexandria, Virginia: Time/Life Books, Inc., 1983), pp. 14-15.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Rothstein, Words and Pictures, pp. 29-30.

The Story of Documerica

[1]Gifford Hampshire, interview by Constance M. Tanczo, February 27, 1987, Fairfax, Virginia.

[2]Hampshire, interview by Constance M. Tanczo, November 20, 1986, Fairfax, Virginia.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid.

[5]NARA Document File.

[6]Ibid.; Hampshire interview, November 20, 1986.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Environmental News , November 1971, NARA Document File.

[10]Transcript of Congressional hearing, NARA Document File, pp. 776-779, 1972.

[11]Environmental News, November 1971, NARA Document File; James R. Gains, "DOCUMERICA: Photographic Promises to Keep," Saturday Review LV (26 February 1972): 1.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Environmental News, November 1971, NARA Document File.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Transcript of Congressional hearing, NARA Document File, p. 776.

[17]Ibid., p. 779

[18]Ibid.

[19]Hampshire interview, November 20, 1986; Project Mission Statement, Documerica, January 1972, NARA Document File.

[20]Angus McDougall, interview by Constance M.Tanczo, March 28,

1987, Columbia, Missouri. McDougall was asked to work for Documerica, but he was already employed by International Harvester. McDougall believed that both the government and the photographic profession benefitted from the participation of talented, but inexperienced photographers in government documentaries. McDougall believed that young photographers would more likely be willing to relinquish the rights to their photographs for minimum wage, putting them in the public domain at lower costs to taxpayers. What the young photographer got in return was invaluable experience. Documerica photographer, William Kuykendall, concurred. Neither believed many photographers could afford to work indefinitely for those economic returns, but both believed it was a mutually beneficial arrangement, resources being what they were. That was how the USDA project to produce the 1976 yearbook worked, and that was similar to the economic arrangements of the FSA. (William Kuykendall, interview by Constance M. Tanczo, March 28, 1987, Columbia, Missouri.)

[21]Hampshire interview, November 20, 1986; correspondence in the NARA Document File.

[22]Ibid.; James R. Gains, "DOCUMERICA: Photographic Promises to Keep," Saturday Review LV (26 February 1972): 1.

[23]Hampshire interview, November 20, 1986.

[24]DIS Acquisition Bulletin (13 October 1972), Photo Distribution Policy, NARA Document File.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Ibid.

[28]Copied from the illustration of the viewing screens and typewriter terminal in the first DIS Acquisition Bulletin (13 October 1972), NARA Document File.

[29]DIS Acquisition Bulletin (13 October 1972), p. 6.

[30]Hampshire interview, November 20, 1986.

[31]ASMP Bulletin (January 1972), NARA Document File.

[32]Ibid.

[33]ASMP Bulletin (February 1972), NARA Document File.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Ibid.

[36]ASMP Bulletin (April-May 1973), NARA Document File.

[37]In the issue of the ASMP Bulletin dated 10 October 1973, the chair of the ASMP's special committee on the EPA, Burt Glinn, made the following announcement: "Since acceptance of EPA assignments under current contract violates the By-Laws of ASMP, which violations are punishable by suspension or censure, anyone who accepts such an assignment after publication of this Bulletin (October 10, 1973) shall be subject to such punishments under the terms of the Constitution." However, according to Burt Glinn (interview by Constance M. Tanczo, November 30, 1986, New York City), ASMP members continued to work for Documerica, in some cases, but no one was censured or expelled for that activity.

[38]A complete discussion of FSA photographers' efforts to get control of their photographs is in F. Jack Hurley's Portrait of a Decade: Roy Stryker and the Development of Documentary Photography in the Thirties (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972), pp. 56-58, 128, 130; Karin B. Ohrn, Dorothea Lange and the Documentary Tradition (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972).

[39]Ibid.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Dan McCoy was a photographer for Project Documerica; Henry Wallace was Secretary of Agriculture when the FSA was put under the jurisdiction of the Department of Agriculture in 1937.

[42]ASMP Bulletin (March-April 1973), NARA Document File.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Ibid.

[45]NARA Document File.

[46]ASMP Bulletin (March-April 1973), NARA Document File.

[47]Gifford Hampshire to Public Affairs General Council, 28 July 1972, NARA Document File.

[48]Ibid.

[49]From Tom Hart to Ezra Stoller, President, The Society of Photographers in Communications (the ASMP briefly took another name in the 1970s to widen its base of professional support and name association) July (no day) 1972, NARA Document File. Tom Hart referred in the letter to the rights of photographers participating in Project Documerica announced in the May 5, 1972 issue of the ASMP Bulletin as "improper and incorrect." Hart went on to say: "It is true that Mr. Hampshire and Mr. Don Napkes of OPA met on May 4, 1972, at EPA Headquarters, Washington, D.C. with Mr. Burt Glinn and Mr. Stanley Pleasants of ASMP to discuss the subject of rights. It is also true that a proposed agreement was drafted at that meeting. It is not true that such a proposed agreement was ratified at that meeting, or any time subsequently."

[50]Ibid.

[51]Hampshire was willing to hire photographers whose work showed depth and a documentary approach, even if the work had not been published in a national publication. Before the end of Project Documerica, Hampshire even employed student photographers, under the supervision of a graduate instructor, but that work, for the most part, was finished too late to be entered into the DIS.

[52]DIS Acquisition Bulletin (October 1972), NARA Document File.

[53]NARA Document File; NARA Microfiche File.

[54]See Figure 2, p. 68.

[55]Photo Assignment Policy, DIS Acquisition Bulletin (October 1972), p. 2; Hampshire interview, November 20, 1986.

[56]Ibid.

[57]DIS Acquisition Bulletin (October 1972), NARA Document File.

[58]Correspondence with photographers, NARA Document File.

[59]Hampshire interview, November 20, 1986.

[60]Ibid.

[61]Ibid.

[62]Ibid.

[63]Ibid.

[64]Ibid.

[65]Ibid.

[66]Ibid.

[67]Ibid.

[68]Ibid.

[69]Ibid.

[70]Ibid.

[71]Ibid.; letters from photographers and memos from Hampshire to payroll officials, NARA Document File.

[72]Ibid.

[73]Ibid.

[74]DIS Acquisition Bulletin (October 1972), NARA Document File.

[75]Hampshire interview, November 20, 1986.

[76]Ibid.

[77]Ibid.; interviews with project photographers confirmed Hampshire's descriptions of the feedback and image selection process.

[78]Ibid.

[79]The Berkey K & L Lab in New York City was under contract to make the color microfiche for Project Documerica. The process involved making positive color prints of the original Kodachrome slides on Ektachrome film.

[80]This work was done by Hampshire and one assistant. Because of the shortage of staff from the beginning of the project, there was always a backlog of images to be cataloged and entered into the DIS, right from the first round of assignments.

[81]The summary reports and memos were called DIS Acquisition Bulletins.

[82]DIS Acquisition Bulletin (October 1972), NARA Document File.

[83]Ibid.

[84]Ibid.

[85]Ibid.

[86]Hampshire interview, November 20, 1986.

[87]DIS Acquisition Bulletin (February 1974), NARA Document File.

[88]Ibid.

[89]Ibid.

[90]Ibid.

[91]Hampshire interview, February 27, 1987.

[92-123]Ibid.

[124]Gifford Hampshire, interview by Constance M. Tanczo, March 18, 1987, Fairfax, Virginia.

[125]Ibid.

[126]Ibid.

[127]Ibid.

[128]Ibid.

[129]Ibid.

[130]Hampshire interview, November 20, 1986.

[131]There is no consistent title references to the fine arts program of the EPA during Documerica. It is sometimes referred to as Documerica's art program, as the EPA art program, as the EPA Arts Program, and as the EPA Fine Arts Program. It was under Hampshire's administration.

[132]Hampshire interview, November 20, 1986.

[133]Ibid.

[134]Ibid.

[135]Ibid.

[136]Ibid.

[137]Gifford Hampshire to Mona Jordan, September 19, 1974, NARA Document File.

[138]Ibid.

[139]Gifford Hampshire to John DeWitt, September 18, 1974, NARA Document File.

[140]DIS Acquisition Bulletin (October 1972), p. 6.

[141]Following the first entry in the first DIS Acquisition Bulletin (13 October 1972) was a suggestion that Belinda Rain's study of development of land in the Lake Tahoe area "should be very useful because of interest in the U.S.--U.S.S.R. agreement to study what EPA has documented."

[142]Hampshire said Project Documerica's filing system was designed for computerization. Without a computer, the whole filing system broke down, as far as matching captions with images (interview, November 20, 1986).

[143]Ibid.

[144]Ibid.

[145]Ibid.

[146]DIS Acquisition Bulletin (October 1972), p. 1.

[147]Ibid.

[148]DIS Acquisition Bulletin (January 1976), NARA Document File.

[149]There are 2,000 images for which there are written descriptions in the NARA Document File. Hampshire insisted there were 6,000 images (interview, November 20, 1986) to be added to the file, but only 2,000 have been cataloged in any systematic fashion.

[150]DIS Acquisition Bulletin (October 1972), pp. 2-3.

[151]Hampshire interview, November 20, 1986.

[152]Ibid.

[153]Hampshire interview, March 18, 1987.

[154]There are other photographers who worked for Project Documerica, but their work was either unsatisfactory and did not

make the file, or they were assigned too late in the project for their work to be recorded on microfiche, hence in DIS bulletins.

[155]Gifford Hampshire to Eugene Smith, July 6, 1974, NARA Document File.

[156]Eugene Smith died in 1978. Project Documerica arrived in Tucson, Arizona, at the Center for Creative Photography, in 1979.

[157]Correspondence, NARA Document File; William Kuykendall, interview by Constance M. Tanczo, March 28, 1987, Columbia, Missouri; Bill Gillette, interview by Constance M. Tanczo, August 6, 1987, Ames, Iowa; Terry Eiler, interview by Constance M. Tanczo, March 26, 1987, Athens, Ohio.

[158]Hampshire interview, November 20, 1986.

[159]DIS Acquisition Bulletin (October 1972), p. 1.

[160]Ibid., p. 6.

[161]Copies of Documerica slides and microfiche could be purchased directly from the Berkey K & L Custom Services, Inc. Black and white prints could also be ordered. The Berkey Lab address was included in all later DIS Acquisition Bulletins, with price scales.

[162]NARA Document File.

[163]Photography Year 1973 (New York: Time/Life Books, Inc., 1972), pp. 60-78.

[164]Kuykendall interview, March 28, 1987.

[165]Gillette interview, August 6, 1987.

[166]The second exhibit was basically the first exhibit of images updated with later assignments, according to descriptions in the Document File and the Microfiche File at NARA.

[167]Exhibit records, NARA Document File.

[168]Ibid.

[169]Ann Dore to the Administrator (EPA), Project Documerica Exhibit Information Summary, May 29, 1974, NARA Document File.

[170]Hampshire interview, November 20, 1986.

[171]Flip Schulke to Gifford Hampshire, July 28, 1977, NARA Document File.

[172]NARA Document File.

[173]Ibid.; Hampshire interview, November 20, 1986.

[174]DIS Acquisition Bulletin, No. 5 (November 1976) pp. 10, 13.

[175]Hampshire interview, November 20, 1986; letters from Hampshire dated after 1973 make apologies for being late in their response, because he was working without a staff or a secretary at certain times, NARA Document file.

[176]ASMP Bulletin (October 1973), NARA Document File

[177]ASMP Bulletin (December 1976), ASMP File, New York, N.Y.

[178]Hampshire interview, November 20, 1986.

[179]Project Documerica officially began in December of 1971, with organizational activities being carried out by people already on the EPA staff before the project was approved. The $68,000 represents money appropriated from the OPA budget to pay photographers and purchase film, computer time and other related project services during 1972.

[180]Jamie Whitten, a Democrat from Mississippi, the most vocal of early Documerica foes protesting taxpayers' money being spent on "art."

[181]William D. Ruckelshaus, EPA Administrator.

[182]Hart confused the WPA with the FSA, according to Hampshire's explanation of the Schroth memo during the November 20, 1986 interview.

[183]See note 180, above.

[184]Tom Schroth to Tom Hart, Acting Director, Office of Public Affairs, EPA, May 18, 1972, NARA Document File.

[185]See note 175, above.

[186]Congress was already discussing extending 1975 deadlines.

[187]Richard Busch, "Documentary Photography USA," Popular Photography 79 (December 1976): 155.

[188]NARA Document File.

[189]Ibid.

[190]Hampshire interview, November 20, 1986.

[191]Ibid.

[192]Busch, "Documentary Photography USA," p. 155.

[193]Ibid.

[194]Ibid.; Hampshire interview, November 20, 1986.

[195]Ibid.

[196]Ibid.

[197]Ibid.

[198]Ibid.

[199]Ibid.

[200]Busch, "Documentary Photography USA," pp. 157-158.

[201]Ibid.

[202]Ibid.

[203]Ibid.; Hampshire interview, November 20, 1986: "The Photo 200 people knew I was determined to keep it documentary. When they were talking about a portrait of America, and about being 'up,' they were talking about (something like) A Day in the Life of America we're seeing now--anything goes. You could be a Pete Turner and construct a photograph from the color in it right down to the people that are involved. It may be fun to look at, but it's not real. That isn't the way America was that day, but that was the kind of thinking behind that Photo 200 Project."

[204]Ibid.

[205]Busch, "Documentary Photography USA," pp. 157-158.

[206]Gifford Hampshire produced most of the Documerica file in 1972, with a budget of only $68,000. The NEA Photo 200 Project proposal called for $2 million for 100 photographers for two months of work.

[207]Busch, "Documentary Photography USA," p. 158.

[208]Ibid.

[209]Burt Glinn said that Project Documerica was doomed to fail because what Hampshire wanted to do would cost millions a year, if it were done in a way that did not abuse the rights of photographers and other photographic professionals (interview, November 30, 1986).

[210]Hampshire interview, November 20, 1986.

[211]Ibid.

[212]Ibid.; William H. Leary to NNV, Interservice Memorandum and Endorsement, October 31, 1979, NARA Document File.

[213]Ibid.

[214]Hampshire interview, November 20, 1986.

[215]The Still Pictures Division was once part of the Audiovisual Archives. The Still Pictures Division is an independent office now.

[216]The National Archives and Records Administration was formerly the National Archives and Records Service (NARS).

[217]According to "44 United States Code 3314," all federal agency files no longer in active use are to be transferred to NARA. The transfer of the files anywhere else, according to the code, is "unauthorized disposition. . . from Federal custody. . . of records without regard to the provisions of agency disposition lists and schedules that have been approved by NARS or General Records Schedules issued by NARS." The EPA approved records schedule (NC 412-75-9) provided that the "Documerica Project be offered to National Archives upon project completion."

[218]William H. Leary to NNV, October 31, 1979.

[219]Gifford Hampshire to Harold Masters, Chief, Administrative Management Branch, NARS, March 16, 1981.

[220]Hampshire interview, November 20, 1986; "Documerica is Coming to Town," Tucson Daily Citizen, 1 December 1979, p. 1.

[221]Ibid.

[222]Richard F. Meyers, Deputy Director, Audiovisual Archives, NARS, to Tom Tasker, Administrative Branch, EPA, November 18, 1980.

[223]Jonathan Heller, interview by Constance M. Tanczo, November 21, 1986, NARA, Washington, D.C. (Heller was an employee of NARA.)

[224]I was able to purchase six of the Documerica images I wanted from the duplicate file of images being sold off without replacement (thirty-five cents each, or three for a dollar) at the time I was conducting my research. The slides I ordered by mail arrived sixteen weeks after I placed the order.

[225]Heller interview, November 21, 1986.

[226]Hampshire interview, November 20, 1986.

[227]Ibid.

[228]Glinn interview, November 30, 1986.

[229]Robert Gilka to Connie Tanczo, October 6, 1987.

[230]The operative phrase is "acceptable to the photographic profession;" the profession is no more in agreement today than when the Photo 200 Project proposal was being hammered out.

[231]Gilka to Tanczo, October 6, 1987.

[232]See note 217, p. 120 of this research.

[233]The job of the NARA is to preserve files as they receive them, not to restore them to any previous condition, according to an NARA spokesperson (Heller interview, November 21, 1986).

[234]See the discussion in note 26, p. 103 of this research.

Summary and Conclusions

[1]Although there are no universally agreed upon definitions of documentary photography, six criteria are repeatedly published.

[2]Arthur Rothstein, Documentary Photography (Boston: Focal Press, 1986), p. 18.

[3]Ibid.

[4]The complete file can only be seen on microfiche. There are albums of prints with blank pages (where the prints have been sold) and half-full sleeves of duplicate slides (the half not yet sold).

[5]There was a new reader at the NARA in the spring of 1987; it was a single machine. Images were still weak and blurry when they were projected, and it was not possible, even with ambidextrous skill, to see the caption fiche at the same time as the image fiche with the new reader.

[6]The white gloves are provided to protect original photographic materials. Technically, the microfiche qualify, and if a user did not wear them, he or she would be warned to do so.

[7]Gifford Hampshire said that the only way to get any idea of the image quality was to look at the fiche with a photographer's magnifying loupe (Gifford Hampshire, interview by Constance M. Tanczo, November 20, 1986, Fairfax, Virginia).

[8]SP (American Society of Picture Professionals, Inc.) Newsletter V (December 1974): 1, said the photos were not only beautiful, but historically significant, "considerably broader in scope" than the FSA project (NARA Document File).

[9]Barbara Lee, "Whatever Happened to Project Documerica?" Photo District News VI (November 1985): 62.

[10]George S. Hart to Gifford Hampshire, 21 October 1974, NARA Document File.

[11]The photograph is part of a series by Jim Pickerel.

[12]The FSA images of the Dust Bowl conditions and the plight of the farmers during the Depression are images unique to that era in the 1930s. The environmental documents of oil spills, poisoned lakes and senior citizen protests, and other 1970s phenomena, are unique to the ethos of the 1970s.

[13]Black and white film set standards for what is archival. Some of the first black and white photographic prints are still around, but the first color prints (from film, not from dye transfer, which have stood the test of time in collections of scale like the Kahn collection) have faded. However, the Kodachromes made by the FSA photographers in the mid-1930s, stored under ideal conditions at the Library of Congress, exhibited no changes at all (Rothstein, Documentary Photography, p. 136).

[14]Ibid.

[15]Karin B. Ohrn, Dorothea Lange and the Documentary Tradition (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980), p. 113.

[16]SP Newsletter (December 1974), p. 1, NARA Document File.

[17]F. Jack Hurley, Portrait of a Decade: Roy Stryker and the Development of Documentary Photography in the Thirties (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972), p. 35.

[18]NARA Document File.

[19]Richard Busch, "Documentary Photography USA," Popular Photography 79 (December 1976): 91-92.

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Train, Russell, to Constance M. Tanczo, October, 1987, Burlington, North Carolina.*

*Letters requesting information about Documerica were sent to Train and Gilka in the early part of the summer of 1987. Their replies arrived, undated, in early October of 1987.

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