

Tales from the vaults: personal encounters with archives and records

David J. Jones

Independent researcher, Sydney, Australia
librarydoctor@gmail.com

Abstract

The critical importance of collections of documents in libraries and archives for historical research is illustrated by diverse examples drawn from the author's own experience as a creator, user and custodian of records and from a number of biographical and historical works by other writers. In conjunction with other materials at the historian's disposal, well-organised and properly-resourced collections of archives are essential in understanding the lives of people, the progress of nations, places and movements, and for the writing of history of all kinds.

Keywords: archival research, historical research, documentary evidence

Introduction

Working in a major research library and a public archive for a significant length of time is rather like being an astronomer. The more one gazes into one's telescope or computer screen, the further one sees into our solar system, our galaxy and our universe, and the more one realises how little, relatively speaking, one knows and how much more there is to know. To explore and find out more is a constant human drive, using all the ingenuity, science and technology that we can muster. Perhaps in the span of a lifetime one barely scratches the surface, or comes to conclusions which are soon disproved, or, as was Albert Einstein's experience, posits theories which take decades for the science and technology to catch up with and prove. There is no real time-machine to jump into,

and there can be much speculation before solid scientifically-based facts are demonstrated.

A historian researching some aspect of human life is also embarking on a kind of voyage of discovery and, one hopes, applying the same degree of rigour to his or her research as any good scientist. Researchers access and evaluate many sources: written, visual, physical and oral. Historians use their training, judgement and experience to weigh up their sources. They look for corroborations and contradictions. They examine the context in which documents are produced - why then, why by that person, why there? - and assign significance to what they find and also to what they do not find. If you have not found something that does not mean that it does not exist.

Conversely, because you have found something, that does not necessarily mean that if you looked harder you would not find something showing that the opposite may be true. Bear in mind the old adage: 'Evidence of lack is not lack of evidence'. If that sounds convoluted, it is because history is convoluted. Eye-witnesses often have widely differing accounts of the same events. Those writing immediately after significant events may draw widely differing conclusions. But the more original documentary evidence there is available to the researcher, the greater the chance that he or she will reach as objective a view as is possible for a fallible human being.

Personal experience as a custodian of documents, as a creator of records and as an end-user of libraries and archives, has reinforced this writer's view of the vital importance of well-housed, well-organised, well-chosen archival collections and well-trained, well-resourced and well-equipped staff. Without adequate archival and documentary sources any attempt to study and explain what has occurred in the past in a company, government body, town, city, region or country, or indeed in the wider world, is like trying to complete a jigsaw puzzle with no picture to guide you, an unknown number

of pieces and innumerable missing pieces. Human memories falter or fail. Memoirs can be unreliable or self-serving. Authorised biographies may descend into hagiography. Unauthorised biographies may fall victim to rumour and scuttlebutt. Histories may be coloured unduly by the views of the writer.

Photographs, recordings or moving images too may only tell part - and perhaps the wrong part - of the story. Those of you who remember the movie *The Conversation* from 1974 may recall a snatch of conversation, recorded and electronically enhanced by professional eavesdropper played by Gene Hackman: 'He'd kill us if he got the chance'. Do the young couple he is spying on fear for their lives, or can their words be interpreted in a different way? The key was which word in the sentence was stressed - as it was actually said: 'He'd kill **us** if he got the chance'. Ultimately it is revealed that **they** are the killers (Coppola, 1974).

A fascinating biography of Mrs Wallis Simpson, for whom King Edward VIII gave up his throne, was published a few years after her death. The biography shows evidence of considerable research in libraries and archives, and also drew on many interviews. In his prologue the author writes: 'As I began my research, the character of this remarkable woman emerged more clearly, not least through the numerous US State Department documents and passport files and Public Record Office documents, particularly those from the papers of the late Lord Avon (formerly Anthony Eden)' (Higham, 1988, pp. viii-ix).

Archival records greatly assisted the author, complementing the interviews, published accounts (including the memoirs of both the Duke and the Duchess), news items, photographs, moving pictures and recordings of broadcasts. You do not have to delve too far into the book to see how important the documentary records are in presenting a fuller picture of the characters and the events surrounding them. In a final endnote the author adds: 'US Department of Justice

criminal files on the Duchess of Windsor were destroyed, allegedly for space reasons, in the 1960s' (Higham, 1988, p. 403). This is a tantalising hint of how much more of the Windsors' story might have emerged had there been more archival space, a more rigorous preservation schedule or greater recognition of the importance of archival resources.

Below are some examples of human stories which would never have been told but for the creation, preservation and making accessible of documentary records as well as their discovery – by accident or design – by a contemporary researcher. They are threads or snapshots illustrative of wider human experience, some resulting from research for a publication or a conference paper, or simply chanced upon and then followed out of curiosity. All of the stories demonstrate how a view of the world can be explained or simply broadened by access to or 'rediscovery' of critical documents.

A soldier's tale

A photograph in a recent issue of a Sydney newspaper showed three soldiers from World War I. On the left, an indigenous Australian soldier, an Australian Aboriginal; on the right a British 'Tommy'; and seated between them another Australian soldier, Private Harry Avery (Australian War Memorial, 2016). The name of the indigenous Australian, one of many who fought for their country half a century before Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders were even counted in the Australian Census, is not recorded. Nor is that of the British soldier. But who was this 'Harry Avery'?

His service record, methodically annotated by the military authorities and preserved in the National Archives of Australia, revealed that Avery had died during the War (National Archives of Australia, 2016). His was a tragic story, like those of so many of his contemporaries. His record reveals every imaginable detail about him – his height and weight, religion, eye colour, distinguishing

marks, next of kin, home address. Then it follows his military career, starting with his enlistment, a medical check, vaccinations, training and embarkation. It must be said that he did not have a very distinguished record. He fought at Gallipoli, but misbehaved, was reprimanded, lost a few days' pay, and was wounded.

Taken to hospital in England, he was patched up and sent to fight in France. He was absent without leave for some time, then handed himself in and was court-martialled and imprisoned. Having served his sentence, he was sent back to the front line but was soon hospitalised for 'shellshock'. He suffered at least two bouts of this and we can only imagine what was going on in his mind. For a while he was unable even to speak, but was then sent back to the horrors of the trenches. He was reported to have deserted and the authorities informed his parents back in Australia.

Actually he had been transferred to another unit but in the chaos of the battle front the paperwork did not catch up with him. Months later his father wrote to the Army saying how could his son be a deserter, as he had been getting regular letters from him from another unit? No sooner had this been sorted out than Harry was captured by the enemy and was a prisoner of war. German records show he was wounded and taken to a prison hospital. You can find images of the hospital and, sadly, a record of his death and place of burial. Commonwealth War Graves Commission records are very thorough. If you visit the cemetery you can readily find the headstone bearing his name (Commonwealth War Graves Commission, 2016).

Rounding off the service record are details of the medals awarded to this very ordinary casualty of war – the standard service medals, a memorial scroll presented to next of kin of those who did not survive, offering the King's thanks for their sacrifice, and a memorial plaque – all sent to his grieving parents by a grateful nation. Small comfort for the loss and

anguish and the momentary shame of having a 'deserter' for a son.

By following this story, we can get close to the reality of events long after they have happened and all those involved have passed on. We can go beyond the image of three jaunty soldiers posing in a photographer's studio, and glimpse the reality that awaited them, as ordinary individuals caught in a clash of superpowers. In a way they can tell us their story if we have access to carefully preserved and organised records. These are all part of a huge tapestry, evidence which we can weigh up and assess in order to present a bigger picture or to depict a microcosm to counterbalance the broad sweep of heroic history as told in military and political memoirs, or in the official war histories in which, in the case of World War I, legends were created by the victors.

Guilty secrets

Barely disguised discrimination against women in the workforce in Australia persisted well into the later years of the twentieth century, as documented by historians from all parts of the political and feminist spectrum. The author's interest in this issue originated in his research on the senior librarian in New South Wales from 1912 to 1942 and the activities of his male successors. The librarian, William Ifould, and the Trustees of the Public (later State) Library of New South Wales, were determined that there would never be a woman as chief librarian. The Trustees made a secret resolution to this effect in 1919 and adhered to it for decades. They manoeuvred to prevent a woman becoming deputy (and heir apparent to the chief librarian) in 1932 and did everything in their power to advance the career of a capable but less qualified male.

The Trustees enjoyed long tenure in office - under their Act of Parliament they were there until they died, resigned for some reason, were convicted of a serious crime or became insane. They also had long memories, and their secret resolution was first revealed in a

chance comment by a long-serving Trustee recorded in a 1932 minute book (Public Library of New South Wales Trustees' Minute Book, 19 September 1932).

But where was the documentary evidence of this resolution? Reading and rereading the 1919 minutes failed to reveal the resolution. All the in-letters and copies of out-letters for 1919, and printed annual reports of the Trustees were equally unforthcoming. Nor were any special files on the issue of promotion helpful. The resolution looked as if it was destined to remain a small footnote, recording that 'no documentary evidence of such a resolution had been found'.

By chance the inquisitive researcher discovered a dusty package hidden behind some bound volumes of minutes of Trustees' meetings on the top shelf of a deep cupboard in the board room of the Library. The unlabelled parcel contained 'confidential files' about which the then state librarian and his secretary knew nothing. Among the papers was a copy of a 1919 report by a subcommittee of the Trustees recording the unanimous resolution that no woman would become state librarian or deputy state librarian. It was a politically sensitive issue at the time, so when the report was adopted by the full Board of Trustees, the resolution was 'doctored' by 'the elimination of all reference to the limitation of the promotion of women officers.' (Public Library of New South Wales Trustees' Minute Books, 17 February 1919).¹ Nonetheless the Trustees and the chief librarian knew about and observed this tacit policy for many years to come.

This is just one instance of the ways in which archival records can help to ensure that the truth will emerge, even if on this occasion there was a fair measure of luck involved in its discovery. It is important to note, however, that someone in 1919 thought the documents important enough to keep.

¹ The elimination of all references to restriction on women's appointments is recorded on Professor Woodhouse's copy of the report (State Library of New South Wales Confidential Papers).

Restriction and destruction

From time to time the true value of archives and manuscripts derives from the documentation which they contain which no-one intended should ever be preserved or made known to anyone else – neither by their contemporaries nor by future generations. On countless occasions documents are deliberately destroyed in order to keep something secret. Perhaps to hide a crime or a private failing, or simply because a person does not want details of their life exposed to the public. The desire for privacy during one's lifetime and during the lifetimes of one's family is understandable. But there are sometimes distortions of the historical record if too much documentation relating to a significant figure is lost.

An unusual instance of restricting access to a document is that of a family which suffered a serious and ultimately fatal genetic disorder.² The course of this disorder was recorded by a specialist who was treating the family. The medical history contained a very full family history with all the relevant clinical details. It was important for younger members of the family who might be considering getting married to know their risks of developing the disorder and indeed of passing it on through their future children. This record was created long before DNA profiling of certain genetic disorders became feasible. So the family decided to ask a library to preserve this document, and to allow it to be added to as time went by. In the meantime, the document would be made available to family members and those involved in medical research in the hope of benefiting future generations. So a manuscripts repository took a key part in preserving and making a document available to a relevant and specialised audience, rather than locking up such private information for ever.

² To respect the privacy of the family concerned, no citation is provided in this paper.

A somewhat different example is offered by a case in which the wishes of the writer of some letters were deliberately ignored. Those letters later found their way into a library collection. Imagine a situation in the 1930s where a librarian in the civil service is writing regularly to a bookseller and discussing the purchase of a huge collection of manuscripts without the knowledge and permission of her chief. A serious breach of civil service regulations and an act of disloyalty which could result in her being dismissed. For she discussed with the bookseller a strategy to acquire the collection as well as possible prices and shared with him her impressions of the feelings of the library's governing body at its confidential meetings.

In 1933 a very important collection of business records of what was then Australia's most important publisher came onto the market. The publisher, Angus and Robertson, had specialised in the works of Australian novelists and poets - almost all of the great Australian writers from the 1890s onwards had first been published in Sydney by 'A&R'. Their records included correspondence with authors, unpublished manuscripts and works in various stages of revision, as well as artwork for many of their illustrated publications.

By the 1930s the company's ageing founder, George Robertson, was wondering what to do with this remarkable collection and decided to sell it. He asked a Melbourne bookseller, A. H. Spencer, to handle the sale. A number of libraries would be interested and Robertson wanted to get the best price he could. In the running were the National Library in Canberra, and the state libraries in Melbourne and Sydney. Part of the state library in Sydney was known as the Mitchell Library and was at that time the largest collection of Australian works in Australia.

Heading the Mitchell Library at that time was Miss Ida Leeson, a very forthright, clever and dedicated member of staff. She had been involved in purchasing books and manuscripts for many years and knew Spencer well. As the

likely price of the A&R Papers was high, it would require a vote of the Board of Trustees of the Library to approve an offer. Funds were short at the time - this was still the era of the Great Depression - and the Trustees wanted to be sure they would be getting value for money. So both the chief librarian, William Ifould and Ida Leeson at various times inspected the collection of papers and made reports to the Trustees, who discussed how much to offer at their confidential meetings. Leeson and Ifould both wanted the Mitchell to acquire the collection, but the price was a stumbling block.

About this time Leeson and Spencer were regularly writing to each other behind Ifould's back. 'I had a long letter from Miss Leeson,' Spencer told Robertson. 'She, good soul, would give her last shirt to see the entire lot in the Mitchell. (Don't let anybody know that she wrote me; I am working in with her and she is seeking my aid in certain directions.)' (Spencer to Robertson, 1933).

As negotiations proceeded, Leeson kept Spencer informed every step of the way - even telling him how the Trustees voted when decisions were being made. Eventually there was a reasonably happy ending - the correspondence and manuscripts were purchased by the Mitchell Library, and the volumes of illustrations and sketches remained with the company (to be bought by the Library many years later at a much higher price). The secret and unauthorised correspondence between Leeson and Spencer on the topic ended and, Leeson hoped, would remain a secret for ever: 'Please destroy all my letters on this subject', she begged Spencer (Leeson to Spencer, 1933).

How, then, can we read extracts from these letters, which throw fascinating light onto the workings of a major institution, the provenance of a major collection and the characters of two major Australian librarians of their time? Fortunately for us, Spencer ignored Leeson's request and the letters are now in the manuscript collection of the State Library of Victoria, another example of the

value of archives and manuscripts repositories, and of course of the awareness of creators and owners of archives and manuscripts of the historical significance of records and correspondence (Jones, 1990).

Falsification

The documentary record is not necessarily completely reliable. You can change the perception of historical events not only by destroying documents. You can also alter them. In his novel *Nineteen eighty-four*, George Orwell presents a bleak and in many ways uncanny vision of the future (Orwell, 1949). The central character, Winston Smith, spends his working day revising newspaper reports. In fact, his job is to change the record and to rewrite history. He is in many ways the antithesis of the archivist. Smith is part of a vast machine which not only promotes the party line but falsifies the record.

Falsifying records, omitting information unfavourable to one's viewpoint, or indeed denying access to records has been a relatively common occurrence, particularly, but not exclusively, in totalitarian states. There are some examples of the crudeness of this approach which would be amusing if it were not for the insight which they give into the ruthlessness and omnipotence of the regimes under which they occurred.

A celebrated case is that of the second edition of the *Great Soviet encyclopaedia*, published in instalments in Moscow (*Большая советская энциклопедия*, 1950-1958). Those who had fallen foul of the regime not only disappeared from the earth but were also deleted from the *Encyclopaedia*. One volume contained an entry for Lavrentiy Beria, and after he had fallen from grace the publisher sent substitute pages to subscribers with a huge article about the Bering Sea, but no mention of Beria. There were instructions to cut out the corresponding pages from the subscriber's copy of this volume and to destroy them, and to insert the new pages. The State Library of New South Wales for one, in the comfort of a liberal democracy, retained

the old pages and kept the replacement pages, together with the incriminating editorial instruction.

There are unsettling modern equivalents to the work of Winston Smith and the editorial assistants of the *Great Soviet encyclopaedia*. Biased people making changes to Wikipedia entries, for example. Or individuals, organisations and governments altering their web pages (or other people's web pages) for a dishonourable reason. They can change figures, images, text, the thrust of policies or promises, or the whole direction of arguments. Nowadays people do notice things like that, and we do have some objective people on our side - the people who **archive** websites, either within a library setting, like the National Library of Australia's PANDORA service (<http://pandora.nla.gov.au/>), or in an international setting, like the Wayback Machine (<http://archive.org/web/web.php>). To a certain extent archives are guardians of the virtual as well as the material record.

National security

In Australia just after World War Two, when the Cold War was hotting up, the Government established a powerful security agency called the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) to help ensure that Australia remained safe, particularly from the threat of Communism. There was a Communist Party of Australia (and there still is, despite an attempt in the 1950s to declare it illegal) with a small membership. There were many more people who tended to the left of politics, some associated with trades unions. ASIO enthusiastically set about creating dossiers on 'persons of interest' using its own officers to spy on their activities and also a network of informers. It did not take much for you to become the subject of an ASIO file. You might visit the office of a trade union and be photographed on the way in and on the way out, with a note on how long you spent there. You might be in a march one sunny May Day. Or one Sunday you might be listening to a rabble-rousing speech in the

Domain (Sydney's equivalent of Hyde Park's Speakers' Corner). Or like a very upstanding chief librarian of the State Library of New South Wales, you might exchange a few words with an acquaintance in the library. This acquaintance was a 'person of interest' and a new dossier was automatically opened on the librarian and his wife – its contents are actually completely innocuous. He was not a Communist or Communist sympathiser, although in his wide circle of acquaintances there were academics and intellectuals - and a notable bookseller who specialised in supplying libraries - whose politics were left of centre (National Archives of Australia, 2016 [Metcalf]; [Bennett]).

Nowadays many of the old ASIO files and photographs are accessible to the public. Many items are on the National Archives of Australia website. And just as generations of operatives and bureaucrats carefully guarded and preserved these files, so new generations of archivists will preserve these records for researchers, former 'persons of interest' and their descendants, whether searching out of curiosity or to amplify the view of a person or organisation, going beyond personal reminiscence, the published word or gossip and rumour.

Just as you cannot believe everything you hear or read in the media, nor can you necessarily trust everything you encounter in an archive. The people who generate documents which survive in archives are just that - they are people, subject to human failings. They may not notice some things. They may filter out other things. They may present impressions as facts. They may allow personal prejudices to cloud their objectivity. If they are in a business where there is some kind of payment by results, they may invent things.

National paranoia

In another totalitarian state - the German Democratic Republic in the days before the Berlin Wall came down - everyone lived in dread of the Stasi - the Ministerium für

Staatssicherheit - the ministry for state security, which kept tabs on virtually everyone who lived in East Germany and many who were just visiting. The movie *The lives of others* is a fictional account of an East German playwright who becomes disillusioned by his government's intolerance of dissent (Donnersmarck, 2006). He is involved with other dissidents and secretly writes a revealing article which is published anonymously in the West German magazine *Der Spiegel*. He has to use a typewriter smuggled into the country so that if his manuscript is found, the authorities will not be able to link it to his own typewriter - all typewriters in East Germany had to be registered. The Stasi puts the playwright under close surveillance - he has no idea this is happening - and eventually raids his apartment, searching for the guilty typewriter. They are out of luck. It has disappeared from its hiding place. There is nothing concrete to pin on him and the operation is called off.

A few years later, when Germany is reunified, we find the playwright at the theatre, where he encounters the former Communist Minister who was in charge of the Stasi. The Minister tells him that he, the playwright, had indeed been spied on - there were even microphones in his bathroom. They knew everything he was doing and with whom, for months. The playwright wonders how on earth the eavesdroppers could have missed all his discussions with other dissidents. The audience knows that one of the Stasi spies secretly sympathised with the playwright and has 'doctored' the reports on the playwright's activities. With the end of the Communist era the Stasi files are now in an archive, which the playwright visits to identify his secret saviour - HGW XX/7.

This is of course just a story and one doubts if much of the Stasi archive is as deliberately inaccurate as the playwright's file, or whether many of its spies had the conscience of agent HGW XX/7. In this story, contrived though it is, the playwright only finds out the truth because the record had been preserved. He would never have found out from the

Minister, or from any other Stasi spy. He would have had no idea who his Stasi guardian angel was. There is more than one hero or heroine in this movie, and the archive should be nominated for an Oscar.

The Stasi archive is certainly a blockbuster - there are said to be roughly 6 million files, over 200 kilometres of shelf space, plus 37 million index cards. In its forty years of activity, the Stasi 'generated the equivalent of all records in German history since the middle ages' (Funder, 2012, p. 5). There are also thousands of bags of shredded documents which are slowly being reassembled. It is also a popular destination: from the time of German reunification to 1997 it was reported that 3.4 million people had asked to see their files (Koehler, 1999, pp. 20-21).

It is worth noting that despite the size of the Stasi archive, many records did not survive the reunification of Germany. Anna Funder, in *Stasiland*, describes the fate of some of the files, as related by a former Stasi officer. 'He told his boss he was going to start shredding. "It is not allowed!" the boss said, "There is no order to do so!" "But," Herr Bohnsack says, "I just drove my car into the yard and got the files out of the filing cabinets. There were metres and metres of them - agents' key files, films, reports - and I drove to our garden one hundred kilometres away from Berlin," The family had an old baker's oven on its holiday plot. And there, "totally privately and personally, without any permission and without any command," he says, "I destroyed everything, all day long." There was so much paper to burn the oven nearly collapsed. A cloud of black smoke hung over him in the sky. Herr Bohnsack stood there for three days, feeding the files into the fire.' (Funder, 2012, p. 240). This could be the scene from an archivist's and historian's worst nightmare. How do you find out what really happened if the record has gone up in smoke (or in a more modern context, at a single keystroke)?

The quest for truth

Returning to the tragedy of World War I, it is notable how events on the battlefields were reported to Australians back home. In a remarkable book by Fay Anderson and Richard Trembath, two historians at the University of Melbourne, we read:

'It is striking how poorly the conflict was reported. There was a complete absence of truth about the war and no realistic portrayal of the conditions. Battles were censored to the point of inaccuracy and were consistently portrayed in a positive light; news was delayed for months; and the lexicon of war remained upbeat and victorious; failure, carnage and defeat did not enter the vocabulary. There was never a dissenting word or criticism over why Australia was fighting in a distant conflict, though there was some ambivalence about how the Australian soldiers were used. The only clues that Australian audiences were given of devastating defeats were the lengthy casualty lists published separately in the newspapers; the losses suffered by the Allies were never included in the war correspondents' dispatches.' (Anderson & Trembath, 2011, pp. 46-47).

How do they know this? Well, you need look no further than the 104 pages of endnotes and bibliography, and the two pages of acknowledgements. Archives for contemporary official and unofficial accounts, military records, library manuscript collections, published works, interviews with war correspondents, and to show what was offered to the public at the time, newspaper files - and in later conflicts, radio broadcasts and television and newsreel footage, much of the latter, of course, in the broadcasters' archives.

'Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it,' wrote George Santayana, a clever aphorism. Human memory is fallible, and there are also many things we prefer to forget. But we do have access to a huge and in many cases formalised corporate memory: the documents and publications generated by individuals,

organisations and government departments. When these records have been organised professionally and made accessible by librarians and archivists, with the support of governments, academic institutions and sometimes companies and individuals, they are a formidable resource. They represent a kind of documentary DNA. Just as you can trace where our ancestors, and indeed humanity, originated, from our DNA today, so too through the documentary record you can trace the trajectory of civilisation through the passage of time.

References

- Anderson, F. & Trembath, R. (2011). *Witnesses to war: the history of Australian conflict reporting*. Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press.
- Australian War Memorial (2016). Studio portrait of soldiers. Retrieved from <https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/P01692.001>
- Большая советская энциклопедия [Bolshaya sovetskaya entsiklopediya, Great Soviet Encyclopaedia]. (1950-1958). 2nd edition. Moscow: Советская Энциклопедия.
- Commonwealth War Graves Commission. (2016). 'Avery, Harry'. Retrieved from <http://www.cwgc.org/find-war-dead/casualty/288141/AVERY,%20HARRY>
- Coppola, F. F. (Director). (1974) *The conversation* [Motion picture]. United States: Paramount Pictures.
- Donnersmarck, F. H. von. (Director). (2006). *The lives of others* [Motion picture]. Germany: Buena Vista International.
- Funder, A. (2012). *Stasiland*. Melbourne: Text Publishing.
- Higham, C. (1988) *Wallis: Secret lives of the Duchess of Windsor*. London: Sidgwick and Jackson.
- Jones, D. J. (1990). Please destroy all my letters on this subject. *Australian Library Journal*, 39(2), 101-115.
- Koehler, J. O. (1999) *STASI: the untold story of the East German secret police*. Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1999
- Leeson, I. to Spencer, A. H. (1933). 27 March. State Library of New South Wales, Mitchell Library manuscript Aa89, filed with correspondence file ML 1549/70.
- National Archives of Australia. (2016). Avery Harry: SERN 467. Retrieved from <http://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRRetrieve/Interface/ViewImage.aspx?B=3042028>
- National Archives of Australia. (2016). Bennett, James Ingram. Retrieved from <http://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRRetrieve/Interface/ViewImage.aspx?B=12263316>
- National Archives of Australia. (2016). John Wallis Wallace Metcalfe. Retrieved from <http://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRRetrieve/Interface/ViewImage.aspx?B=12165944>
- Orwell, G. (1949). *Nineteen eighty-four*. London: Secker & Warburg.
- Public Library of New South Wales Trustees' Minute Books. (various dates). State Library of New South Wales records.
- Spencer, A. H. to Robertson, G. (1933). 17 February. State Library of Victoria, La Trobe Library, MS 12361/1/184.

Copyright © 2016 David J. Jones. The author assigns to Pustaka Negeri Sarawak a non-exclusive licence to use this document for personal use and in courses of instruction provided that the article is used in full and this copyright statement is reproduced. The author also grants a non-exclusive licence to Pustaka Negeri Sarawak to publish this document in full on the World Wide Web (prime sites and mirrors), on CD-ROM and in printed form in the Sarawak Library and Archives Journal. Any other use is prohibited without the express permission of the author.