Bureaucracy

A Love Story

A companion to the exhibit at the University of North Texas Libraries curated by faculty and students

Edited by

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INTRODUCTION

Bureaucracy is arguably one of the most loathed inventions of Western modernity. Yet, even as we complain about red tape, paperwork, and Wikipedia, we also love it—because we (clandestinely) rely on it to structure our world. Like any good love story, our relationship with bureaucracy is complicated.

This book developed out of an exhibit in the Judge Sarah T. Hughes Reading Room of the Willis Library at UNT in 2014–2015, which explored people's relationship with the myriad genres and functions of bureaucratic writing. The objects collected in the exhibit and reproduced in this book reveal how, over the past 350 years, people have strategically employed—and creatively misused—the written and printed forms of bureaucracy to structure and navigate their everyday lives.

Bureaucracy is everywhere, but it becomes palpable and real for most people when they meet with its material, written forms like those comprised by the exhibit. The exhibit included several types of objects: documents such as diplomas and land deeds, reference books including encyclopedias and dictionaries, and catalogues of plants and college courses. While these kinds of things may seem very different, together they provide the foundation for all bureaucratic systems. Bureaucracy is most often associated with the government—think of tax forms or the line at the local motor vehicles office—but it also structures schools, academic disciplines, professional organizations, businesses, and even our personal lives (in the form of marriage licenses, loan agreements, or report cards). Bureaucracy would not exist without documents that collect and store information, catalogues that organize and classify it, and reference books that consolidate and synthesize it.

The original exhibit, and now this book, make use of and contribute to bureaucracy. In them, we tell a story of bureaucracy by tracing and cataloguing how it works and what it does. As readers will notice from the section titles, our story is about what bureaucracy does in its active forms—not simply what static genres or reproducible forms it may take. Whatever form it takes, bureaucracy never simply exists—it is always in process, being filled out and filed, compiled or annotated, amended, corrected, expanded, and republished. Notwithstanding its reputation for slowing things down, bureaucracy is fundamentally active. Bureaucracy aims to order our world by classifying and accounting for all its moving parts, but it is always, fundamentally, about doing things, making things happen, and ideally making things comprehensible and usable. For individuals, it legitimates our promises to each other, helps us place ourselves in the world, and produces an archive that helps us remember where we came from. Within institutions, bureaucracy aims to streamline these processes and make them more efficient. In some cases, bureaucracy may be the only tool we have for making something intelligible.

But, of course, bureaucracy is also often infuriating. It can be suffocating, oppressive, and impenetrable; and it proliferates. Bureaucracy streamlines the procedures for earning credentials and moving forward, for instance, but it also multiplies and complicates the very procedures it streamlines. Once one bureaucratic system is invented, it is often necessary to invent another to keep track of the first, and so on and so forth. In short, bureaucracy is complicated. At its best, bureaucracy formalizes the "best" choices in a system and makes them accessible to everyone. At its worst, bureaucracy indifferently disciplines people, setting boundaries and limits on our knowledge, bodies, and minds—and for this reason, we resist its power even when we cannot help but inhabit its structures.

The original exhibit from which this book developed—also entitled "Bureaucracy: A Love Story"—was conceived and curated in 2014–2015 by faculty in UNT's English department: Dr. Gabriel Cervantes, Dr. Dahlia Porter, Dr. Ryan Skinnell, and Dr. Kelly Wisecup. Additionally, members of the UNT Libraries Special Collections staff—especially Morgan Gieringer, Courtney Jacobs, and Julie Judkins—helped conceptualize, design, and produce the physical and digital exhibits.

Research and text for the descriptions of the materials collected here were contributed by the students in Dr. Porter's Fall 2014 graduate seminar, English 5750: Methods of Historical Research, and Dr. Skinnell's Fall 2014 undergraduate seminar, English 4230: Institutional Rhetorics. In the process of editing the book, we expanded, revised, and edited the descriptions; but wherever possible, we allowed student researchers' work to stand on its own in recognition of the remarkable work the students did to make the exhibit and the book possible.

In what follows, we have catalogued 42 bureaucratic objects of all sorts, which we divided into 10 categories intended to describe what bureaucratic writing does. Against our strongest bureaucratic impulses, we have not tried to produce an exhaustive taxonomy of bureaucracy—only a suggestive framework for beginning to make sense of how we see bureaucracy working in ways that make some human activities possible. And, of course, this is a love story, so we're looking for the best of bureaucracy, the ways it affirms us, supports us, enables us, and loves us in return. We are not blind to bureaucracy's flaws—only temporarily ignoring them to consider why it sticks around?

One note on the descriptions here: for a variety of reasons, including the initial selection of materials, the number of people conducting research and producing text, the editors' guiding principles, the researchers' various levels of expertise, the availability of primary and secondary scholarship related to a given artifact, and the relative comprehensibility of a given artifact, the descriptions in this book vary considerably in length and detail. In some instances—in the case of landmark publications, for example—there is ample information available for researchers to wallow in. In other cases—a local business's accounting book from a single year, for example—almost nothing beyond the artifact exists to explain it specifically. Ironically, in the cases where more information is available, it can be harder to explain how an artifact contributes to a better understanding of bureaucracy. And in cases where we just have the thing itself, it is often intelligible because it is such an obviously bureaucratic form. We have done our best to appropriately contextualize the artifacts collected here in a broader sense of bureaucracy, but given the very nature of bureaucracy (of which this book is both catalogue and example), "appropriate" is a relative term. Which is to say, what may appear to readers as unevenness from one description to the next is, conveniently enough for us, a manifestation of a central tenet of bureaucracy—where it is obvious, less explanation is necessary for people to understand and use it (which, incidentally, is also one of main the reasons we love bureaucracy even as we proclaim our hatred for it).

The following is a list of students from the University of North Texas who contributed to the exhibit and to the book:

Christina Baines
Charlie Baxter
Kelly Bryant
Demetrius Chapman
Matt Cowles
Taylor Durham
Victoria Forman
Kelli Gill
Danica Gregory
Dylan King
Josh Lein
Allison Lowe
Tsung-Che Lu
Emily Menton
Stacy Risenhoover
Mary Kate Motley
Ryan Munthe
Jessica Murray
Charles Pawluk
Aaron Peiser
Sarah Pierce
Ashley Schumacher
Cavyn Smith
Leslie Stewart-Gordon
Daniel Stuart
Danny Vasquez
Carol Walker
Kayla West
Christine Whitten
Kaitlyn Willy
Alex Wray
Michael Young

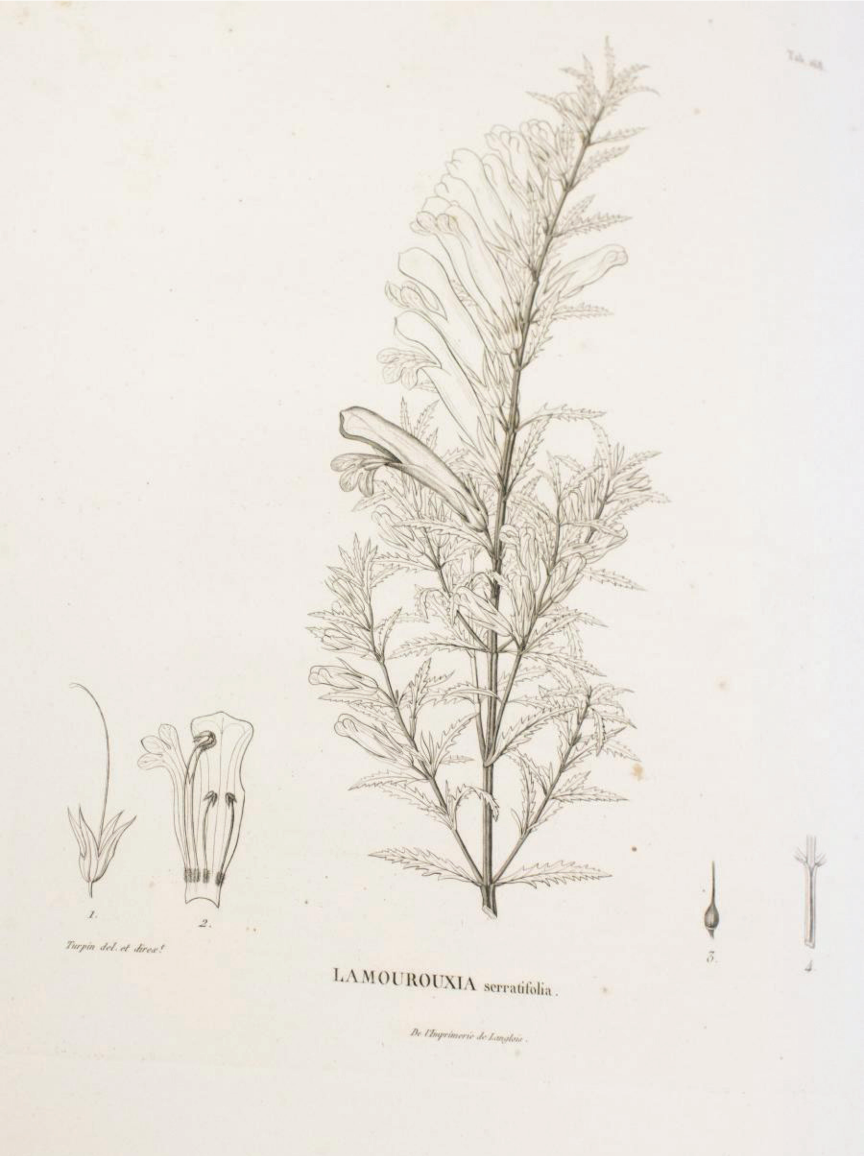
CLASSIFYING

Classifying is a key principle of bureaucracy, one that is arguably present in any bureaucratic form. Modern classificatory paradigms have their own, particular history, which emerged out of natural history in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. And, even if it is no longer the dominant mode of knowledge production, classification is nonetheless an inescapable one. It occurs on grand scales as often as it does miniscule ones, from projects designed to catalog and identify all known plants to the organization of documents in file folders.

Bonpland, Aimé, Alexander von Humboldt, and Karl Sigismund Kunth. 1815–1825. *Nova Genera et Species Plantarum; Bonpland et Alex, de Humboldt; Ex Schedis Autographis Amati Bonplandi in Ordinem Digessit Karl Sigismund, Kunth; Accedunt Tabulae Aeri Incisae, et Alexandri Humboldt Notationes ad Geographia Plantarum Spectantes.* Lutetiae Parisiorum: Sumtibus Librairie Graeco-Latino-Germanicae.

Nova Genera et Species Plantarum (*New Varieties and Species of Plants*) contains an extensive collection of descriptions and illustrations of 4,500 plant species. Published in Paris by botanist Carl Sigismund Kunth, the book is one of seven volumes documenting the botanical collections that Alexander Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland completed on their 1799–1804 travels through Spanish America (what is now Central and South America). The series, entitled *Voyage aux Régions Equinoxiales du Nouveau Continent fait en 1799–1804*, was published between 1815 and 1825; it is composed of massive volumes that identify, describe, and illustrate New World plants. The large size of the book is due to the scale of the drawings, which were drawn to show exact detail. Like many natural histories, *Nova Genera* was sold as loose broadside sheets; individuals were responsible for arranging for their own copies to be bound, an arrangement that sometimes resulted in mispagination. For example, the illustration shown here (Tab. 168) was bound after Tab. 169.

Humboldt was a German explorer who worked as a mining consultant before convincing the Spanish government to fund his expedition to Spanish America. His travels became part of an effort by Spain to modernize its colonial social and political structures, which for many years had been in revolt. State officials also hoped to locate new mineralogical resources (Pratt 1992, 112). Humboldt and Bonpland confirmed the existence of the Orinoco River, and they traveled to Havana and to Mexico, where they spent months researching in libraries, archives,



Bonpland, Aimé, Karl S. Kunth, and Alexander Humboldt. *Nova Genera Et Species Plantarum*. Lutetiae Parisiorum: Sumtibus Librairie Graeco-Latino-Germanicae, 1815.

and botanic gardens not previously open to non-European men of science. Upon returning to Europe, Humboldt promoted the travels and the men's findings by curating a botanical exhibition at the Jardin des Plantes, France's primary botanical garden in Paris. He also began the work of publishing what would become thirty volumes about the expedition.

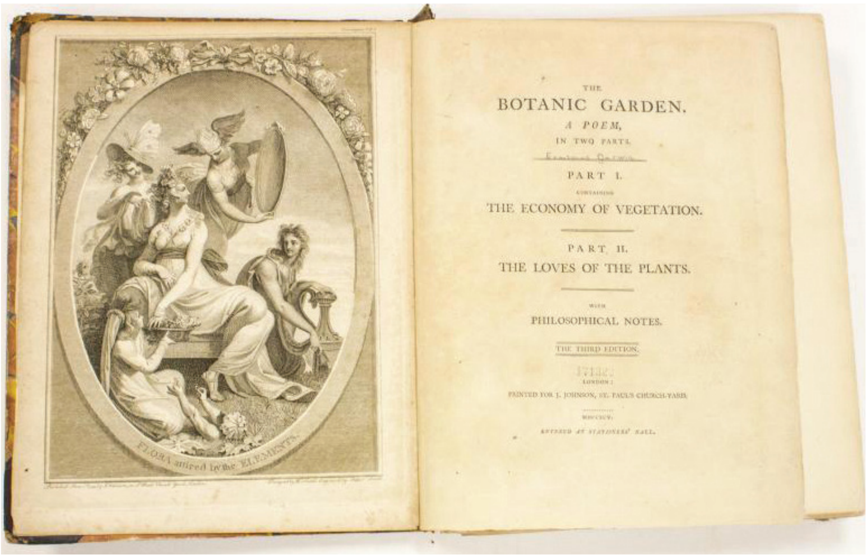
Humboldt and Bonpland employed the system of binomial classification advocated by Carl Linnaeus in his 1735 *Systema Naturae* to identify unfamiliar plants, and their extension of the Linnaean system to South America can be seen as an attempt to unify the globe under one botanical classificatory system (Pratt 1992). Botanists still cite the work of Humboldt and Bonpland as a model for classificatory systems (Lack 2004). However, in the nineteenth century, such global projects were often complicated by competing models. For example, around the time that *Nova Genera* was published, another set of publishers produced descriptions of many of the same plants but gave them different names, thus creating confusion as naturalists attempted to identify and classify plants (Stearn 1956). These profusions of names indicate the instability of classificatory systems in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. If classification worked to stabilize the identity of objects such as plants, the existence of multiple, competing classificatory systems undercut those aims.

Darwin, Erasmus. 1795. *The Botanic Garden: A Poem in Two Parts, with Philosophical Notes*. London: J. Johnson.

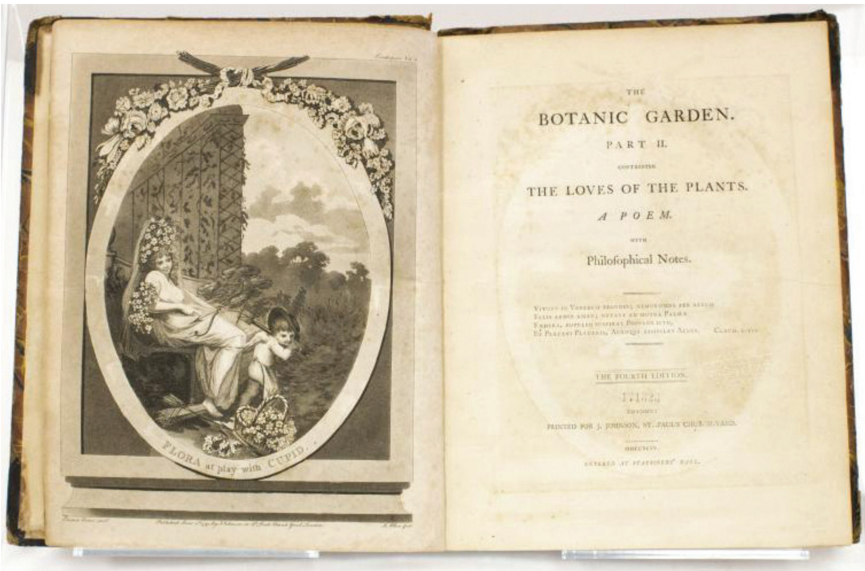
Erasmus Darwin, the grandfather of Charles Darwin, published this long, annotated poem in two parts: Part II, *The Loves of the Plants*, originally appeared in 1789, and Part I, *The Economy of Vegetation*, followed in 1791. The copies on display here are the third and fourth editions, respectively, of this popular and widely read philosophical work. *The Loves of the Plants* rendered Linnaeus's binomial system of plant classification in ornate, allegorical poetry: the stamen and pistils of each plant appear as the blushing, bowing, kissing, cavorting maids and swains of a pastoral romance, while the voluminous notes explain the scientific concepts behind the behaviors represented in the verse. *The Economy of Vegetation*, took a much wider purview, detailing current scientific theories in fields as far reaching as chemistry, galvanism, atmospheric science, and classical mythology. Both volumes contain high quality full-page engravings designed by important artists and botanical illustrators of the day, including Emma Crew, Frederick Polydore Nodder, Henry Fuseli, and William Blake.

While explicitly a taxonomic work based on Darwin's own translation of Linnaeus's system, *The Loves of the Plants* garnered extreme reactions—both positive and negative—from contemporary readers for the sexual language and imagery it contained. For example, of the American Cowslip, the poem conveys:

> Meadia's soft chains *five* suppliant beaux confess,
> And hand in hand the laughing belle address;
> Alike to all, she bows with wanton air,
> Rolls her dark eye, and waves her golden hair. (Darwin 1795, 6)



Darwin, Erasmus. *The Botanic Garden: a Poem in Two Parts, with Philosophical Notes.* London: J. Johnson, 1795.



Darwin, Erasmus. *The Botanic Garden: a Poem in Two Parts, with Philosophical Notes.* London: J. Johnson, 1795.

In these lines, the italicized "*five*" indicates the number of "male" stamen present in each flower relative to the number of "female" pistils, in this case one. All five "beaux" address the belle at the same time, indicating a difference from plants in which stamen arrive at maturity in stages. The personified plant's responses indicate the pistil's motion as it bends toward the stamen to effect pollination; her dark eyes and waving golden hair indicate the colors and shape of the flower, figuratively conveying Darwin's speculation that "the petals are so beautifully turned back to prevent the rain of dew drops from sliding down [the stem] and washing off [the pollen] prematurely" (6).

Although the strictly "scientific" content is explained in the accompanying footnote, Darwin's verse cannot help but move into the risqué—it represents a sexual relationship between five men and one woman—and the addition of a "wanton" bow and rolling eye only heightens the sexual charge of the passage. Whether, as critics have argued, the poem tends to reinforce conventional gendered stereotypes or radically transgresses the sexual mores of the time, it triggered an immediate barrage of responses (see Bewell 1989; Browne 1989; Fulford 1997; Teute 2000). While conservative critics bemoaned its immorality and corrupting influence on female readers, women authors saw the potentially liberating implications of its sexual system of classification and regarded Darwin's work as an invitation in the pursuit botanical knowledge.

Brehm, Alfred E. 1880. *La Creación: Historia Natural, Division de la Obra; Zoologia ó Reino Animal, Traducida y Arreglada de la Ultima Edicion Alemana de A.E. Brehm*. Barcelona: Montaner y Simon.

La Creación is a nine-volume set of natural histories based on the wide-ranging travels of zoologist, Alfred Edmund Brehm (1829–1884). This Spanish edition was published in 1880 in Barcelona, four years before the author's death; it was translated from the latest German edition. Brehm, a German zoologist and illustrator, went on expeditions to Africa, Scandinavia, Siberia, and Egypt, among other places. On those travels he collected information about and, in some cases, live specimens of the animals and people he encountered. The first volume, shown here, displays racial and anatomical classifications of humans and animals. While Brehm's title promises to describe the animal kingdom, the book begins with descriptions and classifications of human bodies—skulls, vertebrae, and so on—before proceeding to zoology.

Brehm discusses several racial classification schemes, proposed by men of science such as Carl Linnaeus, Georges-Louis Leclerc Comte de Buffon, and Johann Friedrich Blumenbach. He then offers a discussion of five human races: white, red, yellow, brown, and black, each differentiated according to skull size and shape. In addition to colorful illustrations depicting each race, their clothing, and objects that provide cultural information, the book includes detailed lithographs, showing the range of human types, from illustrations of Celtic skulls to those of the head of a "Venus hotentote" (Brehm 1880, clv). For example, Brehm prolongada y achatada especial de los tipos negros africano, negrito y papú.

Su estatura bastaria por sí sola para demostrar que su raza actual se compone de dos antiguas razas que vendrian

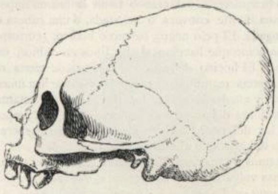


Fig. 76.—Cráneo de una negra escafocéfala

á tener la una 1 metro 600 y la otra mas de 1 metro 700. Los máximum y mínimum individuales señalados en el hombre, son respectivamente 2 metros 130 y 1 metro 447.

Pueden ser considerados de la misma raza en las Indias centrales: los bhils «negros, de ojos pequeños sin oblicuidad y de cabellos implantados en largos y rectos mechones;» los gundos, «tambien de rostro negro, nariz achatada, labios gruesos, y cabellos espesos, negros, lustrosos, que les caen en rectos mechones;» los khounds mas ó menos negros; los mahairs «muy negros, con arcos superciliares salientes, ojos pequeños y nariz achatada;» los varalis, etc. (L. Rousselet).

Fijémonos tambien en otras poblaciones que, bajo otro punto de vista, han podido intervenir en la formacion de la raza australiana; como los seis mundas, descritos por monsieur Roubaud, cuyo índice cefálico era de 75,6, y que tienen la frente baja y saliente, la nariz gruesa y achatada, el íris de un color moreno oscuro, el rostro ancho y achatado, los pómulos salientes, los dientes incisivos verticales y una estatura de 1 metro 61; los yenadies y maravers de la costa de Coromandel, los veddhas de Ceilan, etc.

Hace tres años el laboratorio de antropología disecó un negro perteneciente á este grupo, nacido en Pondichery: su color negro de chocolate y sus cabellos lacios, largos y bri-

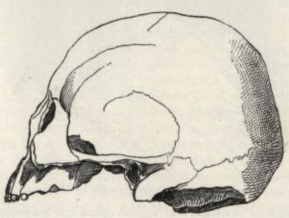


Fig. 77.—Tipo patagon

llantes, eran muy notables: su esqueleto y su rostro figuran actualmente en las colecciones de M. Broca.

Tambien se encuentran caractéres fundamentales de los australianos entre los todas de las Nilgherris, y lo que es mas extraño, muy léjos, hácia el Norte, entre algunos ainos: su arco superciliar muy saliente y su sistema velloso muy desarrollado por todo el cuerpo, son caractéres tanto mas notables en cuanto lo contrario constituye la regla general en el Asia Oriental y Meridional. En esas mismas montañas Nilgherris situadas en el punto en que los Ghates occidentales se unen con los orientales, hácia el extremo meridional del Dekkan, y en condiciones favorables para encerrar los restos de antiguas razas, viven otras dos tribus que dan no poco que reflexionar: los kurumbas y los irulas. Los primeros tienen un color negro, cabellos largos, ondulados, espesos y negros; la conjuntiva á menudo inyectada, el íris de un color pardo oscuro (número 1 en la tabla de los colores de M. Broca), la sesgadura de la raíz de la nariz de 5 centímetros de profundidad, el dorso de la nariz deprimido, las alas ensanchadas, las ventanas nasales descubiertas, y finalmente el maxilar y los dientes proñatos. ¿No es este el retrato del australiano? Añadamos que son pequeños como los australianos de las costas. Tienen escasa barba, pero algunas veces, como excepcion, muy abundante.

Finalmente al Oeste, hácia Madagascar y la punta de Aden, en Africa, se ha hablado de tribus negras, con cabellos lacios, ó por lo menos de individuos muy numerosos de este género, confundidos especialmente entre los somalis y

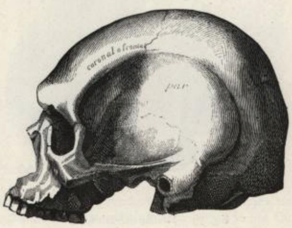


Fig. 78.—Cráneo de Australiano

los gallas. ¿Pero acaso no hemos visto lo mismo entre los charruas y los antiguos californianos de América? Los himiaritas tienen de comun con el tipo australiano el color negro y los cabellos rectos; pero su rostro es prolongado, su nariz aguileña, bien dibujada y sus labios finos y delicados; de modo que se les puede llamar árabes negros.

Conclusiones.—Hemos completado nuestro cuadro. Hemos examinado los caractéres diferenciales de las razas humanas, y hemos mostrado los tipos que mas distintos aparecen. Preséntase ahora una cuestion. La familia humana ¿se compone de géneros, especies ó variedades? En otras palabras: ¿qué distancia separa sus mas naturales divisiones?

Hagamos constar primeramente que una clasificacion de esas divisiones y subdivisiones seria prematura; ya que la clasificacion presupone una ciencia existente, y la antropología anatómica todavía se halla en sus comienzos. Es cierto que un determinado número de razas, que merecen ser calificadas de ramificaciones, y algunas razas particulares, se presentan bien definidas; mas pronto nos veríamos obligados á detenernos en nuestra tarea. Felizmente para la solucion de nuestro problema no es necesario conocer el valor exacto y la subordinacion de muchas de ellas; ya que algunas, bien deslindadas en las condiciones en que hoy en dia se presentan, bastan para ello, pudiendo por lo mismo, bajo este

La Creación: Historia Natural, Division de la Obra; Zoologia ó Reino Animal, Traducida y Arreglada de la Ultima Edicion Alemana de A.E. Brehm. Barcelona: Montaner y Simon, 1880.

compares two skulls, the "*Craneo del Negro*" and the "*Craneo del Europeo*", or the Negro skull and European skull, with the skulls of gorillas (5). The images and text suggest that the elongated Negro skull more closely resembled the gorilla skull than it did the European skull. Such images supported a popular theory "that Caucasians had big brains" and "blacks had small ones" (40; see Fabian 2010; Thomas 2000).

The lithographs of human skulls and brightly colored illustrations of five *razas*, or races, participated in nineteenth-century projects to determine differences among humans based on the skull's size, volume, shape, and angles. The goal of such study was to classify humans in racial categories, part of a practice called phrenology that eventually came to be known as scientific racism. According to many naturalists, the five races (usually Caucasian, Mongolian, American, Malay, and Ethiopian) could be correlated to the Earth's continents. By positing separate origins for each race, such theories departed from older views that all humans came from a common ancestor, Adam.

The color illustrations of the five races likewise support assumptions about white superiority. For example, an illustration of *raza blanca*, or the white race, shows *griegos* (Greeks) looking very refined, well dressed, and groomed. The image of *raza negra*, or the black race, pictures two "cafres" (kaffirs; a term for South African blacks, now considered offensive) who are only partially clothed. Another illustration portrays a group of Eskimos huddled around a fire, outside a tent, with fish lying on the ground. The depictions make the white race the basis for comparison, by drawing attention to how different the other races are from the white race in clothing, habitat, and even skull size. Brehm applied these same anatomical methodologies to classify animals, from gorillas to skunks, thus suggesting that anatomical—and thus racial—differences were inherent in nature. His written descriptions and images present an orderly, classified world in which both humans and animals fit securely into stable categories that supported a racially stratified social order.

Topsell, Edward. 1926. *The Elizabethan Zoo: A Book of Beasts Both Fabulous and Authentic*. Ed. Muriel St. Clare Byrne. London: Frederick Etchells & Hugh MacDonald.

Comprising a zoological selection from Edward Topsell's *The Historie of Foure-footed Beastes* (1607) and *The Historie of Serpents* (1608), *The Elizabethan Zoo* was edited by twentieth-century historian and scholar of Tudor England, Muriel St. Clare Byrne. The book depicts zoological creatures, both real and mythical, ranging from Lions to Lamias. Combining natural history, folklore, and mythology, Byrne's *Elizabethan Zoo* represents each creature with a reproduction of Topsell's woodblock illustration hovering above a description transcribed verbatim from the original text. Fabulous creatures sit side-by-side with specimens from far-off locales relatively unknown in seventeenth-century England, provoking the modern reader to question the purpose of Byrne's republication of this curious content. By reprinting Topsell's catalogue in 1926, Byrne poses a question about twentieth-century systems of zoological classification: in the formation of modern disciplines, what is lost when we differentiate between the real and the mythical?

As Byrne (1926) indicates in her "Introduction," Topsell's books were compilations of zoological knowledge current in Renaissance England. They were, according to Topsell himself, serious reference books, meant to be consulted by "Divines and Students" and aimed at "Describing the true and lively figure of every Beast, with a discourse of their severall Names, Conditions, Kindes, Vertues (both natural and medicinall), Countries of their breed, their love and hate to Mankind, and the wonderful worke of God in their Creation, Preservation, and Destruction" (Topsell 1926, t.p.). Topsell's early seventeenth-century catalogue of beasts drew much of its material from Conrad Gesner's *Historiae Animalium* (1551–1558), one of the most important zoological treatises of the late sixteenth century. Topsell also includes extensive lists of authorities consulted, bolstering the legitimacy of his bestiary. As was often the case with large-scale reference books, however, *The Historie* represents only a portion of Topsell's projected publications, stemming from the "failure of his patron to lend him the financial support which he was obviously soliciting" (Heltzel 1938, 199–200). Patronage was crucial to the economic system of publishing in seventeenth-century England; it advanced works of art and literature by financially and socially supporting artists (Griffin 2006, 16). Some, if not most, artists were unable to produce work if patrons did not support them, as was the case for Topsell. Whatever his ambitions for these natural histories, Topsell was limited by the systems of publishing current in Renaissance England.

Although *The Elizabethan Zoo* derives from Topsell's works, Byrne's process of editorial selection adds a layer of complexity. The information, illustrations, and language of the descriptions remain the same, but the purpose of the catalogue shifts across its various iterations. Gesner catalogued creatures from classical sources and travel narratives, Topsell gathered information from and translated Gesner to comprise his own catalogue of creatures, and Byrne selectively compiles materials from works by Topsell. *The Elizabethan Zoo* is thus a recompilation of a seventeenth-century compilation that translates a sixteenth-century compilation. Implicitly, Byrne's editorial work replicates the processes and procedures of Renaissance knowledge making.

In her introduction, Byrne claims that Topsell's descriptions and illustrations contain the "residuum of medieval credulity, anecdote and legendary lore" which will "delight the twentieth-century [reader] with their quaintness and comicality" (Byrne 1926, v). It is the disjunction between Renaissance natural history and modern zoology that makes *The Elizabethan Zoo* a spring of curiosity and wonder to the modern reader. The most alluring aspect of both Topsell's and Gesner's catalogues are their woodblock illustrations (Westrop 2006). In both Topsell's original and Byrne's re-collection, the Mantichora bears an ear-to-ear smile of human teeth, a bearded chin, and rugged body resembling a lion; and the Lamia's

Topsell, Edward, M S. C. Byrne, and Pliny. *The Elizabethan Zoo: A Book of Beasts Both Fabulous and Authentic.* London: F. Etchells & H. Macdonald, 1926.

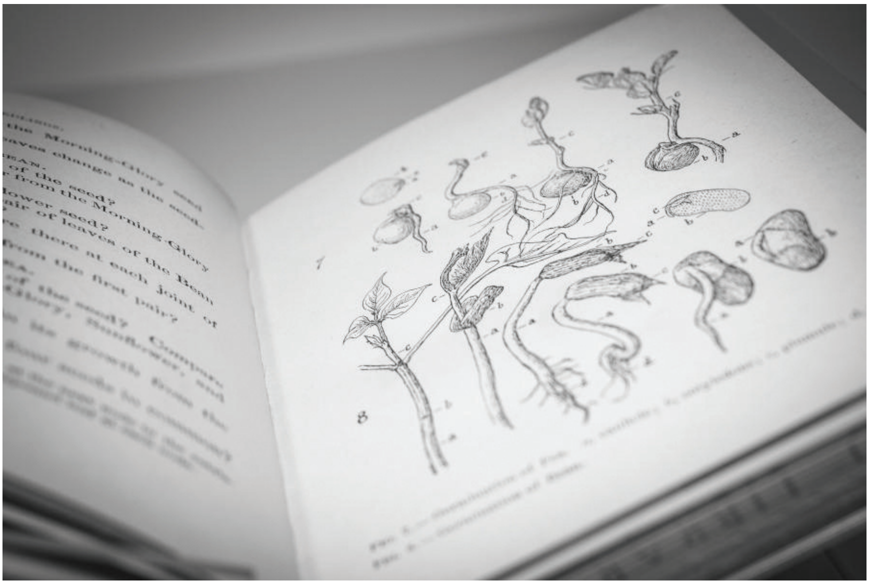
Topsell, Edward, M S. C. Byrne, and Pliny. *The Elizabethan Zoo: A Book of Beasts Both Fabulous and Authentic.* London: F. Etchells & H. Macdonald, 1926.

scaled body reveals human breasts and a seductive, feminine face. The descriptions heighten this fascination with mixture: the Mantichora has "face and eares like unto a mans, his eies gray, and collour red, his taile like the taile of a Scorpion of the earth, armed with a sting, casting forth sharp pointed quils" (Topsell 1926, 76). The illustrations and text invite readers to imagine the result of merging human and animal in ways that violate modern classificatory paradigms.

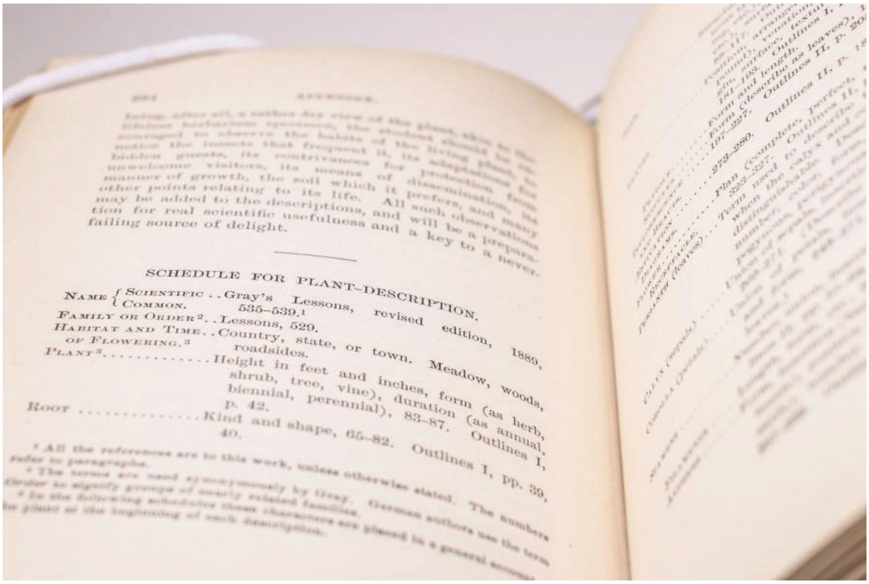
The Elizabethan Zoo is a slimmed down Renaissance reference book remade for the amusement of modern audiences. The allure of the collection resides in its combination of fabulous and real, a distinction only available to modern readers whose worldview has been structured by the bureaucratic forms of twentieth-century science.

Newell, Jane H. 1894–1896. *Outlines of Lessons in Botany: For the Use of Teachers, or Mothers Studying with Their Children*. Boston: Ginn & Company.

Still used today by homeschooling families, *Outlines of Lessons in Botany: For the Use of Teachers, or Mothers Studying with Their Children* is a charming text published in two volumes. The first volume, *From Seed to Leaf*, includes information about different types of plants and their uses. The second volume, *Flower and Fruit*, provides information about flowers, fruits, and their different uses. Both volumes are arranged as natural histories: chapters are organized by various plant species and further into chapters and sections for each plant part—petal, stem, root, and so on. Newell states in the preface that she seeks a new method of teaching botany that moves beyond the "dry, technical classification" of plants. Indeed, the books teach the principles of classification by taking nature as a 'textbook,' a move that suggests that these principles are inherent in nature



Newell, Jane H. *Outlines of Lessons in Botany: For the Use of Teachers, or Mothers Studying with Their Children.* Boston: Ginn & Co, 1893.



Newell, Jane H. *Outlines of Lessons in Botany: For the Use of Teachers, or Mothers Studying with Their Children*. Boston: Ginn & Company, 1894–1896.

and that students will learn to classify by observing, learning, and copying the classifications in nature. Newell's book provides an interesting example of how 'good' bureaucracy is often supposed to be invisible—the classification scheme she devises is not intended to be noticed, but rather, is supposed to highlight the order that is already inherent in nature.

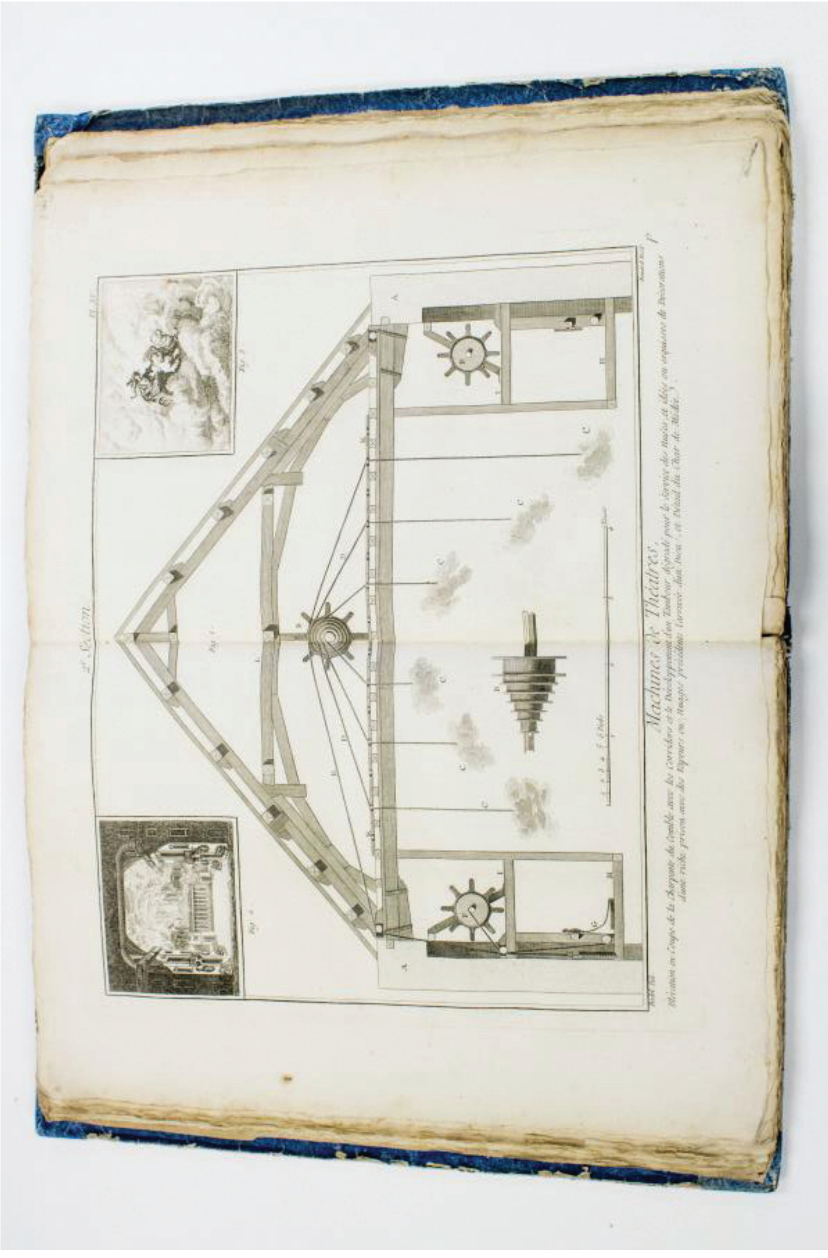
DOING/MAKING

Even as the material forms of bureaucracy order and fix knowledge, they also convey processes and procedures of making knowledge. Many bureaucratic documents implicitly script a series of actions: filling out, turning in, processing, filing, and so on. Reference books, however, explicitly codify how particular kinds of knowledge can and should be made. By detailing how to construct a theater set, how to print a broadside, or how mount a specimen for a museum display, the reference books included here deploy the technical knowledge of the professional to support modern disciplinary divisions.

"Theatre Sections Plates." 1772. In *Encyclopédie; ou, Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences*. Paris.

This section of the monumental French *Encyclopédie* (1751–1780) depicts architectural plans and examples of theatrical machines from the eighteenth century. Each section of the large folio volume begins with detailed descriptions of the plates followed by a set of engravings. The combination of text and illustration reveals the many ways theatres were constructed to enable the creation of specific sets, also pictured in the plates. Chosen because of its historical significance, this set of theater plates reflects the interest Denis Diderot (1713–1784) and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert (1717–1783), the editors of the *Encyclopédie*, took in describing, systematizing, and disseminating knowledge of the mechanical arts. Diderot was particularly interested in "developing a common language and graphic representation that related words to things through pictorial images" (Pannabecker 1994). The text details the exact construction of various existing theaters and provides precise measurements and locations for trap doors, adjustable frames for scenery, and cat walks; the illustrations show machines for creating wave motion on the stage (plate XXIII) and for making thunder with a suspended metal sheet (plate XI). As was typical of descriptions of scientific experiments in the period, the text-plate combination allows the reader to create the sets and machines depicted, embodying mechanical knowledge as the process of doing and making.

The *Encyclopédie* was a key text of Enlightenment philosophy in eighteenth-century France; it is often cited as helping foment the French Revolution because of the radical philosophical and political ideas it engendered. Upon its initial publication, the first series was deemed to contain seditious content, leading to the suppression of the first two volumes by the French government in 1752, and suspension



Theatre section plates. From *Encyclopédie; ou, Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences*. Paris, 1772.

of its *privilège* to be printed in 1759 by the King's Counsel (Morrissey and Roe 2014). Even though the book was both large and expensive, its popularity continued to grow, and it eventually gained 4000 subscribers. While many of these subscribers were of the educated elite, the project was deemed threatening to the government of France because it placed focus on the common man and advocated for political and social reform. (The descriptions and plates of the mechanical arts were not deemed as controversial as the philosophical sections of the project.) After d'Alembert and his other collaborators quit the project in 1759, Diderot worked tirelessly to complete the remaining volumes of text and plates. He wrote several hundred articles, damaging his eyesight in the process (Denis Diderot, n.d.). The last copies of the first volume were issued in 1765. The final volumes of plates were not issued until 1772 and the text underwent a number of revisions and emendations through 1780.

Even as the Diderot resisted the governmental bureaucracy that attempted to stamp out and stop production of the project, the *Encyclopédie* is itself a bureaucratic form. As a monumental work of systematization, the *Encyclopédie* participated in the larger eighteenth-century project of cataloguing and synthesizing objects and ideas. As d'Almebert argued in the "Preliminary Discourse," an encyclopedic arrangement

> collects knowledge into the smallest area possible and places the philosopher at a vantage point, so to speak, high above this vast labyrinth, whence he can perceive the principal sciences and the arts simultaneously. From there, he can see at a glance the objects of his speculation and the operations that can be made on these objects; he can discern the general branches of human knowledge, the points that separate or unite them; and sometimes he can even glimpse the secrets that relate them to one another. The encyclopedia is a kind of world map that shows the principal countries, their position, and their mutual dependence, the road that leads directly from one to the other. This road is often cut by a thousand obstacles, which are known in each country only to the inhabitants or to travelers, and which cannot be represented except in individual, highly detailed maps. These individual maps are the different articles of the Encyclopedia and the Tree or Systematic Chart is its world map. (d'Alembert 2009, n.p.)

The goal of the encyclopedic project was to provide knowledge seekers with a map to the relationships between different fields of knowledge, but d'Alembert's metaphor of travelers and obstacles also acknowledges the growing specialization and professionalization that made it difficult for any one individual to grasp the 'secrets' that connected all fields of knowledge to all the others. The textual descriptions and detailed plates provided this crucial map in the form of a systematic representation of the tools, methods, and concepts relevant to each field of knowledge. The theatre plates thus enable a person unfamiliar with the inner workings of stage spectacles to understand how theaters worked and to make connections between the theater and other mechanical arts. In broad terms, the plates and descriptions break down each field into its parts and procedures with the ultimate goal of synthesizing all knowledge into a comprehensible whole.

Ringwalt, J. Luther, Ed. 1871. *American Encyclopædia of Printing*. Philadelphia: Menamin & Ringwalt: J.B. Lippincott.

This late nineteenth-century encyclopedia claims to cover all aspects of publishing and printing. As the editor suggests in the preface, "as an Encyclopædia, it aims to traverse the circle of the art to which it relates, and therefore to describe its history, as well as its implements, its processes, and its products" (Ringwalt 1871, vii). As part of the Nineteenth-Century Book Arts and Printing History Series, this volume sold itself as a comprehensive resource for use in printing offices, and it thus gave special attention to current implements and processes of printing in the United States (vii). Openly jingoistic in its approach, the editor proclaims the book's inclusivity: "no class of subjects bearing upon printing, however remotely, has been intentionally excluded" even though the "ever-increasing extension of the realm [of print] added greatly to the difficulty of a comprehensive presentation" (vii). The book opens with a section on "How a Book is Made," and alphabetically-arranged articles provide in-depth descriptions of new printing processes like electrotyping and lithography, as well as general topics like "Paper" and "Proof-reading." Entries are often accompanied by illustrations that materialize the type of printing described: for example, the plate titled "Printing for the Blind" reads "[t]his Page was composed by N.B. Κηεαςς, Jr., a Blind Printer" and is printed in relief legible to the touch; the page facing the description of "Safety-paper" displays a pattern of multi-colored lines and borders printed on glossy paper designed to prevent counterfeiting. Coupling physical examples of printing techniques with detailed descriptions, the *American Encyclopædia* exemplifies how printing was done in late nineteenth-century America.

The *American Encyclopædia* is part of a long tradition of books on the procedures and processes of printing, one that stretches back to the early English printer Joseph Moxon's *Mechanic Exercises, or the Doctrine of Handy-Works Applied to the Art of Printing* (1683) and through the printing trade plates included in the French *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and d'Alembert. Like Moxon's famous seventeenth-century compositor's manual, the 1871 encyclopedia tries to cover as much ground as possible while also foregrounding cutting-edge techniques. Its alphabetical organization allowed for easy access to articles—as long as the reader already knew what to look for. As in Moxon's time and our own, the late nineteenth century had its own peculiar printing jargon comprised of terms of the trade and words reflective of new technologies of production, and new products, such as the "Cottrell & Babcock First-Class Drum Cylinder Press" (Ringwalt 1871, 129), the "Dick Mailing Machine" (293), new products like the "Pettee Patent Envelope" (159), and "Columbier" writing paper (113). The entries reveal how printing defined itself as a profession through bureaucratic means, ranging from patents on machines to publications like the *American Encyclopædia* itself.

J. Luther Ringwalt, Ed. *American Encyclopædia of Printing*. Philadelphia: Menamin & Ringwalt: J.B. Lippincott, 1871.

Like many of the books in this genre, the 1871 *American Encyclopædia* is a celebration of the transformative power of print. The book's frontispiece "reproduces in color the design of the beautiful vignette upon the certificate of membership issued by the Philadelphia Typographical Society" (Ringwalt 1871, viii). The illustration shows a grouping of people of different races and ethnicities gesturing to—and, in the case of the man of African descent, kneeling in front of—a wooden hand press complete with a type case and open frisket. These representatives of the world's cultures have laid down their weapons of war in front of a pile of books, while a woman representing French liberty holds a printed broadside with the words "The Art of all Arts." The caption to the engraving reads: "And God said, Let there be light: and there was light" (viii). The world-historical importance of printing announces itself in the conventions of high Victorian, Anglo-American imperialism; printing is figured as a civilizing, liberating force on par with the divine power of the Christian God.

Browne, Montagu. 1884. *Practical Taxidermy: A Manual of Instruction to the Amateur in Collecting, Preserving, and Setting Up Natural History Specimens of All Kinds: To Which is Added a Chapter upon the Pictorial Arrangement of Museums*, 2nd Ed. London: L. Upcott Gill.

This late nineteenth-century handbook for amateur collectors describes the process of decoying, trapping, skinning, preserving, and mounting animal and bird

Browne, Montagu. *Practical Taxidermy: A Manual of Instruction to the Amateur in Collecting, Preserving, and Setting Up Natural History Specimens of All Kinds : to Which Is Added a Chapter Upon the Pictorial Arrangement of Museums.* London, England: L. Upcott Gill, 1884.

specimens for inclusion in a natural history museum. The author, Montagu Browne, was the curator of the town museum in Leicester, a city in the industrial Midlands of Britain; he was also a member of the Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society, a Fellow of the Zoological Society, and the author of *The Vertebrate Animals of Leicestershire and Rutland* (1889) (Harrop 2012). *Practical Taxidermy* offers instruction to other museum curators about the preservation and presentation of specimens, but Browne acknowledges the book is "merely an introduction to a delightful art" and does not pretend to convey the "knowledge of anatomy, form, arrangement, and color" requisite to the professional taxidermist (Browne 1884, viii).

Yet even though he positions his instruction manual against the "business" of taxidermy and its "technicalities," Browne aims to convey instructions for every step in the production of a specimen through his text and illustrations: his directions for skinning a bird, for example, include details of where to place the thumb and how to hold the skinning knife relative to skeletal structure and musculature illustrated in the engravings (93–103). Browne adopts the language and techniques of an emergent profession to train amateur enthusiasts.

The Leicester Town Museum was founded in 1835 by the Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society, and was presented to the town in 1849 (*Hand-book* 1864, 3). Town museums in nineteenth-century Britain included displays on various aspects of local history, including flora and fauna. These museums were often eclectic, as collections depended on the generosity of local supporters. In 1864, when the *Hand-book to the Leicester Museum* was published, displays included ethnological and antiquarian collections (including Roman and medieval remains found near Leicester). They also contained natural history and geological specimens, including a large collection of mounted and preserved British birds and several "specimens of very large fossil Saurians, or Water Lizards, principally from the beds of limestone at Barrow-on-Saur," a village in Leicester (7). The final chapter of *Practical Taxidermy* provides directions for setting up a natural history museum along with a fold-out illustration of the "Projected Plan of Arrangement of Vertebrates in the Zoological Room, Leicester Town Museum." In addition to these plans, Browne surveys a number of other proposed plans of classification that, he contends, are "based on an utter disregard of the requirements of science, leaving out art altogether, and worse still, upon an utter ignorance of the first principles of zoology" (324). As this suggests, the larger goal of Browne's practical manual of taxidermy was to raise the scientific legitimacy and artistic merit of provincial museums in Britain. While courting an audience of amateur collectors, Browne's instructions for making specimens and displays trade on the bureaucratic and disciplinary structures of both zoological science and the visual arts.

***Encyclopædia: Or, a Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Miscellaneous Literature*. 1789–1798. Philadelphia: T. Dobson.**

This book includes various sections of the first encyclopedia issued in the newly created United States. Dobson's eighteen-volume encyclopedia was intended to compete with a British project of a similar scale, the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, first published in 1768. Like other encyclopedia makers of the period, Dobson assembled materials from a multitude of contributors and sources on a large variety of subjects ranging from arts and mechanics to the passions and medicine. He follows a method of arrangement common in late eighteenth-century reference works: while the subjects are listed alphabetically, they are also "digested" into "Treatises or Systems comprehending the History, Theory and Practice" of each of the arts and sciences (Gleig, Macfarquhar, and Dobson 1793, t.p.). This organizational strategy allowed readers to collect the whole eighteen-volume set or to pick and choose sections as they saw fit.

The particular sections on display here primarily contain information related to medical topics, including articles on blindness, midwifery, medicine, pharmacy, and surgery, along with numerous diagrams, charts, and illustrations of surgical implements. The specific sections included in this book are as follows: Blindness, Midwifery, Pharmacy, Pharos (islands), Pharos (light house), Pharsalia (town near Pompey), Pharsalia (poem by Lucan), Pharus (genus, botany), Pharynx (anatomy), Phascum (botany), Phaseolus (kidney bean), Medicine, Surcharge (Types), Surcingle (Clerical Garb, Anglican), Surcoat (Heraldry), Surd (Math), Surety (Law), Surf (Natural History), Surfeit (Medical), Surgery. As this list suggests, the owner of this book acquired parts of volume III (BAR-BZO), volume XI (MED-MID), volume XIV (PAS-PLA) and volume XVIII (STR-ZYM). These sections represent only a fraction of the eighteen volumes; they were probably collected, assembled, and bound together by someone with a professional interest in these subjects, and it is possible they formed part of the medical library of a practicing surgeon or obstetrician. Bound in this way, these sections of the *Encyclopædia* reveal how reference works might be transformed by their readers into practical tools for doing things in the world, including operating on people's bodies and delivering children.

The majority of Dobson's *Encyclopædia* is essentially a carbon copy of the third edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* with relatively minor changes made with American readers in mind. The map of North America was superior to the Britannica's, and some articles "of original matter have been inserted, and many have been revised and important improvements made in them," according to Dobson's preface. Despite being mostly a copy of the *Britannica*, Dobson garnered many notable subscribers, including George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Aaron Burr, and Alexander Hamilton. A first edition copy remains part of George Washington's personal library. Due mostly to taxes levied on foreign books being sold in the United States, Dobson could sell his encyclopedia for a mere five dollars (or 67 dollars in modern value), 15% less than the *Britannica*. This price difference assisted Dobson's business, but his *Encyclodaedia* was still expensive. Dobson's success was more likely due to his massive, targeted advertising campaign. He put out ads in newspapers, magazines, spare book leaves, and pamphlets given out at all major book dealers. He also built on a growing nationalist sentiment and rhetoric in the newly forged republic by advertising the encyclopedia as a uniquely American project. Simply branding the *Encyclopædia* as American-centered provided Dobson's encyclopedia with enough of a regional boost to ward off its only real competitor, the older, established *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

Encyclopædia: Or, a Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Miscellaneous Literature. Philadelphia: T. Dobson, 1789–1798.

PROMISING

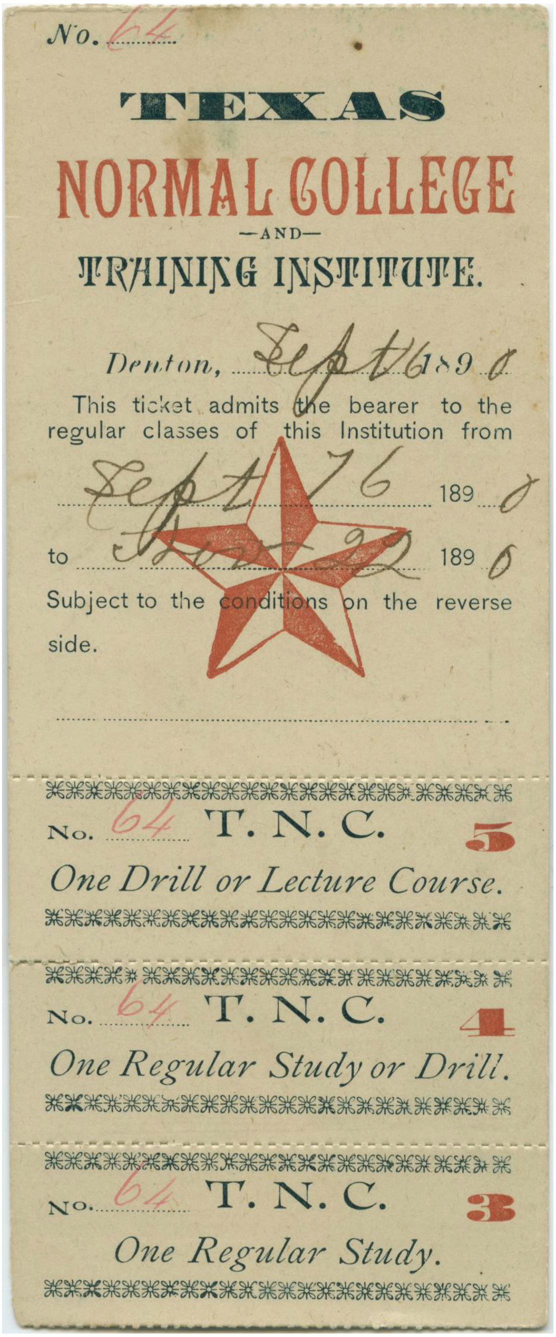
Bureaucracy is often an implicit promise in the sense that standardized procedures will guarantee a certain outcome. But in some cases, bureaucracy offers a more explicit form of promise, such as when a loan document indicates a promise that the borrower will repay the loan or when an admission ticket promises that the bearer will be granted entry. Bureaucratic forms enact a promise that future outcomes can be guaranteed. Bureaucratic promising, therefore, is intended to reduce uncertainty about future events, actions, and results.

"Ticket Book for Courses at Texas Normal College and Training Institute." 1890.

The Texas Normal College and Training Institute was established in 1890 by Joshua C. Chilton, a normal school president and teacher from Orleans, Indiana. In order to secure the school in Denton, a group of local businessmen donated ten acres of land to the city of Denton for a center to train teachers. During the first year, 185 students of varying ages attended the school. Many of the students were working full time (often as teachers) and needed additional education to advance professionally. The courses at Texas Normal College were arranged so students could enroll any time, could take courses when they were available, and could opt to take only the courses that they believed would be professionally advantageous. In order to allow students to take full advantage of the flexibility in enrollment, registration was handled by issuing tickets that students could exchange whenever they enrolled in a course. Tickets came in books of five, and they could be exchanged for a combination of classes, lectures, or drills. The tickets initiated a system used to allow students into classes with proof of payment (Presidential Papers, Box 479).

The tickets shown here provided proof that a student had paid for his or her courses and was entitled to enroll. On the back of the tickets are blank spaces provided for "Amount Paid" and even a space for a signature. This is a binding agreement between school and student that guaranteed students that they would be allowed to enroll in classes once proper payment had been made.

Texas Normal College and Training Institute was one of hundreds of teacher training programs of various size and quality established around the country following the Civil War. Many of the teacher institutes were temporary schools that enrolled working teachers for 2–6 week sessions during summer breaks.



Ticket Book for Courses at Texas Normal College and Training Institute. 1890.

By contrast, Texas Normal College and Training Institute had a physical campus and ran year-round. As such, it needed to attract and provide for a consistent student body.

In order to recruit students and the funds they brought with them, Texas Normal College and Training Institute's curriculum was broad—there were six collegiate courses, a teacher-training course, and secondary level courses. Although the courses of study were designed to be comprehensive, students were allowed to take as many or as few courses as they wanted. Additionally, students could take preparatory courses—equivalent to what was offered in local public schools—that would prepare them for post-secondary work. Promotional materials also indicated that students would be credited for work they completed at other schools. Moreover, according to the 1890–1891 "Course of Study," "Our classes are arranged as to enable students to commence at any time, and no student will be turned away who, for valid reasons, could not enter at opening of term" ("Announcement" 1890, 17). Despite these various attempts to attract students, Texas Normal College and Training Institute was financially unstable and faced bankruptcy for almost a decade after it opened.

"Scholarship Coupon from Texas Normal College Teacher's Training Institute." 1892.

This certificate is a repurposed diploma issued as a scholarship certificate to J.W. Medlin in 1892. The original document was a diploma for the Texas Normal College and Teachers Training Institute, which opened in Denton in 1890. These certificates were likely produced in bulk. The top half of the certificate, which includes a picture of the school and the Normal College's name, was printed from an engraved plate. The bottom half of the certificate would have been left blank so that graduates' names and courses of study could be printed on them as needed. This diploma, however, has been repurposed as a scholarship certificate. The text indicating the completion of a course of study has been crossed out in red. At the bottom of the certificate are listed four scholarship certificates were issued for different courses of study at Texas Normal College. These certificates were purchased by J.W. Medlin, a prominent area citizen and cattleman ("Denton" 1891). The certificates were transferrable, and they were valid for four separate courses of study. This format suggests that they would have been purchased as gifts for multiple people. However, since these certificates appear unused, it is possible that Medlin donated money to support the struggling school, for which he was issued these scholarship certificates as a form of receipt.

This certificate suggests two different bureaucratic functions. One, the original function of the diploma, as a credential to be bestowed upon a student who completed his or her course of study at Texas Normal College. But the second bureaucratic function is a form of promising inasmuch as the scholarship coupons

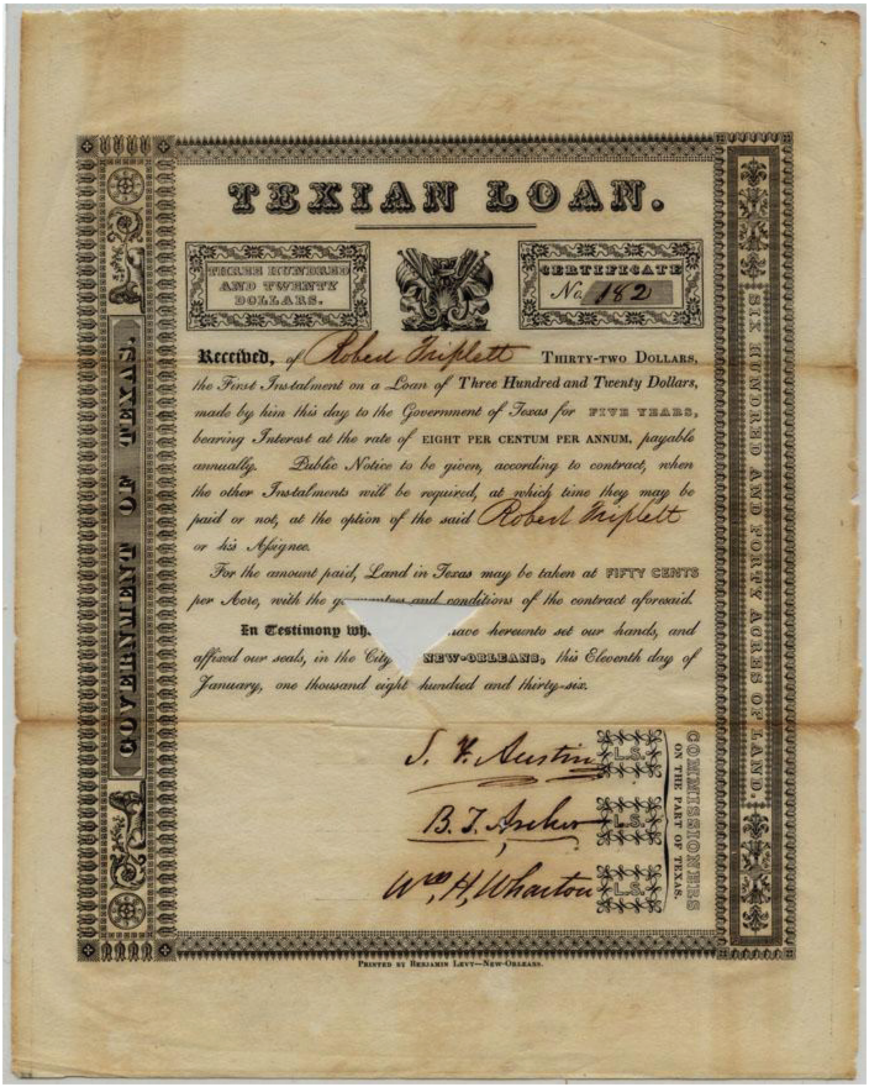
Scholarship Coupon from Texas Normal College Teacher's Training Institute. 1892.

represented a promise that a student or students could attend the school and take courses by virtue of possessing one of the coupons. The fact that the diploma was repurposed calls our attention to the ways in which bureaucratic forms are often used to do things that they were never intended for.

Austin, Stephen F., Branch T. Archer, and William H. Wharton. 1836. *Texian Loan Agreement*.

The Texian Loan Certificate documented a loan to the newly formed Republic of Texas (Republic of Texas and Stephen F. Austin 1836). This certificate was issued on January 11, 1836 to Robert Triplett and indicates that Triplett paid the first $32 installment of a $320 loan to the government of Texas. In anticipation of the Republic of Texas's Declaration of Independence from Mexico in March of 1936, Texas representatives sought private loans to establish and maintain the independent government. Texas representatives primarily sought investors in the United States and offered either a high interest rate (8%) or cheap land in Texas ($.50 per acre) in order to attract investments. A number of people did invest, but Triplett was possibly the largest contributor. Triplett was among an early group of impresarios, settlers, and investors who sought to establish colonies in Texas after Mexico gained independence from Spain in 1821 ("Funding" 2014). Other impresarios included Stephen F. Austin and Sam Houston. When Texans started agitating for independence from Mexico in the 1830s, Triplett loaned the Texas government over $100,000, which is roughly the equivalent of $2.5 million in 2014, to form and maintain the government. The Texian Loan represented an official guarantee that the loan would be compensated per the agreed upon terms. It was signed by Texas's official commissioners, including the "Father of Texas" and first Secretary of State, Stephen F. Austin.

The Texian loan certificate is particularly interesting as a form of bureaucratic promising. When the loan certificate was issued in January of 1836, Texas was still officially a territory of Mexico. Texas's American settlers, called Texians, had been fighting Mexico for independence since 1834 as a result of disagreements over slavery between Mexico's leaders and the impresarios. The Texians had seen significant military success, but the territory was nevertheless still part of Mexico when Austin and others began courting investors. The loan certificate, which was issued and signed in New Orleans, acted as a bureaucratic promise in at least three ways: first, it was a promise that Triplett would lend Texas a certain amount of money, of which this was the first installment; second, it represented a promise that Texas would have a government capable of repaying the loan; and third, it represented a promise to faithfully execute the specific terms of the loan. We might conjecture, as well, that it was issued and signed in US territory, instead of Mexican territory, as a promise that the terms of the contract were not voided in the event that Texas ceased to be a part of Mexico, which happened two months later. Whether or not the place of issuance was an integral part to the loan's trustworthiness, it is clear that the other three parts of the promise



GOVERNMENT OF TEXAS.

TEXIAN LOAN.

THREE HUNDRED AND TWENTY DOLLARS.

CERTIFICATE No. 182

Received, of Robert Triplett THIRTY-TWO DOLLARS, the First Instalment on a Loan of Three Hundred and Twenty Dollars, made by him this day to the Government of Texas for FIVE YEARS, bearing Interest at the rate of EIGHT PER CENTUM PER ANNUM, payable annually. Public Notice to be given, according to contract, when the other Instalments will be required, at which time they may be paid or not, at the option of the said Robert Triplett or his Assignee.

For the amount paid, Land in Texas may be taken at FIFTY CENTS per Acre, with the g[illegible] and conditions of the contract aforesaid.

In Testimony wh[illegible] have hereunto set our hands, and affixed our seals, in the City [illegible] NEW-ORLEANS, this Eleventh day of January, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-six.

S. F. Austin L.S.

B. T. Archer L.S.

Wm. H. Wharton L.S.

COMMISSIONERS ON THE PART OF TEXAS.

SIX HUNDRED AND FORTY ACRES OF LAND.

Printed by Benjamin Levy—New-Orleans.

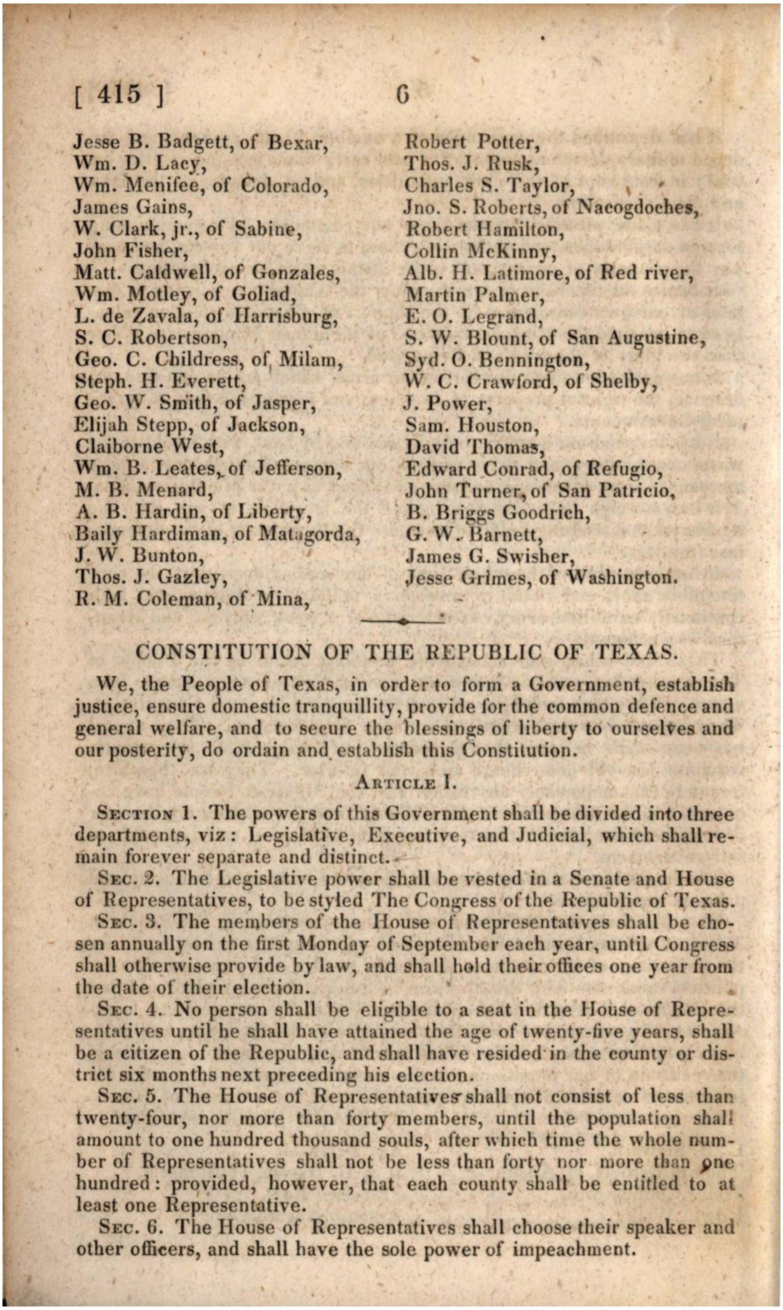
Austin, Stephen F, Branch T. Archer, and William H. Wharton. Texian Loan: Ds., 1836 were fulfilled. The triangle cutout in the middle of the document is a cancel mark indicating that the loan was paid in full.

Jackson, Andrew. 1836. *Message from the President of the United States: In Compliance with a Resolution of the Senate, Relating to the Condition of Texas*. Washington, DC.

This pamphlet collects letters, documents, and reports relating to the establishment of the Republic of Texas as an independent territory following the military conflict between Texas settlers and the government of Mexico in 1835–1836. These documents include Texas's Declaration of Independence from Mexico and the Constitution of the Republic of Texas, both of which were issued in March of 1836. Delegates in Washington adopted the Declaration of Independence on March 2, 1836. At this time, the siege of the Alamo was nearing its conclusion in San Antonio. The Constitution was adopted approximately two weeks later, on March 17. Additional materials collected in the pamphlet include correspondence between the seventh President of the United States, Andrew Jackson, various other members of the US government, and the leaders of the newly established Republic of Texas.

These letters illuminate an important time for the United States and Mexico, but more specifically for Texas. In the 1820s, American settlers negotiated with the Mexican government to establish a colony in Texas. In the early 1830s, however, Mexican authorities attempted to revoke the settlers' agreement because of disputes over slavery in the territory. These disputes ultimately evolved into military conflict in 1834. The following year, after a series of military successes, the Texian settlers declared their independence from Mexico and established the Republic of Texas, an independent territory.

The documents collected here represent a brief period of approximately three months, from March to June 1836. During this time, the Republic of Texas sent several emissaries to the United States to gain official recognition for the new republic's independence from Mexico. Official recognition had serious implications for trade agreements and diplomatic relations. But more importantly, Texian representatives wanted to receive assurance that the US would not side with Mexico to bring the Texas territory back under Mexican control. In one letter to Secretary of State John Forsyth, for instance, two representatives of Texas indicated their certainty that "the Government of the United States will adopt such course of action in relation to the matter [of independence] as it may deem due to the Republic of Texas, and accordant with those principles both of strict neutrality and *impartial justice* which have ever characterized its intercourse with foreign nations" (Jackson 1836, n.p.). Of course, the United States did not intercede on Mexico's behalf, and the US granted the Republic of Texas official recognition as an independent republic in 1837. Texas remained an independent republic until it was annexed by the United States in 1848 following the Mexican-American War.



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Jesse B. Badgett, of Bexar,
Wm. D. Lacy,
Wm. Menifee, of Colorado,
James Gains,
W. Clark, jr., of Sabine,
John Fisher,
Matt. Caldwell, of Gonzales,
Wm. Motley, of Goliad,
L. de Zavala, of Harrisburg,
S. C. Robertson,
Geo. C. Childress, of Milam,
Steph. H. Everett,
Geo. W. Smith, of Jasper,
Elijah Stepp, of Jackson,
Claiborne West,
Wm. B. Leates, of Jefferson,
M. B. Menard,
A. B. Hardin, of Liberty,
Baily Hardiman, of Matagorda,
J. W. Bunton,
Thos. J. Gazley,
R. M. Coleman, of Mina,
Robert Potter,
Thos. J. Rusk,
Charles S. Taylor,
Jno. S. Roberts, of Nacogdoches,
Robert Hamilton,
Collin McKinny,
Alb. H. Latimore, of Red river,
Martin Palmer,
E. O. Legrand,
S. W. Blount, of San Augustine,
Syd. O. Bennington,
W. C. Crawford, of Shelby,
J. Power,
Sam. Houston,
David Thomas,
Edward Conrad, of Refugio,
John Turner, of San Patricio,
B. Briggs Goodrich,
G. W. Barnett,
James G. Swisher,
Jesse Grimes, of Washington.

CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS.

We, the People of Texas, in order to form a Government, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence and general welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution.

Article I.

Section 1. The powers of this Government shall be divided into three departments, viz: Legislative, Executive, and Judicial, which shall remain forever separate and distinct.

Sec. 2. The Legislative power shall be vested in a Senate and House of Representatives, to be styled The Congress of the Republic of Texas.

Sec. 3. The members of the House of Representatives shall be chosen annually on the first Monday of September each year, until Congress shall otherwise provide by law, and shall hold their offices one year from the date of their election.

Sec. 4. No person shall be eligible to a seat in the House of Representatives until he shall have attained the age of twenty-five years, shall be a citizen of the Republic, and shall have resided in the county or district six months next preceding his election.

Sec. 5. The House of Representatives shall not consist of less than twenty-four, nor more than forty members, until the population shall amount to one hundred thousand souls, after which time the whole number of Representatives shall not be less than forty nor more than one hundred: provided, however, that each county shall be entitled to at least one Representative.

Sec. 6. The House of Representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Jackson, Andrew. *Message from the President of the United States: In Compliance with a Resolution of the Senate, Relating to the Condition of Texas.* Washington, 1836.

ACCOUNTING

Bureaucracy is often deployed to keep track of persons, things, money, knowledge, practices, and beliefs. The drive to account arises when an institution or body of knowledge grows to a scale wherein its components need to be documented and counted. Purposes for accounting vary, but the practice shows the power of bureaucracy to also be its weakness: as duties and powers are delegated and disseminated, the need for administration emerges. Administration demands and depends on accounting to represent institutional processes and development in order to make them known. This knowledge is embedded in particular forms and formats: indexes, catalogs, lists, two-column entries, and cross-referencing systems created to suit the purposes of keeping accounts.

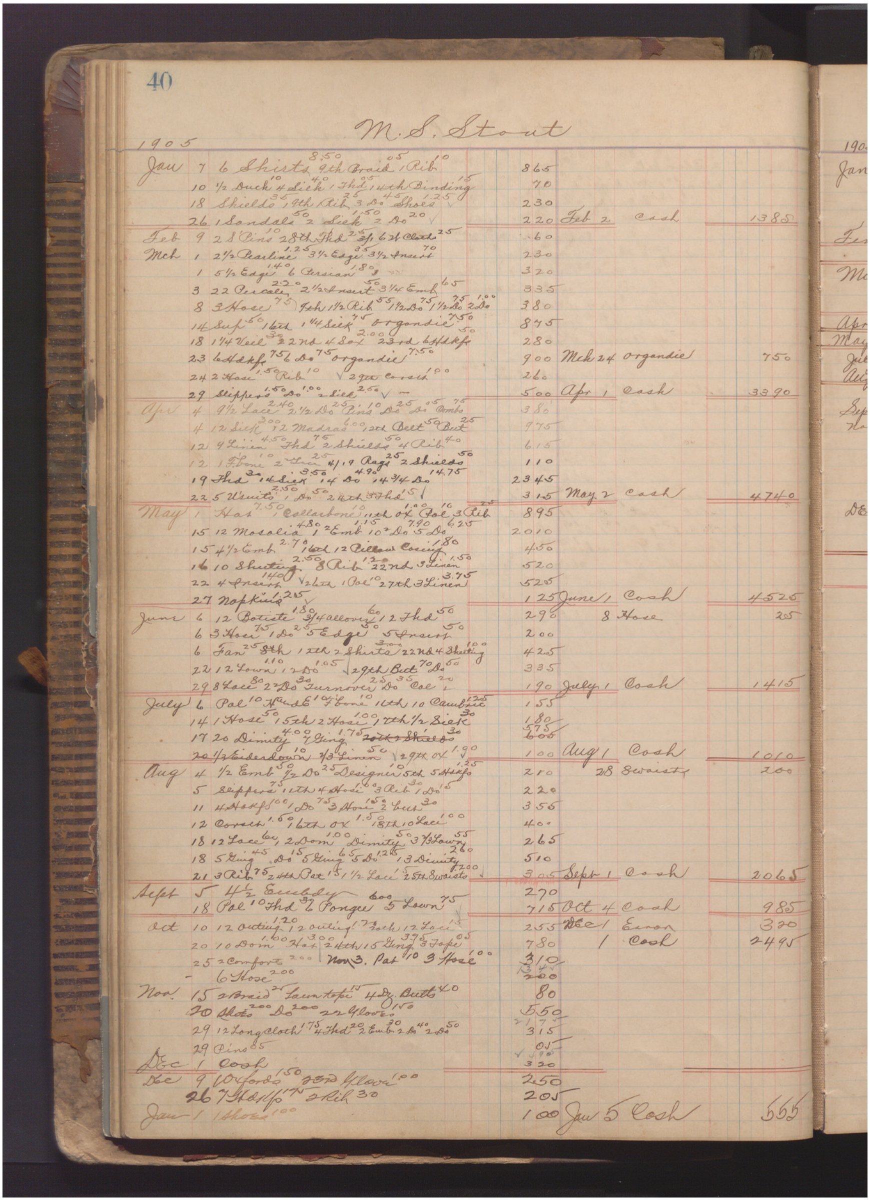
Elliott, Cora Helen Elizabeth. 1904–1905. Account book, ms. McBride's Music and Pawn, Denton TX.

This account book records the activities of the Main Street milliner's shop—a dealer in textiles—operating in Denton, Texas around the turn of the twentieth century. It records, in particular, one year's activities spanning from late 1904 to early 1905. It was most likely kept by the shop's proprietor, Cora Helen [Hettie] Elizabeth Elliott. Elliott did business as "Mrs. J. P. Elliott" and documents her personal salary under that name in this volume.

While digitization makes it difficult to capture the materiality of the book itself, it is clear that it was a carefully designed artifact manufactured to fit the record-keeping needs of Elliott and others like her. The insider cover explains the construction method:

> EVERY SECTION OF PAPER In this book is *stitched* to a *patent heavy woven cloth guard*, which is then *sewed by hand* to specially made *extra heavy linen bands*, and the entire back of the guards is then *reinforced* with *strong leather*, which gives ADDITIONAL STRENGTH, *Prevents breaking*, and produces a book which *opens PERFECTLY FLAT from the first to last page*.

As several patent records show, the 1890s saw an interest in the development of record books that would, by design, lay flat without causing damage to the binding, thus preserving the integrity of the collection of individual sheets of paper. The particular example used by Elliott, "The 'Commercial' Perfect Flat



Elliott, Cora Helen Elizabeth. Account Book, ms. On loan from McBride's Music and Pawn, Denton TX, 1904–1905.

Opening Blank Book," was patented in 1894. The patent-holders for "flat opening blank books" licensed various manufacturers to make and sell them (Inland Printer, 1894). One of the most prominent, and perhaps the manufacturer of Elliott's book, was The Henry O. Shepard Company of Chicago, Illinois, which won an award for its blank book work at the Columbian Exposition of 1893. Elliott's book not only lays flat but also provided her with added convenience in the form of a tabbed index, within which she could list her clients by name and cross-reference individual pages of the book, all of which were hand-stamped with an ink page number. Presenting itself with an aspect of seriousness and elegance, the book was embossed on the outside and decorated with maroon paper strips, also embossed with a gold chain pattern. The color scheme of black, maroon, and gold is carried over into the book's heavy decorative end papers.

Other than the very first, all 472 plus pages of Elliott's blank book were put to use. Most of the simple semi-calligraphic manuscript writing in the book records individual transactions, arranged in chronological order, under a heading for each client. Notable corporate customers include the Denton County Jail, the College of Industrial Arts (now Texas Woman's University), First National Bank, the Exchange National Bank, the Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad Company, and the Texas and Pacific Railway. Most accounts, however, correspond to individuals like Elliott and members of their families. Each client's transactions are arranged in a common two-column scheme, one denoting charges for materials received and the other for payments. By consulting these two columns, the book's user could at any time determine the standing of any client's bill. Additionally, the book records business expenses, including the cost of merchandise, insurance, freight, and advertising, and sundry expenses including stamps, telephone, envelopes, oil, water, ink, brooms, taxes, coal, rent, soap, telegrams, postcards, lights, "scavenger" services (street-cleaning and waste removal), towels, laundry, PO Box rental, signage, horse feed, & etc. All told, this account book holds information for transactions between Elliott and hundreds of individuals and groups.

Despite its straightforward economic purpose, this book also became a repository of personal, sometimes private, and even highly charged emotional transactions and relationships. "Mrs. J. P. Elliott" is registered as having received $8000 in salary for the year. She also purchased needles and thread, suggesting her work as a seamstress was ongoing while she kept shop. All of Elliott's daughters had running accounts in the shop. Elliott's second daughter, Emma Elizabeth, died at age twenty-two near the close of the year that this book documents. Part of her short life is documented on page 380 of this book wherein it is recorded that she purchased three parcels of Liberty silk (produced by a high-fashion London silk merchant famous for its printed designs), a pair of shoes, and some buttons. Emma's older sister, Mabel, paid $8.75 for the cost of these materials. The date "Dec 5" is recorded in a slow-moving hand that caused ink to pool at various turns in the formation of the letters. This entry only records a date and no transaction, which is an anomaly in the book's otherwise remarkably consistent record-keeping scheme. As the 1910 Census records, Elliott had left the milliner's business by 1910 and reported her employments as those of keeping house and dress making.

Dona Terry of Houston, TX, a descendent of Cora Elliott, provided important assistance in the compilation of this description.

Pullen, Philip. 1815. *Index to the Divine and Spiritual Writings of Joanna Southcott*. London: Printed by T. Wood.

Joanna Southcott (1750–1814) was a self-proclaimed prophetess who began publishing her spiritual and prophetic works in 1801. At the age of 42, Southcott began to hear a 'voice' that she claimed enabled her to predict various events during the 1790s, including the war with France and food shortages. Due to the accuracy of her prophecies, Southcott quickly drew a number of followers to her cause. Between 1801 and 1814, these followers consolidated into a movement fueled by the volume of Southcott's publications—over 65 books and pamphlets that circulated in over 100,000 copies collectively (Bowerbank 2004). Published the year after her death, this 240-page book indexes many of Southcott's popular writings. It is organized alphabetically, and each entry includes a word or phrase, followed by numbers that are assigned to one of Southcott's works, as well as the page number containing the relevant discussion. The book thus functions as a finding aid for those studying Southcott's writings. However, it also includes interleaved blank sheets at regular intervals in the text, filled with manuscript notes.

These blank pages indicate that the book was also used as a commonplace book in which the reader could copy and compile relevant passages. Designed to serve a specific bureaucratic purpose, the interleaved pages and the religious content of Southcott's works indicate how an index could become a form of spiritual accounting.

Before her visions, Southcott had worked in various households as a maidservant, and her prophetic writings contain an intriguing mixture of prophecy, biblical citation, spiritual advice, and narratives of everyday events from her youth. Southcott appeared to many people as a defender or voice of the working classes in a time of social and political upheaval across Europe and in Britain. Her work could be understood as democratic, but she also developed a practice of "sealing" to attach her followers to her more effectually. "Sealing" was a form of privileged membership approved in a ritualized pledge to Southcott herself; it involved Southcott and her follower signing a paper inscribed with a circle and a message of acceptance, which was subsequently folded and sealed by Southcott (Bowerbank 2004). To be sealed, followers were required to read two of Southcott's books, *Sound an Alarm in my Holy Mountain* (1804) and *A Caution and Instruction to the Sealed* (1807). Southcott's writings became part of the right

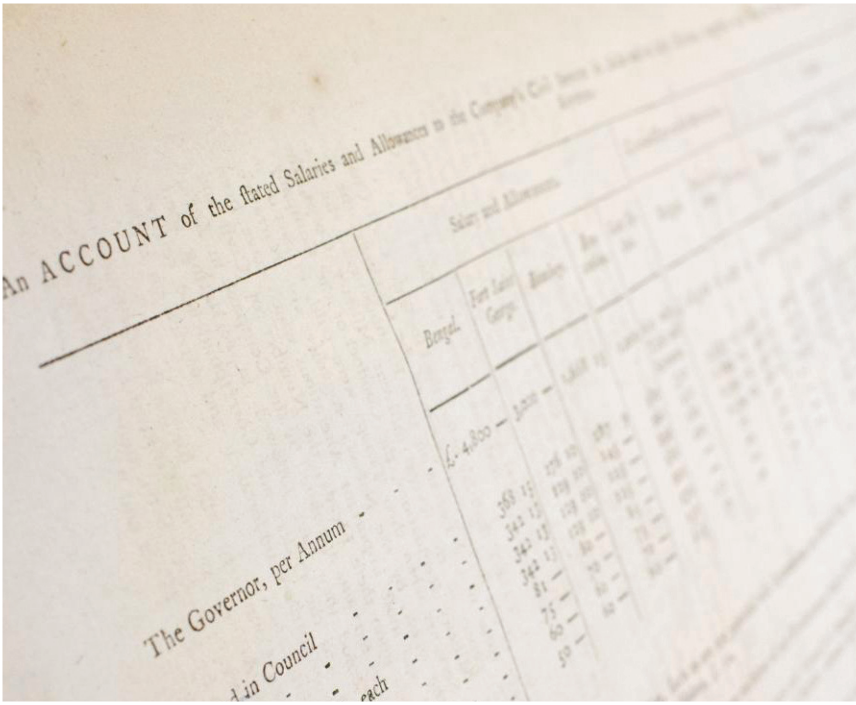
Pullen, Philip. *Index to the Divine and Spiritual Writings of Joanna Southcott.* London: Printed by T. Wood, 1815 of passage demanded of her followers, promoting the development of a devoted and elite group defined by textual knowledge and personal connection to the prophetess.

In this context, we might understand the *Index* in several ways: as an index, the book opens Southcott's body of work to a wider audience interested in specific ideas or passages, thus fulfilling the ostensibly democratic bent of her spiritual work. As with contemporaneous publications like Joseph Priestley's *Index to the Bible* (1804), which organizes its content by subject rather than by words and concentrates on prophecy, the *Index* is designed to enable people unfamiliar with Southcott's work to navigate it successfully. The index also works to legitimate Southcott as an author by drawing on the authority of alphabetically-organized concordances of the Bible, including the standard eighteenth-century concordance to the King James Bible, Alexander Cruden's *Complete Concordance to the Holy Scriptures* (1737). The very existence of an index to Southcott's work confirms the importance of that work by providing an exhaustive account of its content; like biblical concordances, it encourages study and marks Southcott's writings as not just important but "invaluable" and "inspired" (Cruden 1806, t.p.). With the inserted blank pages, the book also provides new readers and the inner circle of her devoted readers with a means of personal inscription, a way of affirming—by copying out her words—their dedication to her cause and work even after her death.

House of Commons. 1804 [1772, 1773]. *Reports from Committees of House of Commons.* East Indies, Vol. IV. Great Britain. Parliament. Re-printed by Order of the House of Commons.

Private companies funded by individual investors who hoped to turn a profit administered large swaths of the global trade, colonization, and imperial ventures undertaken by early modern Europeans. This was certainly so for the English East India Company (EIC), which was granted a Royal Charter by Queen Elizabeth in 1600. The EIC was extremely successful, and, at its peak, the company maintained a monopoly on half the trade goods in the world. These included cotton, silk, indigo dye, salt, salt petre (potassium nitrate), opium, and tea.

The extensiveness of the EIC operations required it to take on and perform many of the roles normally reserved for sovereign nations and political empires. The Company maintained an active military and defended its activities and possession abroad through force and the threat of force. It also maintained a vast administrative framework backed by an equally extensive communication network. The volume and diversity of the Company's transactions necessitated enormous record-keeping efforts. As a privately owned and operated Company it looked and acted like a government entity. This blurring of boundaries was exacerbated by the fact that the Company's vast wealth made it a primary source of borrowed money for the government, which repaid these loans in cash and with its continuing legitimation of the Company's rights and privileges. In effect,



House of Commons. *Reports from Committees of House of Commons.* East Indies, Vol. IV. Great Britain. Parliament. Re-printed by Order of the House of Commons. 1804 [1772, 1773].

the Company acted as a branch of the government in India and elsewhere. By the early 1770s however, questions began to be raised about mismanagement and misrule.

The pages on display here come from a book (printed in 1804) that reprinted nine reports delivered to Britain's House of Commons in the years 1772 and 1773. These reports consider the appointment of superintending commissioners in the East Indies; the Company's financial holdings; the distribution of the Company's profits gained in the East Indies; abuses by Company servants that diminished profits; the use and account of ships employed by the Company; Company profits and oversight in Bengal; the legal structure employed by the Company in Bengal; a shortage of cash experienced by the Company in England as a result of funds drawn by its servants in India; and the cost of employing Company officers and servants in India.

In short, these reports represent a close look into the Company's financial standing and power structures in an attempt to root out corruption, mismanagement, and an assortment of abuses of power. They also represent a high-profile moment in a series of actions by which the British government sought—and eventually succeeded—to take control of the Company, in so doing to institute reforms that would address the kinds of problems these reports document. The 1804 date of publication (after the 1787 impeachment of Warren Hastings, the British Governor-General of India and Bengal) attests to the continuing value of these reports as public resources.

Newton, James. 1752. *A Compleat Herbal of the Late James Newton, M.D. Containing the Prints and English Names of Several Thousand Trees, Plants, Shrubs, Flowers, Exotics, & c.* London: Printed by E. Cave at St. Johns Gate.

The contents of this printed herbal are based on compilations from earlier herbals made by James Newton (1639–1718), a physician and botanist. Newton's research took him throughout England and the Netherlands and he corresponded with noteworthy contemporary men of science, including Paul Hermann at Leiden, James Sutherland at the Edinburgh Physic Garden, Hans Sloane of British Museum fame, and John Ray, author of the compendious *Historia Plantarum* (1686–1704). Inspired by the work of these men and others, Newton attentively and meticulously lorded over the realm of botany. Newton's work aims to fully account for—by name and appearance—the entirety of late seventeenth-century botanical knowledge. An early biographer speculated that botany was a way for Newton, the administrator of a London madhouse, to "divert his attention, in some measure, from the sad objects under his care" (Noble 1806, 280). As an eminently rational endeavor, systematically accounting for the universe of plants might have, for Newton, staved off frightful chaos of human minds unloosed from their moorings.

This herbal features images—referred to as "icons" in the Preface—and English names for several thousand trees and plants. This information is organized in 174 tables containing about 20 icons grouped by type. John Ray (1686), whose influence on this herbal is clear, implemented groupings of images by type, which are typical of the Peterson field guides of today. Additionally, each icon is titled with the English names of the plants and one or more initials. The initials refer the book's reader to cross-reference with other botanical texts listed in an opening table. Newton drew much of his information, visual and textual, from these other texts, and, in many cases, the Latin names for the plants are included as part of these inter-textual references. An alphabetical index—also employing the English names of the plants—facilitates navigation of the numerous plates. The order of the plates reflects the progress of the author's original work as a botanical author. His first book began with grasses and his second, more comprehensive, book began with apples. The contents of both of these earlier publications are printed in this herbal, beginning with types of grasses and continuing through, among others, types of horsetails, reeds, corn, beans, peas, lentils, vetches, violets, daffodils, tulips, onions, leeks, garlic, crocuses, turnips, radishes, mustards, rockets (arugulas), endives, dandelions, lettuces, cabbages, beets, ferns, mallows, hollyhocks, apples, poppies, rhubarbs, anemones, foxgloves, carnations, aloes,

Newton, James. *A Compleat Herbal of the Late James Newton, M.D. Containing the Prints and English Names of Several Thousand Trees, Plants, Shrubs, Flowers, Exotics, & c.* London: Printed by E. Cave at St. Johns Gate, 1752.

yuccas, flaxes, potatoes, gourds, pompions (pumpkins), bindweeds, strawberries, mints, hemps, sages, ground pines, marigolds, sunflowers, daisies, thistles, carrots, parsnips, and mushrooms.

The edition of the *Herbal* on display here speaks very clearly to its own moment of coming into being. Newton's son—also named James Newton (1664–1750)—followed in his father's footsteps as a botanist and physician (McConnell 2004). But Newton, Jr.'s son—that is, the grandson of the compiler of this herbal—entered a different profession when he was educated in Oxford and took a post in the Anglican clergy. This third James Newton arranged for his grandfather's two seventeenth-century herbals to be printed again in London in 1752, pages of which are reproduced here.

Several motives were at work in the reprinting of these older materials in the middle of the eighteenth century: for one, Newton, the clergyman's father, had died just two years earlier, in 1750, leaving behind his and his father's research materials. The publication of this herbal collected these materials and brought them into public view once again in a more comprehensive format. The book's dedication to Earl Harcourt provides another clue regarding motive: in 1749, the English system of hereditary titles was expanded, with the addition of the titles Earl of Harcourt and Viscount of Nuneham. Both these titles were bestowed upon Simon Harcourt (1714–1777), a British general, diplomat, and Fellow of the Royal Society. As the noble most closely attached to the third James Newton's church and the village it served, Harcourt made a fitting dedicatee for this book. The herbal would have served as a token of obligation, potentially aimed at ingratiating Newton to this local dignitary; at the very least, it reminded Harcourt of the fact that the Rector of the local church was descended from a line of men of scientific accomplishments.

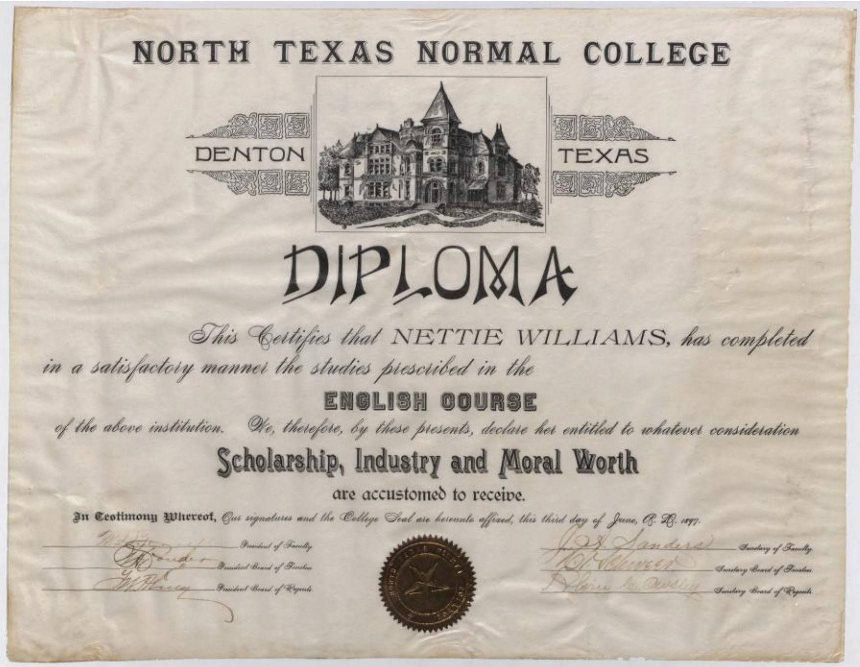
CREDENTIALING

Credentials demonstrate a person's record of service or accomplishment, as in the case of diplomas or identifications. Likewise, they establish someone's qualifications or abilities. But in order for them to work appropriately, credentials have to be recognizable for what they certify. For example, academic credentials are ultimately useless unless they can be determined to prove the accomplishments and qualifications of the person who holds them. The intelligibility of credentials—that which makes them valuable—is formalized and authenticated by bureaucratic forms.

Williams, Nettie. 1897. Personal English Diploma from North Texas Normal College.

This diploma from the North Texas Normal College was bestowed on Nettie Williams in June 1897. It serves as a formal declaration that its bearer is "entitled to whatever consideration scholarship, industry, and moral worth are accustomed to receive." The diploma highlights the bureaucratic functions of credentials. As proof of an accomplishment, this diploma is intended to open doors to opportunities normally closed to the undereducated or uncertified. As a physical document, it provides material evidence of accomplishment, which can be carried, displayed, and, this case, smelled. Whether or not this diploma opened professional opportunities for Williams is uncertain. What we do know is that soon after her graduation, she married the editor of the local newspaper, the *Denton Record-Chronicle*.

When Williams earned this diploma in 1897, North Texas Normal College was primarily a school for educating public school teachers—a normal school. But the school also offered "college" courses of study during its first decade in existence. This diploma was awarded to Williams for completion of the "English Course," which was a three-year course of study focusing primarily on "modern subjects," including math and science, modern languages, and literature ("Catalogue" 1897). The English Course was designed as a middle option between the two-year professional teacher training course (the Normal course) and the four-year academic Classical/Scientific courses (the College course). The English Course was supposed to prepare students for professional work beyond teaching by exposing them to a more rigorous education than normal school training afforded (Rogers 2002). It appears from enrollment rosters that Williams passed the teachers course in 1896 before enrolling in the English Course.



Williams, Nettie. Personal English Diploma from North Texas Normal College. Denton, 1897.

Williams's graduation came at an interesting time in the history of North Texas Normal College. The school was first opened by Joshua C. Chilton in 1891 as a private venture, backed by a group of local businessmen called "the Syndicate." Chilton resigned in 1893 after breaking down "both financially and physically" (Crumley 1935). He was replaced by John J. Crumley, who worked with State Senator Emory C. Smith to secure the right for the college to "confer state teaching certificates." This move marked the school as a "semi-state" school, although it remained financially independent. In subsequent years, the school changed hands again due to financial challenges. Menter B. Terrill, the school's third president, signed Nettie Williams' diploma not long after taking control of the institution in 1894.

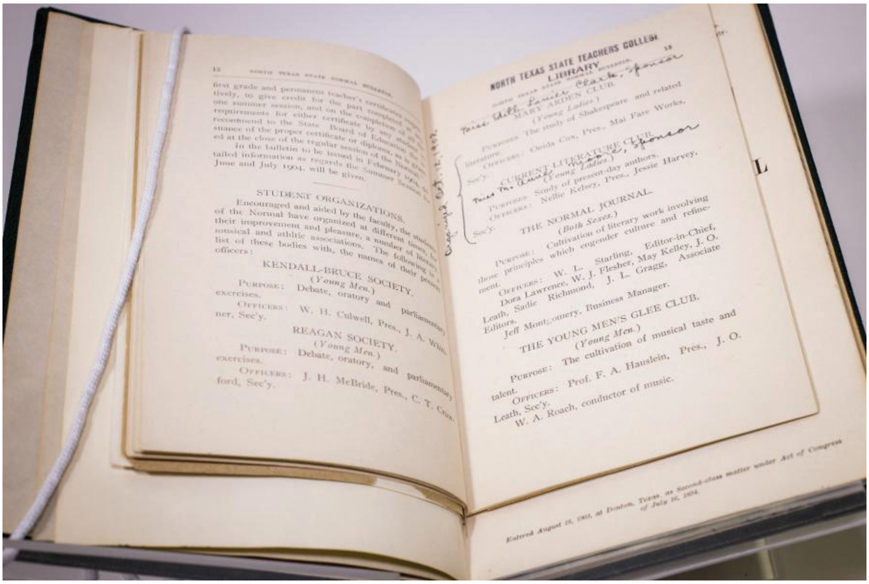
Two years after Williams graduated the State of Texas declared North Texas Normal College a state institution, but the school remained in private control for two additional years because the legislature did not initially provide any funding. In 1901, the state officially took control of the normal school and renamed it North Texas State Normal School. There is some suggestion that the college courses at North Texas Normal College were "not in all cases faithfully issued" (Lefevre 1903). When Williams earned her diploma for completing the "English

Course" in 1897, North Texas Normal College was still a private institution, but when the state of Texas took control the college courses were discontinued and only teacher training credentials were offered. At the same time, the Texas legislature established the Girls Industrial College (now Texas Woman's University), located just a few miles away. North Texas State Normal School would not begin offering college level courses again until the 1910s. Even as the institution was undergoing these radical changes, Williams's diploma would still have certified that she earned her education from an institution in good standing at the time of its issuance, and as such, would have continued to serve her as evidence of her credentials.

"Quarterly Bulletins, 1903–1904." 1903. North Texas State Normal College.

The four bulletins bound within this volume were issued by the North Texas State Normal School between December 1903 and July 1904. The bulletins detail institutional policies, including information about costs, admissions requirements, curricula, the Normal School's mission and history, summer school, entrance examinations, and personnel. Although primarily intended to catalogue the school's policies, the bulletins served a number of complicated functions, perhaps the most important of which was to serve as marketing materials. Bulletins were distributed to schools, businesses, and government agencies throughout the state and surrounding areas to demonstrate the strengths of the school, including "moral and religious influences," the extent of library and laboratory equipment, the credentials of faculty and administrators, and the prevailing educational philosophy (1904 Bulletin, 28). This information, it was hoped, would impress people who would then encourage potential students to attend and perhaps even make a donation to the school.

In addition, this series of bulletins provides some interesting glimpses into the ongoing efforts to establish the institution's credentials as a high quality teacher-training institution. According to the opening historical sketch in the December 1903 bulletin, North Texas State Normal was created in 1899 by legislative enactment. This statement is both true and false. In fact, a private normal college had been founded on the same site in 1891. Over the course of approximately a decade, the school struggled to recruit students, and it changed hands a number of times. In 1893, a state senator introduced legislation to allow the normal college to offer state-sanctioned teaching certificates, thus making the school a semi-state school. By 1899, recruitment continued to lag, and state and local officials lobbied to convince the Texas Legislature to make North Texas Normal College an official state normal school—hence the 1899 birthdate for the school (Gammel 1902). However, while the vote was passed, no funds were allocated, so the school remained in private control until 1901 when the state of Texas took full control of the school's administration, making 1901 the actual origin date of the state-administered institution. By marking 1899 as the date of North Texas



North Texas State Normal College. "Quarterly Bulletins, 1903–1904."

Normal's official creation, the 1903–1904 bulletins separates the current institution from its private predecessor, despite the fact that the School occupied the same physical structure, employed some of the same teachers, and enrolled some of the same students. The goal, of course, was to emphasize the school's state credentials and downplay its historical (and less reputable) existence as a private normal college.

These bulletins also situated the normal school within a long institutional tradition. While under private control, the institution had been labeled a "normal college," and it offered two different curricula. One was "collegiate," which meant that students took a classical college course based on Latin and Greek. The other curriculum was "normal," which meant that it focused strictly on teacher training. A normal school education led to what was essentially a professional degree, as opposed to an academic degree. When the state took control of the school in 1901, however, the college curriculum was disbanded and the school became exclusively a normal school. In the December 1903 bulletin, the mission statement bluntly asserts, "The Normal is neither a college nor a university" ("Bulletin" 1903, 3). The next issue, dated February 1904, provides an extended history of normal school traditions dating back to sixteenth century Europe ("Bulletin" 1904, 3–4). This history serves again to distance North Texas State Normal from its first decade in existence while at the same time establishing it as part of a centuries-long tradition of educative excellence.

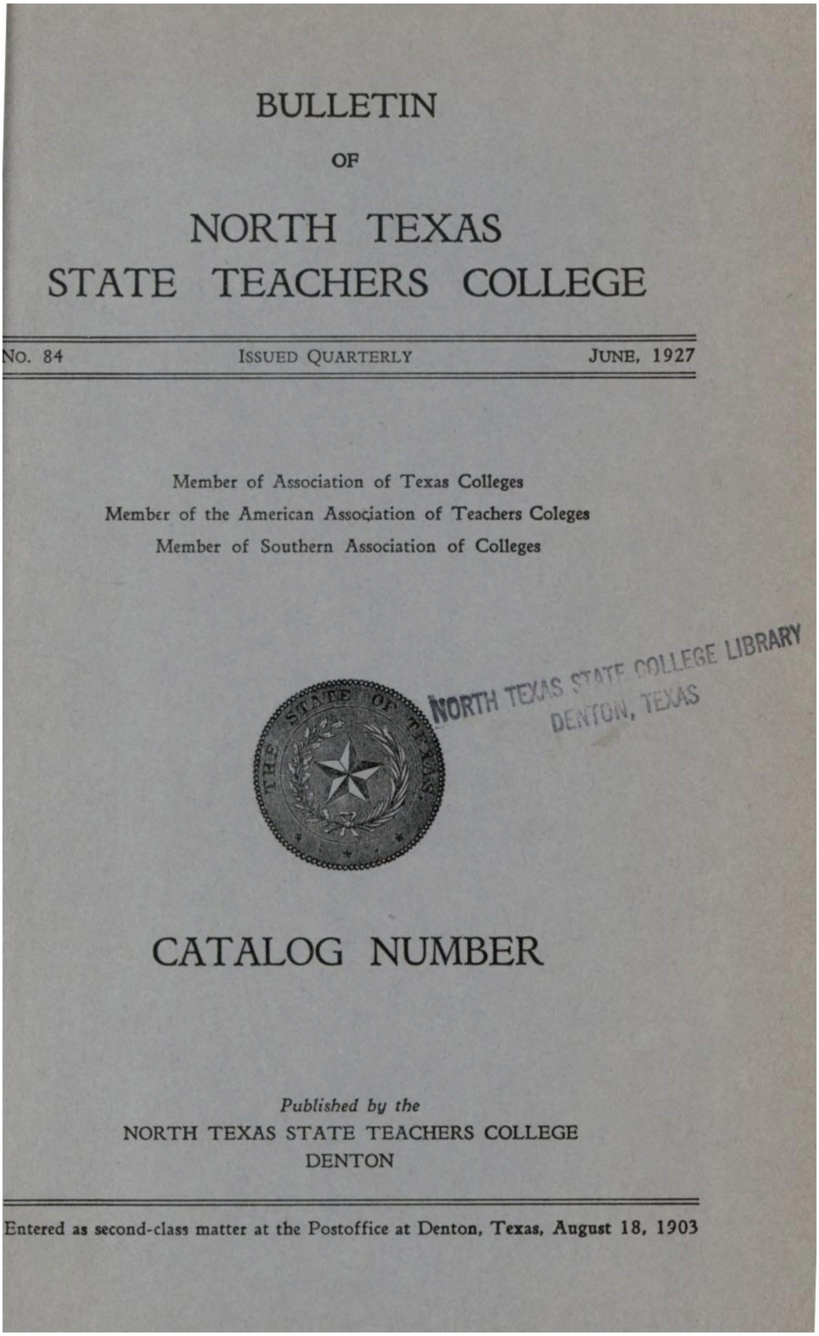
At each of these steps, the bulletins serve as concrete evidence of the institution's credentials as a reputable teacher training school, which could therefore be trusted to credential students as reputable teachers.

"Bulletin." 1926. North Texas State Normal College.

This volume contains official bulletins for the North Texas State Teachers College, including the 1927 summer quarter bulletin and the 1927–1928 general catalog. This volume gives a glimpse into the state of the institution during the mid-1920s. As with the other bulletins that were part of the special exhibit, this volume includes sections on general information, expenses and fees, and certificates and degrees offered. It also outlines the prerequisites needed for particular classes or degree plans and requirements for graduation. Finally, the bulletin lists registered students and summarizes degrees granted, dating back to 1918. Just as important, the bulletins give a rich history of life on campus, by including pictures and detailed descriptions of various extra-curricular activities offered by the college.

These bulletins were published just after North Texas State Normal School had transformed into North Texas State Teachers College. This change represented a significant institutional change inasmuch as it required an expansion of degree offerings and curricula, which would align it with other colleges in the state of Texas. The change from normal school to teachers college also required a more substantial bureaucratic organization, with more administrators, more divisions, and an increasingly hierarchical power structure. North Texas State Normal became a teachers college as part of a major national shift in which normal schools were nearly all transformed from normal schools into teachers colleges along with expanded curricular and administrative requirements.

Although there is ample information in these volumes to document the institutional structure, of particular interest in this volume are the institutional credentials displayed on the cover of the June 1927 bulletin. Beginning that year, the institution became a member of the Association of Texas Colleges, the American Association of Teachers Colleges, and the Southern Association of Colleges. These credentials are noteworthy because North Texas State Teachers College was among the first institutions to be allowed to join both the American Association of Teachers Colleges and the Southern Association of Colleges, since the two were generally reserved for different kinds of institutions. In fact, North Texas State Teachers College was at the center of debates over whether or not teachers colleges would be allowed to join regional accreditation associations like the Southern Association (Rogers 2002, 152-157). Among the five regional associations that accredited all the colleges and universities in the country, none allowed teachers colleges to join unless they met the more stringent standards of a traditional college. This meant higher requirements for endowments, higher credentials for faculty, and higher equipment requirements than the American Association of Teachers Colleges required.



BULLETIN

OF

NORTH TEXAS
STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE

No. 84 | Issued Quarterly | June, 1927

Member of Association of Texas Colleges
Member of the American Association of Teachers Coleges
Member of Southern Association of Colleges

CATALOG NUMBER

Published by the
NORTH TEXAS STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
DENTON

Entered as second-class matter at the Postoffice at Denton, Texas, August 18, 1903

“Bulletin.” North Texas State Normal College, 1926.

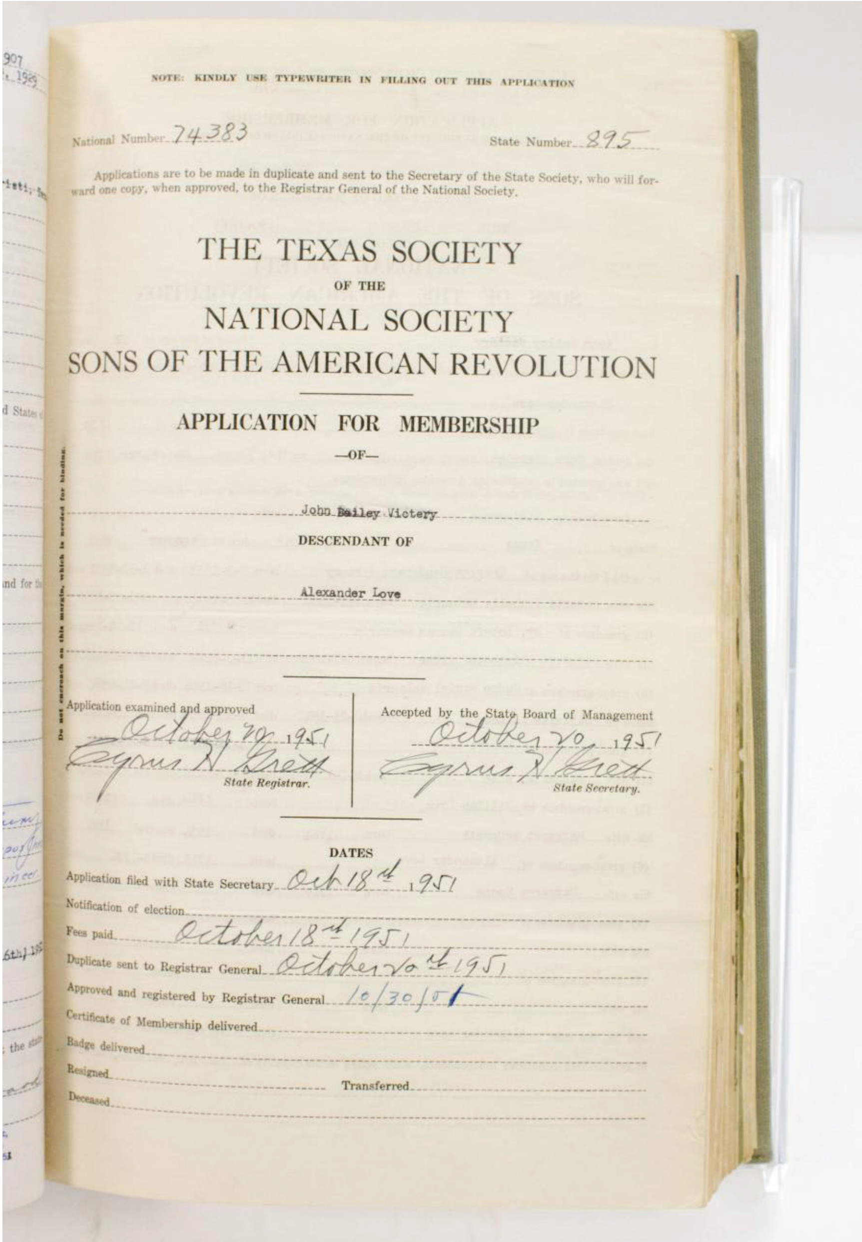
In the mid-1920s, North Texas State Teachers College was the largest teachers college in Texas and one of the largest in the country. After its application was turned down by the Southern Association in 1924, administrators began lobbying all the teachers colleges in Texas to consider joining the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. This move would have either split the state of Texas into two regional accreditation jurisdictions or have caused the state's colleges and universities to follow the teachers colleges' suit. The Southern Association ultimately relented and allowed the teachers colleges to join, provided they met the association's requirements for regular colleges and universities.

The Southern Association credentials allowed North Texas State Teachers College to offer a wider range of courses and to recruit more students by offering different curricula than other teacher training institutions. Additionally, it ensured that North Texas State Teachers College graduates could teach in any Southern Association accredited elementary or high school, which made it easier for North Texas State Teachers College graduates to relocate across state lines. The credentials advertised on the front of the June 1927 catalog, then, represent a series of intense institutional battles that reverberated throughout the state of Texas, the southern region of the United States, and in fact throughout the country, as more and more teachers colleges began to seek regional accreditation.

Applications for Membership. Various Dates. Texas Society of the Sons of the American Revolution. TXSSAR Archives. University of North Texas Libraries. Denton, TX.

The Texas Society of the Sons of the American Revolution is a chapter of the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, a fraternal and civic organization first founded in 1889 in connection with centennial commemorations of George Washington's inauguration as America's first president. According to the Texas Society's constitution, the main goals of the organization are to advance the historical, educative, and nationalistic values of America's Revolutionary War patriots (Marrs, Rohrbough, and Voegtle 2012). These goals are accomplished through an expansive network of educational programs, philanthropic donations, commemorative services, scholarship programs, and more. According to the National Society's website, the organization's membership has included a number of highly influential people, including sixteen US Presidents, Sir Winston Churchill, and kings Juan Carlos I and Felipe VI of Spain ("What We Do" 2016). The Sons of the American Revolution received Federal sanction as a Patriotic Society in 1906.

In order to be admitted as a member to the Sons of the American Revolution (SAR), applicants are required to establish their direct lineage to someone who fought in the Revolutionary War, signed the *Declaration of Independence*, or otherwise contributed to the cause of the American Revolution. This book compiles 115 completed application forms for the Texas Society of the National Society



NOTE: KINDLY USE TYPEWRITER IN FILLING OUT THIS APPLICATION

National Number 74383 State Number 895

Applications are to be made in duplicate and sent to the Secretary of the State Society, who will forward one copy, when approved, to the Registrar General of the National Society.

THE TEXAS SOCIETY
OF THE
NATIONAL SOCIETY
SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

—OF—

John Bailey Victery

DESCENDANT OF

Alexander Love

Do not encroach on this margin, which is needed for binding.

Application examined and approved
October 20 1951
Cyrus N. Gresh
State Registrar.

Accepted by the State Board of Management
October 20, 1951
Cyrus N. Gresh
State Secretary.

DATES

Application filed with State Secretary Oct 18th 1951
Notification of election
Fees paid October 18th 1951
Duplicate sent to Registrar General October 20th 1951
Approved and registered by Registrar General 10/30/51
Certificate of Membership delivered
Badge delivered
Resigned Transferred
Deceased

"Application for Membership." Texas Society of the Sons of the American Revolution. TXSSAR Archives. University of North Texas Libraries. Denton, TX.

Sons of the American Revolution, dated between March 1951 and April 1953. The applications collected here were issued by the National Board of Trustees for applicants to the Texas chapter of SAR, which was founded in 1896. Applicants provided genealogical details about their ancestors, including birth and death dates and documented service to America during the Revolutionary War. Applications were then notarized and embossed before being submitted to the National Society for verification and approval. Interleaved throughout the book are requests for additional documentation, along with corroborating materials submitted by applicants.

In addition to documenting and organizing the applicants' claims to membership in the Sons of the American Revolution, these applications also demonstrate a key aspect of bureaucratic credentialing inasmuch as they represent applicants' attempts to have the ancestral connections to the American Revolution officially certified. Moreover, the forms themselves evince several layers of bureaucratic procedure, including the distribution of a common form to various state chapters, the requirement of notarization, and the collection of verifying materials, all of which are processed and adjudicated at many levels of the credentialing organization.

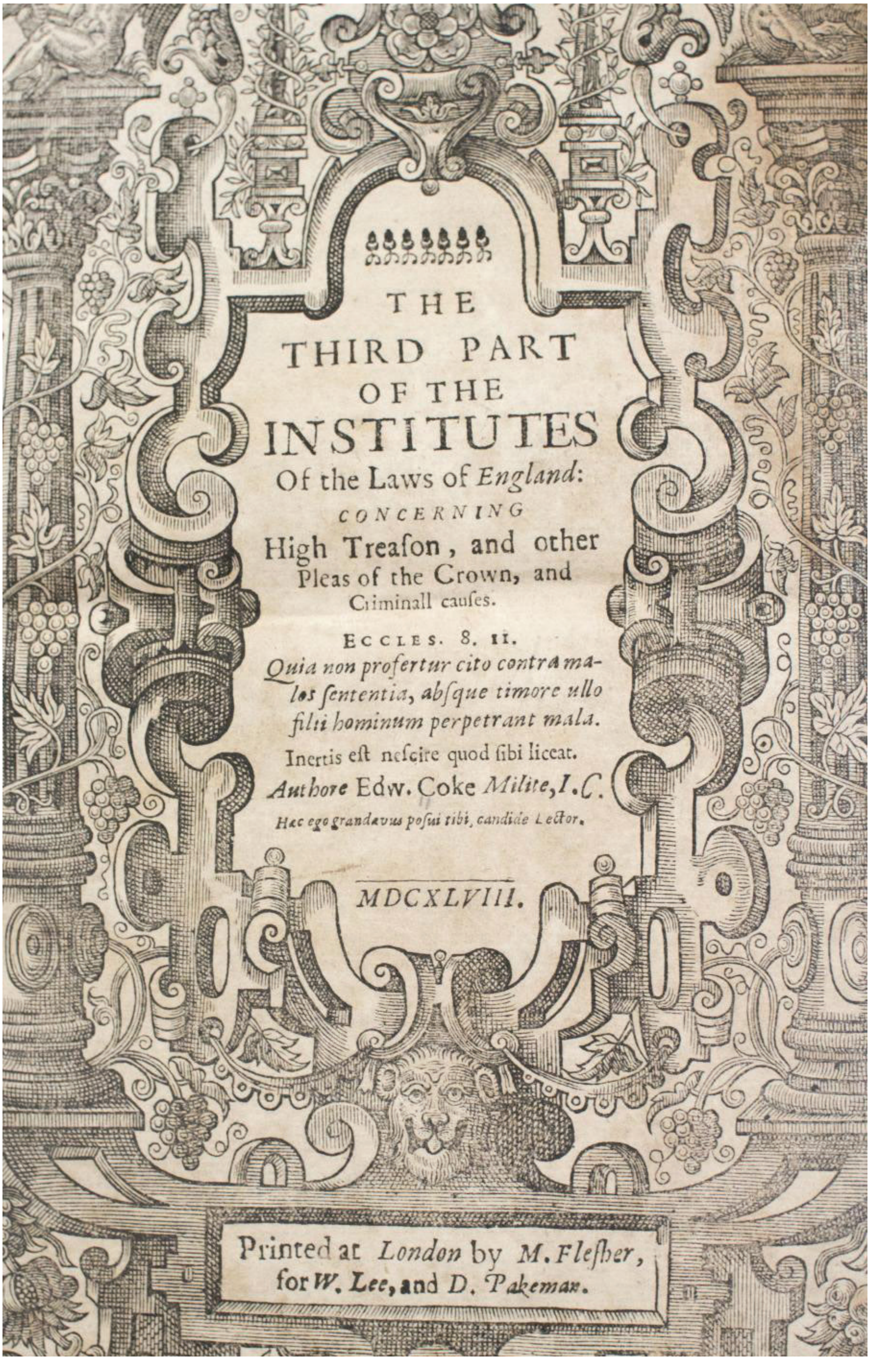
DISCIPLINING

One of the primary functions of bureaucratic forms like the dictionary, encyclopedia, or collections of statutes is to build disciplinary structures. Bureaucracy works toward consolidating the policies and procedures of institutions, governments, and specific professional fields like medicine or law. But defining the boundaries of disciplinary knowledge often entails ordering and controlling people and things, and thus is also discipline in the Foucauldian sense. Bureaucracy sets the parameters of modern academic and scientific disciplines, and in doing so subjects us to regimes of power that have no clear origin or agent.

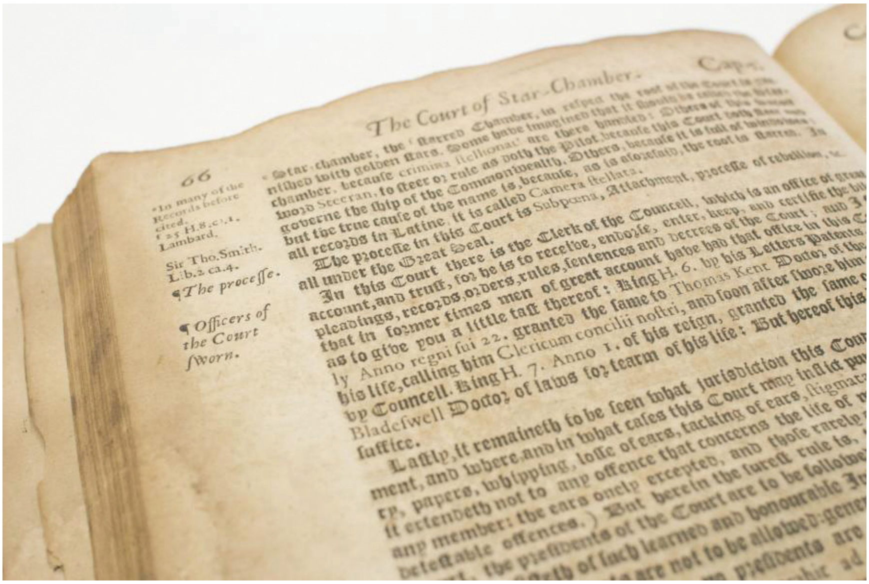
Coke, Edward. 1648. *The Third Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England: Concerning High Treason, and Other Pleas of the Crown, and Criminall Causes.* London: Printed by M. Flesher for W. Lee and D. Pakeman.

This edition of the third part of Edward Coke's *Institutes of the Laws of England* was published in 1648. Like all of Coke's other works, these materials played an important role in the seventeenth-century English turn toward modern notions of legal authority that reject idiosyncrasy. Whereas the practice and processes of law had previously depended upon the independent and often inconsistent decisions of individual leaders or jurists, Coke advocated a more systematic and consistent (i.e., bureaucractic) legal practice based on knowledge distilled from the history of English common-law decision-making. His *Institutes* represented a repository of this distilled wisdom that was composed alongside an equally important and influential set of reports of specific cases that Coke had observed and taken part in.

Where Coke's *Reports* concerned themselves with documenting significant actions and decisions in law, the *Institutes* consolidated principles from particulars. One motive for shifting law onto an ostensibly more solid base of received wisdom was that English law could thereby imitate the more rigid form of civil law employed by ancient Romans. Rather tellingly, Coke's book takes its title from Justinian's *Institutes*, a sixth-century codification of Roman law. Justinian's influence can be seen in the extensive detail found in Coke's *Institutes* as well as in its reformist inclinations. The parts of Coke's *Institutes* displayed in the special exhibit, however, differ from Justinian's as they deal with public laws that organize the state. For their part, Justinian's *Institutes* dealt only with private, individual



Coke, Edward. *The Third Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England: Concerning High Treason, and other Pleas of the Crown, and Criminall Causes.* London: Printed by M. Flesher for W. Lee and D. Pakeman, 1648.



Coke, Edward. *The Third Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England: Concerning High Treason, and other Pleas of the Crown, and Criminall Causes.* London: Printed by M. Flesher for W. Lee and D. Pakeman, 1648.

law, or the ways in which lawyers could abide within an already established public law (Helgerson 1990, 236). As such, Coke's *Institutes* imitated certain aspects of written Roman law while providing precedent for ideas of consistent public law that proved vital to development of legal institutions in early modern England, British America, and the early United States.

Most of Coke's *Institutes* were not published until after his death. This delay stems from a political reason: they championed the rule of law—the "artificial reason" of judges (Boyer 2004)—over other kinds of civil and governmental authority. This vision of a world bound together by an idealized, bureaucratic code would animate many portentous legal battles in centuries to come; and this vision was not easily accepted in Coke's own time. In Coke's opinion, expressed both within his *Institutes* and personally to King Charles I, only judges and lawyers could accurately interpret the law (Bodet 1970, 469). This contention caused Charles I to seize Coke's manuscripts after his death in 1634, although Parliament released and published these manuscripts seven years later (Helgerson 1990, 237).

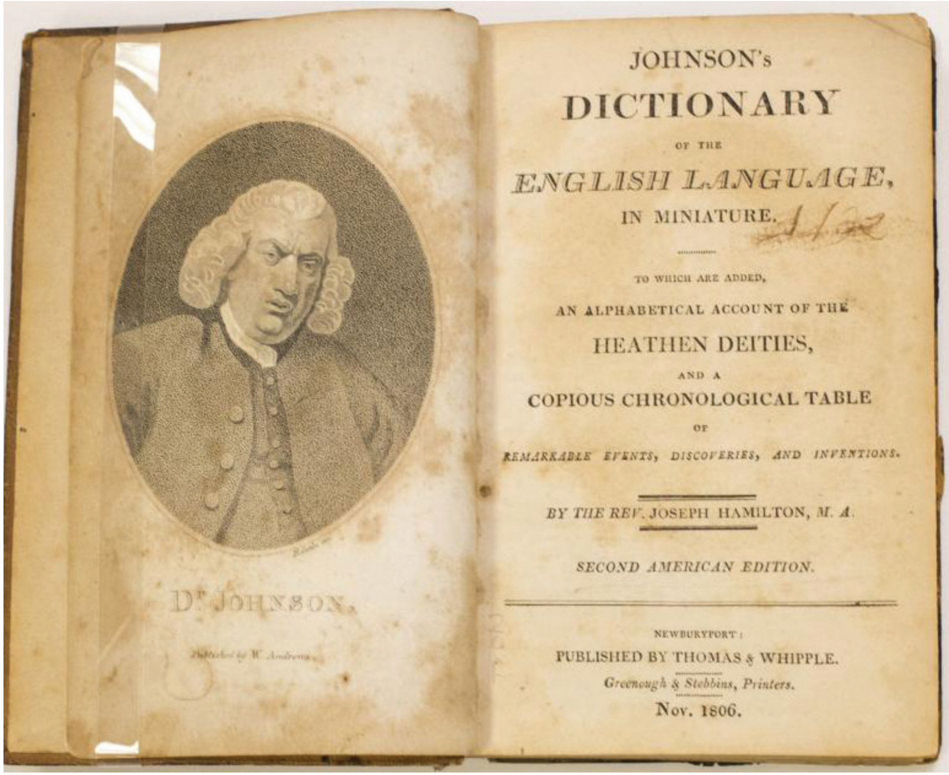
The third and fourth parts of Coke's *Institutes* are structured according to a system of reference. Coke divides his treatises into parts, each treating a particular aspect of English law. Each part is then divided into smaller sections that expand upon the meaning of formerly used words. These explanations most often involved precedents cited by Coke. For example, in his explanation of what constitutes treason, Coke references the definition and parameters given within the 1352 English *Magna Carta* (Bodet 1970, 471). This kind of referential practice represented the law as a system evolving organically and perfected over time rather than as an imposition gaining ascendancy without consensus. By consolidating legal principles as existing beyond individual authorities, the *Institutes* position the nation's legislation and judicial decisions as above (rather than synonymous with or beneath) monarchic power. For law to gain such ascendance it must, as Coke's writings demonstrate, have an observable consistency that can be documented, communicated, and referred to when needed. This is one of the central benefits of bureaucracy.

Ironically, given the rationality and order Coke privileged, many prominent figures of English law such as James Stephens, Lord Keeper North, and William Blackstone criticized what they perceived as a sense of disorderliness inherent in the structure of Coke's *Institutes.* In his own time, Coke claimed that this kind of disorder actually aided in the reader's education insofar as he had to decipher the order and reason behind the written law for himself (Helgerson 1990, 242). The system of evidentiary cross-references makes the *Institutes* suitable for formal education in law, but it could also provide non-professionals with information regarding how legitimate judicial processes ought to move forward.

Although the first part of the *Institutes* played a much more influential and immediate role in English law, those accused of treason often cited the third part of Coke's *Institutes* in their defense throughout the second half of the seventeenth century. This kind of appeal had virtually no influence on the outcome of such cases (Bodet 1970, 473). The third part of the *Institutes* did, however, aid in granting the accused an actual, if apparently ineffectual, voice during their court trials. Previous to the third part's publication, the accused played no active role during their trial (471).

Johnson, Samuel. 1806. *Johnson's Dictionary of the English Language, in Miniature. To Which Are Added, an Alphabetical Account of the Heathen Deities, and a Copious Chronological Table of Remarkable Events, Discoveries, and Inventions. By the Rev. Joseph Hamilton, MA.* Second American Edition. Newburyport: Published by Thomas & Whipple; Greenough & Stebbins, Printers.

Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) was an English writer, well known as a poet, playwright, essayist, and biographer. He has been described as "arguably the most distinguished man of letters in English history", and by the time he reached the age of 55 he presided over a literary club that included among its members many of the most influential men and women in eighteenth-century English culture (Rogers 2004). Johnson's ride to this height was not an easy one, but it was



Johnson, Samuel. Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language, in Miniature. To Which Are Added, an Alphabetical Account of the Heathen Deities, and a Copious Chronological Table of Remarkable Events, Discoveries, and Inventions. By the Rev. Joseph Hamilton, M. A.* Second American Edition. Newburyport: Published by Thomas & Whipple; Greenough & Stebbins, Printers, [Nov.] 1806.

advanced enormously by his work as an innovative lexicographer. Johnson's *A Dictionary of the English Language* was first published in 1755. It was modeled on older glossaries and dictionaries, but undertook the task of capturing words and their meanings in a new way and with an uncommon scope. The production of the book was funded by a consortium of London publishers who contracted Johnson, a poor pamphleteer and journalist at the time. After nine years of work by Johnson and six assistants, the work listed more than 40,000 words with detailed definitions and illustrative quotations. The *Dictionary* proceeded steadily through common words as well as the new-fangled jargons employed by science and other ascendant professions. Beyond its comprehensiveness, the *Dictionary* also broke ground by being the first to illustrate the meaning of words through quotations drawn from printed books to show already extant instances of usage. Johnson's methods made language lively and multi-dimensional by its historical development even as he sought to control and fix both spelling and usage (Rogers 2004).

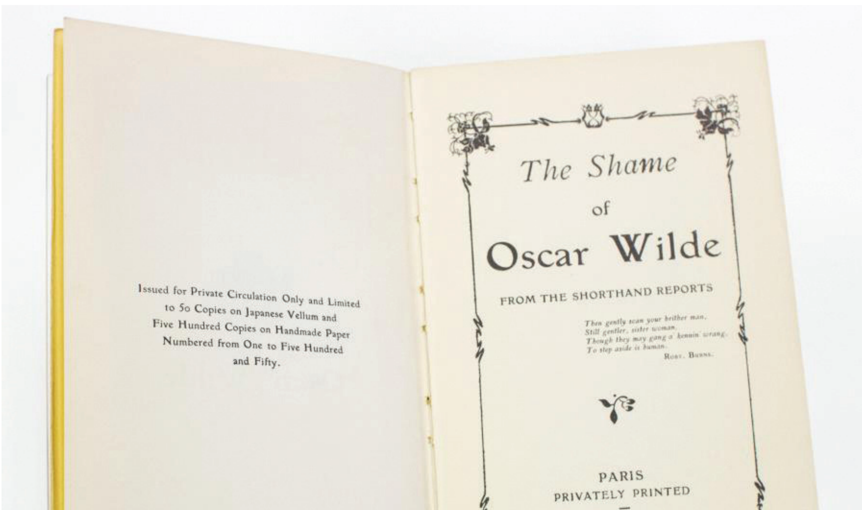
Johnson's efforts eventually earned him the Master of Arts degree from Oxford that he had pursued for many years, and the title page of the first edition acknowledged that fact (Lane 1975, 128–29). Although there was criticism at the time, it has since been described as "one of the greatest single achievements of scholarship . . . ever performed by one individual who laboured under anything like the disadvantages in a comparable length of time" (Bate 1977, 240). For nearly 150 years, it was used as a model for countless other dictionaries but was eventually superseded by the publication of *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Lynch 2003, 1).

Johnson's original version was an immense book, with pages that were almost 18 inches tall and 10 inches wide—20 inches across when opened. It contained 42,773 entries. It sold for £4 10s—about $6.51—which is currently equivalent to approximately £350, or more than $555 in 2014 currency. Miniature versions—the equivalent of the paperback format—were much more affordable and sold vigorously. The example on display is an early United States printing based on the 14th English edition. The first American printing of this edition appeared in Boston in 1804. This 1806 volume measures 3.5 x 5.5 inches, and contains 276 pages of 2-column text along with an engraved frontispiece of Dr. Johnson, signed "Edwin sc," for David Edwin (1776–1841), the engraver. Bound in brown leather, it features stamped gold accents and lettering, with a maroon accented title area on the spine; the text was published by Thomas & Whipple and printed in Newburyport by Greenough & Stebbins in November 1806. This book repackages Johnson's monumental project of setting the standards of the English language into a portable, affordable, pocket edition marketed to New England audiences. What it relinquishes of the breadth of Johnson's original it makes up for by using Johnson's authority as a platform for making two other less illustrious reference works—concerned with heathen deities and important historical events—by the now-forgotten Reverend Joseph Hamilton available to its readers.

***The Shame of Oscar Wilde: From the Shorthand Reports*. 195? [1906]. Paris: Privately Printed.**

In 1895, the well-known playwright, author, and poet, Oscar Wilde (1854–1900) was sentenced to two years of hard labor for gross indecency. Six years after his death in 1900, this compilation of “short hand reports” surfaced, titled *The Shame of Oscar Wilde*. Using excerpts from questioning and testimony, this book recounts selected details from the convoluted trials Wilde was involved in. It details the court proceedings and testimonies in both the libel trial against the Marquis of Queensberry and the ensuing criminal cases of sodomy and gross indecency against Wilde, which resulted in his conviction.

These transcripts are contextualized by a lengthy preface by literary scholar Charles Grolleau which wrestles with the questions of how to interpret Wilde’s works in light of the scandal, how to reconcile Wilde’s genius with his moral depravation, and whether Wilde ought to be regarded with disdain or sympathy. Amongst these concerns, the preface attempts to divorce the writer from the man. As Grolleau writes, “My object in this preface is not to write the life of Wilde. I have only to do with the Writer, for the Man is yet too much alive and his wounds have scarcely ceased bleeding!” (195?, xviii). Grolleau’s “Preface”



The Shame of Oscar Wilde: From the Shorthand Reports. Paris: Privately Printed, 1906. Facsimile 195?

oscillates between lauding Wilde's craft and judging Wilde's personal life. Although Wilde is elevated to one of "the chosen race whom the 'spirit of the hour' had laid his magic wand," he is simultaneously criticized for his inability to subscribe to societal norms of Victorian England (much of the text details, in the fashion of a tabloid, his relationship with Lord Alfred Douglas). The fluctuation between these two modes creates an unsteady reading. One cannot be certain which mode of the text, praise or criticism, is meant ironically.

While the account of the trial is replete with moral indignation and condemnation of Wilde's character, the narration clearly revels in the scandalous details produced by the testimony and exploits them for as much shock-value as possible. Many of these excerpts highlight Wilde's tendency to subvert the prosecutor's questions. The text ends with an account of Wilde's last book and his last years in Paris by "A," presumably written by Lord Alfred Douglas. Taken as a whole, *The Shame* replicates the bureaucratic form of the trial transcript in order to convey how the law functions to discipline both sexuality and literary expression, and to demonstrate Wilde's failed resistance to bureaucracy.

The 1906 edition of *The Shame* courted an audience driven by two prominent motives: persons interested in learning more about what was one of the most sensational sexual scandals of the time, and bibliophiles interested in collecting luxury editions of books printed in limited numbers and, ostensibly, outside the conventional channels of book production and marketing. The scarcity and singularity of the artifact reflects aspects of its contents. The book from UNT's collection on display here is a facsimile edition from the 1950s that originally sold for $10.00. It reproduces the content but not the material conditions of scarcity or luxury of the 1906 edition, which was advertised as having been printed privately in Paris in run of 550 books made from handmade paper.

Blount, Thomas. 1670. *Glossographia: Or a Dictionary, Interpreting the Hard Words of Whatsoever Language, Now Used in Our Refined English Tongue; with Etymologies, Definitions, and Historical Observations on the Same. Also the Terms of Divinity, Law, Physick, Mathematicks, War, Music, and Other Arts and Sciences Explicated*, 3rd Ed. London: Printed by Tho. Newcomb; sold by John Martyn.

Ladies, listen up! Are you suffering from battology? Are you too docible, not docible enough? Is educational hiration preventing you from feeling quite at ease among your friends or would-be lovers? *Glossographia*'s comical definitions can help you with the hard words hurting your (hopefully!) pretty head.

This now-fragile copy, bound in cracked oxblood leather, was given to Eleanor Nancy Tanner in 1851 by her mother, who, with Mr. Blount, it may be presumed, noticed a continued *presumptuousness and far fetching of words*. Designed for the common reader and user of "hard words" (like Eleanor), Blount's lexicographical work, *Glossographia*, sought to discipline certain speakers and the language they employed.

Blount, Thomas. *Glossographia; Or, a Dictionary, Interpreting the Hard Words of Whatsover Language, Now Used in Our Refined English Tongue: With Etymologies, Definitions, and Historical Observations on the Same.* London: Printed by T. Newcomb, sold by J. Martyn, 1670.

The *Glossographia* was first printed and sold in 1656 (British Library Board n.d.). This third edition was published in 1670, the same year that Blount's most famous, or, at least, most re-printed, work appeared on the book market once again, another treatise on the use of the English language, *The Academy of Eloquence: Containing A Compleat English Rhetorique, Exemplified Common Places and Formulas Digested into an Easie and Methodical Way to Speak and Write Fluently, According to the Mode of the Present Times: With Letters Both Amorous and Moral Upon Emergent Occasions* (1654). A similar work to Blount's, the *English Dictionarie, or, an Interpreter of Hard English Words* by Henry Cockeram, was first published in 1623; this was the first book of its kind to use the word "dictionary" ("Dictionary" n.d.). These works exemplify what have been called "literary guides" (Ezell 2006, 450), which might be more familiarly related to a modern reader as the earliest versions of *Reader's Digest*, a kind of *"Language and Literature for Dummies."*

The "hard" words included in Blount's dictionary are borrowed or antiquated words; Blount names Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, Teutonick, Belgick, British, and Saxon as source languages. During the seventeenth century a debate raged among lexicographers about the propriety of adopting foreign words into the English language (Francoeur and Burlingham 2006, 7). Blount took the side of "openness" in the debate over borrowed words (7), although he chides common users of hard words for their displays of affectation and for attempting to confuse their listener rather than promote understanding (Blount 1656b). Blount also elucidates specialized terms drawn from "Divinity, Law, Physick, Mathematicks, War, Musick, Architecture; and other Arts and Sciences" since he recollects his frustration when encountering such in his own scholarly endeavors and being unable to divine their meanings from the context (Blount). Blount's claim to have captured some of the words for his dictionary in the 'wild'—that is, in real, literary texts—has been substantiated through scholarship under the purview of the *OED*, and it affirms his understanding of the importance of the authenticity of dictionaries—that their words must "actually occur in the literature" (Schafer 1978, 406). In fact, scholarship has shown the *Glossographia* to contain two words which were used in English literature and which no other dictionary had defined before, even though Blount credits many preceding dictionaries and lexicographers for providing the material for the majority of his text (405–406). Like Johnson's *Dictionary* of a century later, Blount's work forms part of the long lineage of disciplining language as a means of empirically legitimating emergent fields of professional activity.

While Blount, a British lexicographer, was certainly working to taxonomize the English language, his *Glossographia* could also be read as resisting social hierarchies coded in language in the seventeenth century. From its prefatory materials, the book seems to empower a class of people previously unacquainted with very much learning or culture: it is designed to promote "at least the semblance of literary sophistication" in its readership (Ezell 2006, 451). Which class of people, and even which gender, Blount envisioned himself helping is a subject of some debate; but, be they "young male gallants" or "Ladyes, Gentlewomen, Schollers, and Strangers" (Ezell 451), none could be expected to have boasted a very advanced level of education prior to the rise of the middle class in the seventeenth century. Blount addresses an audience which was not from "an elite literary culture" and thus his "literary entertainment" is designed for those readers who were more than functionally literate but by no means scholarly, and who had surplus income as well as time to sit and read (451).

REMEMBERING

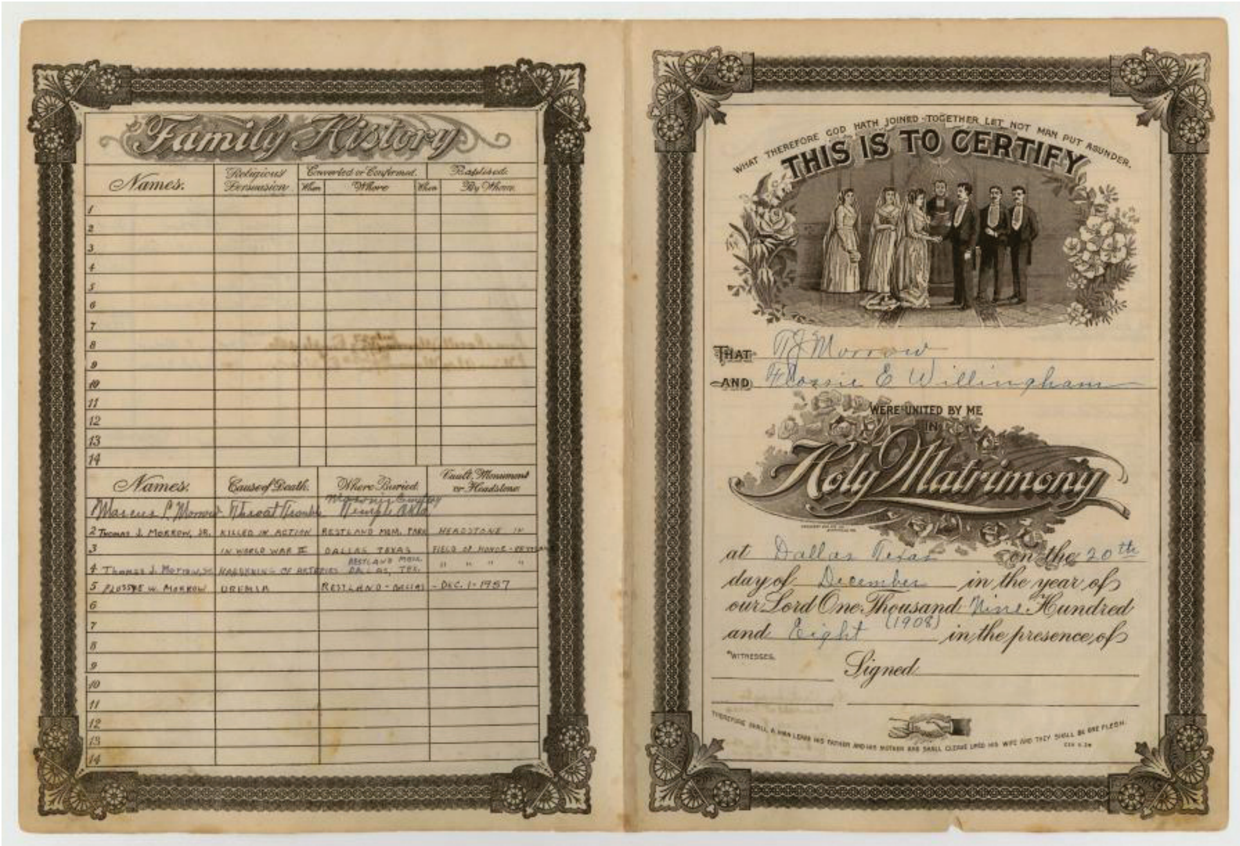
It is perhaps in the service of remembering that the love story of bureaucracy is most powerfully told. Whether lists of war dead or travel guides that allow one to keep mementos of trips taken, bureaucratic forms attempt to stabilize the past, thus allowing it to be recalled. Forms of remembering fix information about the past on the page or in the archive, thus ensuring that the past will take material form. In this way, bureaucracy renders the past accessible and ensures the significance of individual moments and memories for the future.

***Brewer Family Papers*. Various Dates. University of North Texas.**

The Brewer Family papers were collected by Melvin E. Brewer, a native of Dallas, Texas. Brewer was born in Dallas, where he also obtained a BBA degree in Accounting from Southern Methodist University, served as a church deacon and as both a member and director of the Dallas Genealogical Society and the Denton County Genealogical Society. He was also a Certified Public Accountant, a member of the US Navy Seabees, and a founder of the Christian children's camp, Sky Ranch. Before his passing on April 6, 2014, he published three books focused on his genealogical research and civic activity.

The Brewer Family papers collection was donated to University of North Texas Special Collections by Brewer's granddaughter, Maribeth Brewer Koch. It includes family journals, letters (including love letters, remembrances, and personal anecdotes), newspaper clippings, church pamphlets, a Hawaiian-themed Christmas dinner menu from 1938, poetry, addresses and birthdays of family members, files on individual family members, and family group records. The collection also includes genealogical research relevant to the Morrow and Waggoner families and their relatives. Handwritten records of family members' personal information (name, date of birth, place of birth, marriage date, and phone number) are included alongside lists of birthdates, obituaries, and newspaper clippings.

The collection allows an investigation into forms of bureaucracy in that it blends personal elements within the context of administrative record-keeping. In this way, the collection shows how individuals and bureaucracy coexist and complement each other. The earliest document in the collection is the 1908 certificate of matrimony for T.J. Morrow and Flossie E. Willingham. The marriage certificate is a folio that includes the details of Flossie and Willingham Brewer's



Marriage Certificate, Brewer Family Papers, University of North Texas Libraries. Denton, TX marriage on its first page and family genealogical details on the remaining three pages. The certificate records the family's lineage—names of family members are recorded along with their dates of birth, whom they married, their dates of death, their cause of death, and the locations of their vault, monument, or headstones. The certificate is thus a blend of personal information and administrative record-keeping; it exemplifies the ways in which people, individually and collectively, legitimize their existence and experiences by recording significant events, including births, marriages, and deaths. The marriage certificate and family history, as well as the Brewer papers more broadly, show how one family worked to situate itself in local history and how they sought to ensure that important events in family history would be remembered.

"Casualty Lists." 1918. Authorized by US War Department, Printing Office, Washington DC; disseminated by Chicago Post Office.

The "Casualty Lists" contain the names of American soldiers killed in action, wounded, missing, imprisoned, and deceased (from disease, wounds, or accident) during World War I. They also include information about the soldier's next

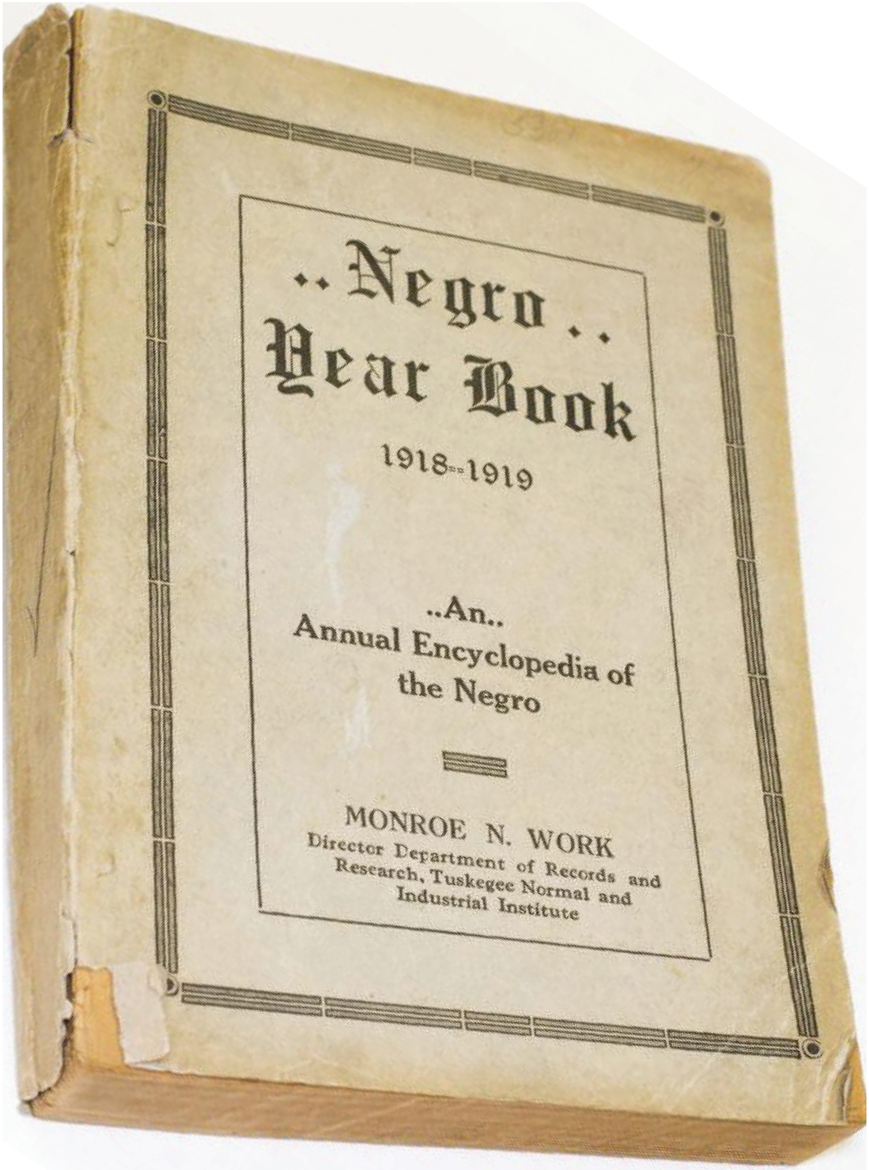
"Casualty Lists." Authorized US War Department, Printing Office, Washington DC, Disseminated by Chicago Post Office, 1918.

of kin and emergency address. The "Casualty Lists" were circulated by the War Department to all US newspapers through several press associations, and editors were instructed to print the "Casualty Lists" only after the official release date determined by the government. The "Casualty Lists" illustrate several bureaucratic functions, among them documenting official service, locating service members' in relation to geographical and familial relations, and classifying soldiers' service. The "Casualty Lists" also served as a form of remembering service members' sacrifice for the country. The names of the deceased were published in the "Casualty Lists" for families seeking news of their relatives, and the "Casualty Lists" stood as the first object in which their loved ones were remembered—additional official memory objects followed, including flags, gravestones, and photographs. Although seemingly straightforward, the "Casualty Lists" demonstrate how the US government used bureaucracy to ensure that information about war casualties was circulated, to control the timing and nature of that circulation, and to activate officially sanctioned memory procedures. The War Department created a mechanism for remembering the wounded, missing, and deceased soldiers, and it used the mass media form of the newspaper to memorialize their names in print.

Work, Monroe N., Ed. 1919. *Negro Year Book: An Annual Encyclopedia of the Negro 1918–1919*. Tuskegee Institute: The Negro Year Book Publishing Company.

The first edition of the *Negro Year Book* appeared in 1912. It was published by Tuskegee Institute (now Tuskegee University) and funded by Booker T. Washington, the first principal/president of Tuskegee. The *Year Book* was part of a larger project dedicated to "collecting and circulating information favorable to the Negro" (Guzman 1947), which included other research produced by editor Monroe N. Work (1866–1945), who also compiled a "Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and in America" and began to collect data about lynchings while working at Tuskegee (Carter 2010; Cook 2012). The *Negro Year Book* was originally intended as a one-time publication but it saw numerous sequels due to "a wide and continued demand" (Guzman 1947).

The 1919 volume enlarges and improves on the preceding editions, and it also includes important events from 1917 and 1918. The book can be divided into three main sections. The first 138 pages are textual accounts of important events that transpired in the year prior to the book's publication, with related events grouped under several categories, such as "Economic," "Racial Cooperation," "Religious," "Education," "The War," etc. (Work 1919, iv). The subsequent fifty or so pages chronicle historical events crucial to African Americans, such as the slave trade in Africa, American slavery, slave insurrections, and the abolitionist movement in the United States. The final portion of the book, spanning more than two hundred pages, charts the achievements African Americans made in various sectors from 1866, the year the Thirteenth Amendment was adopted, to the year of the book's publication. Supported with statistical data, this section



Monroe N. Work, Ed. *Negro Year Book: An Annual Encyclopedia of the Negro 1918–1919*. Tuskegee Institute, Alabama: The Negro Year Book Publishing Company, 1919.

discusses population growth, literacy rates, household incomes, and acreages owned by African Americans. The section also lists contemporary notable African Americans who excelled in areas of politics, religion, art, and business. The *Negro Year Book* can be seen as one of the earliest scholarly endeavors by and for African Americans to systematically collect, compile, and distribute favorable information about African Americans.

The mastermind behind the *Negro Year Book,* Monroe N. Work, served as its editor until his retirement. Work was a sociologist and founder of the Department of Records and Research at the Tuskegee Institute, and he played a decisive role in the compilation, organization and presentation of information in the *Year Book*. The personal ties Monroe maintained throughout his career with figures like W. E. B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, and Richard Wright suggest that Work belonged to the group of intellectuals who were often identified with the so-called racial uplift ideology; the *Negro Year Book* can be seen as a product of the same ideology. According to racial uplift, racial redemption is achieved through socio-economic upward mobility. As Kevin Gaines points out, "Racial uplift ideals were offered as a form of cultural politics, in the hope that unsympathetic whites would relent and recognize the humanity of middleclass African Americans, and their potential for the citizenship rights black men had possessed during Reconstruction" (1996, 3).

Concerned with the widespread predicament of African Americans of his time, Work launched a massive endeavor to gather information pertaining to African Americans "from more than 130 newspapers and periodicals, as well as books, governmental reports, reports of special boards and commissions, questionnaires and correspondence [...] classified and filed by subjects" (McMurry 1960, 339). Work was convinced that only historical and statistical facts could counter the racial myths detrimental to the wellbeing of his people.

The *Negro Year Book*, with its insistence on illustrating the progress African Americans made in areas valued by bourgeois society (i.e., education, wealth, entrepreneurship), can be seen as an attempt to establish that African Americans were capable of succeeding in a white-dominated, bourgeois society. Yet because African Americans' own gathering and organizing of data about themselves created the *Year Book*, the book also demonstrates a desire and capacity for producing bureaucratic records that were as systematic as records made by more traditional, white-dominated bureaucratic organizations. Even as it commits African American achievements to an "official" record, compiling, organizing, and displaying data in the *Negro Year Book* also assumes a quasi-authoritative power that remains outside—and in some ways resists—the authority of the state.

Murray, John. 1871. *A Handbook for Travellers in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.* London. [incl. guidebook and inserted flowers and plants].

John Murray III's (1808–1892) *A Handbook for Travellers in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden* is the third edition of a volume in his popular series of red travel guidebooks, which were published throughout the nineteenth century. Murray's handbooks were first published in England, but they quickly began to circulate beyond the British Isles and eventually sold between 500,000 and 700,000 copies per European country throughout the nineteenth century. Generally, these guidebooks were designed for a middle-class audience, who began to travel outside of Britain in the early 1800s. The books offered thorough, yet user-friendly, information that would allow travelers to make their way independently through entire countries and continents (Damien 2010, 19).

The particular success of Murray's handbooks represented a cultural shift in the way travel guides were constructed. In the early nineteenth century, travel guides were generally much less extensive than Murray's *Handbook*. Earlier travel guides generally covered only the areas personally traveled by their author (François 2012, 77). By contrast, Murray aimed for an encyclopedic completeness and provided advice about details such as modes of travel, money, passports, whether to take a servant, and where not to take a lady, in addition to historical notes, "Skeleton Tours," or concise itineraries, and suggested routes. He collaborated with travelers to collect data about various countries, and, like many publishers of travel guides, he also appropriated information (such as maps and sites of interest) found in other lesser-known travel guides. In this way, the guidebooks made the memories of previous travelers the foundation of anticipated memories for readers. Murray also produced extensive and systematic

John Murray, *A Handbook for Travellers in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden*. London: 1871. Guidebook and inserted flowers and plants.

tables of contents, which mapped out the wide-ranging information in the book so readers could plan travel according to their own time frames, budgets, and interests.

Readers of the *Handbook* often personalized their texts, marking them with the memories of specific trips, as shown in various marginalia and writing found in this edition of the *Handbook*. For instance, a red line traces a path on the map of Central Norway, presumably tracking a reader's own travels throughout the country. In addition, the owner collected and pressed plants in the book's pages, as shown by the outlines of those plants on many pages. Although the nineteenth-century ownership of the text is unknown, the plants may have served as material objects representing the tourist's experience of different countries and regions. Thus, the *Handbook* served not only as a guide for travel but also as an interactive text, a repository for objects collected on those travels, and thus as an object of remembering. The book's content offered advice for how to make memories, while its material properties—its hundreds of pages and strong binding—offered a method with which to preserve those memories, in the form of materials collected on those travels.

The success of Murray's handbooks is also due to the well-known status of the "Murray brand," which was developed by his grandfather John Murray I (1745–1793) and father, John Murray II (1778–1843), who published books by Jane Austen, Lord Byron, and Washington Irving. John Murray III's position in the publishing industry allowed him to promote his handbooks and to recognize successful trends in publishing. For example, the red cover of the handbook on display (now partially faded) was a consistent feature among all of Murray's various handbooks, making them a "uniform series" (François 2012, 83). This practice made Murray's handbooks instantly recognizable, thereby aiding in the series' popularity. The constant references to Murray's travel-guide as "the red handbook" demonstrates the importance of this uniformity (Damien 2010, 24).

Despite the enormous success of Murray's handbooks, many readers criticized the tourist practices they encouraged. Critics claimed the handbooks created distance between the tourist and the region of travel by predetermining routes that tourists should take and prescribing places people should go. Charles Dickens, for example, expressed this belief in his own travel handbooks, which showed that he was "more irritated than ever by the stipulated standards of taste, often almost institutionalized by the guidebook tradition" (McNees 1919, 220).

STREAMLINING

Streamlining is one of the central—if ironic—functions of bureaucracy and its material forms. Bureaucracy is dedicated to developing standardized processes and procedures, which are intended to apply generally across multiple cases. In other words, bureaucracy exists to streamline systems by making them capable of applying to different cases. Yet, it is the case that bureaucratic systems evolve in ways that not only fail to streamline processes and procedures but can come to obstruct them. One common response to such obstructions is the development of new bureaucratic structures that will streamline older systems—and on and on and on.

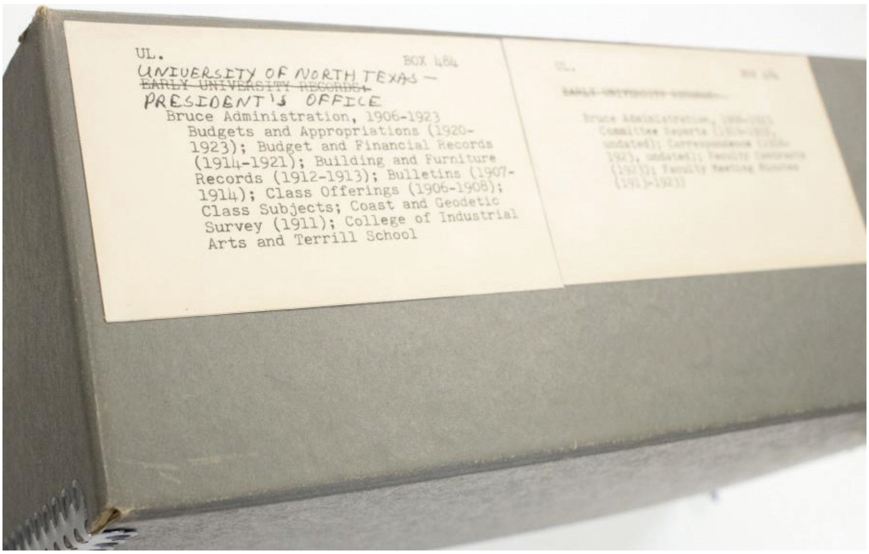
Presidential Papers. 1904–1924. President William H. Bruce Records, Box 484. University of North Texas.

The Presidential Papers collection at the University of North Texas contains various papers, documents, and ephemera from the presidents of UNT since the school's founding as Texas Normal College and Training Institute in 1890. This box holds papers and ephemera from UNT's fifth president, William H. Bruce, who served as president of the institution from 1906 to 1923. It also includes letters to members of the Board of Regents, the Texas Attorney General, and correspondence between Texas College presidents dating from 1904–1924, as well as documents about class offerings, bulletins, faculty meeting minutes, faculty contracts, and more. Each folder contains a set of documents—often original documents—that were influenced by, signed by, written by/to, or directly affected President Bruce and/or his presidency.

President Bruce is recognized for raising the standards of instruction at UNT. In particular, he presided over a major curricular transformation, which replaced the three-year teacher-training degree plan with a four-year bachelor's degree program. Bruce raised admission standards to meet requirements established by major colleges, increased the number of faculty members who held graduate degrees, and enlarged course offerings. During his twenty-year presidency, eight buildings were constructed on UNT's campus, including the President's House, the Library (now Curry Hall), the Science Building, the Manual Arts Buildings, and the Education Building. During his presidency, student enrollment also increased significantly, from 1,028 to 4,700. The faculty also grew from 4 to 118 during this period (Rogers 2002, 142).

The papers collected in this box detail some of the negotiations and decision-making necessary to effect these changes. The documents housed in this box mark the massive alterations UNT underwent during Bruce's presidency. By taking a look at the Budget and Appropriations folders, one can track how much more money UNT received and appropriated in 1924 than in 1904. The Building and Furniture Records mark the change in UNT's campus from ten to twenty-five acres and the addition of eight buildings. At the end of his presidency, in 1924, President Bruce had the name of the institution changed to North Texas State Teachers College. Documents marking this change are also present within these folders. Bruce died in December 1943.

Although the various documents collected in this box are interesting as bureaucratic forms, the box itself is also an important artifact of bureaucratic streamlining. Affixed to the box are two 3x5 cards with typed identification records. These include the call number, box number, brief descriptions of contents, and dates. This box also includes hand-written amendments: originally identified at "Early University Records," the contents were at some point reclassified as belonging to the "University of North Texas-President's Office" collection. These identification marks may seem relatively insignificant, but they are essential for organizing and locating these materials. UNT's archives holds approximately 10,000 linear feet of various documents, including more than 500 boxes of Presidential Papers. The cards affixed to this box, therefore, streamline the process of storing these materials and locating them when researchers want to access them.



Presidential Papers. President William H. Bruce Records, 1904-1924. Box 484.
University Archives. UNT Library. Denton, TX.

***War Bond Budget Portfolio*. 1942. Detroit, MI: Norge Division, Borg-Warner Corp.**

"This convenient Budget Portfolio will serve you in two ways: (1) as a compact, handy container for your War Bonds, and (2) as a systematic method for budgeting each bond for a specific after-war use" (1942, n.p.). So begins the description of the War Bond Portfolio, a statement that highlights the portfolio's streamlining functions. This War Bond Portfolio was distributed by Norge Household Appliances in 1942 at the height of America's involvement in World War II. The US government issued war bonds to help fund the war effort, and individuals could purchase a bond for $18.75 that would mature in ten years to be worth $25.00. Citizens were encouraged to purchase bonds as part of their patriotic duty, and many companies donated advertising and products in hopes of raising money for the war effort.

Norge Household Appliances offered this portfolio for free and advertised it through publications such as *Life Magazine*. Kathryn Cramer Brownell explains that during World War II, "appeals to citizens to purchase war bonds permeated every aspect of daily life. Newspapers, radio spots, theaters, and broadsides reminded individuals daily of their responsibility to buy war bonds" (Brownell 2010, 69). Advertisements and pamphlets such as this one were extremely popular in print media. With this particular pamphlet, Norge Appliances advertises both for supporting the war effort and for consumers to purchase its appliances. Along the bottom of the back of the portfolio a banner reads, "When we win—see Norge before you buy." Such statements connected patriotism to purchasing consumer products.

Although a central purpose of the portfolio was advertising, the War Bond Portfolio was also a tool for streamlining the collection and storage of war bonds and the planning process for spending bonds after the War. It contains six sections

War Bond Budget Portfolio. Detroit, MI: Norge Division, Borg-Warner Corp, 1942.

for storing war bonds: savings, children's education, new car or plane, vacation or travel, new house or farm, and miscellaneous. The last panel of the inside of the portfolio also contains a template for budgeting out the costs of Norge Appliances. In foregrounding streamlining, therefore, the War Bond Portfolio indicates that its bureaucratic form and functions are inextricable from its consumer appeal.

Massmann, Robert E, and Ruth E. Adomeit. 1979. *Consumer Rationing in World War Two*. New Britain, CT: REM Miniatures.

This exhibit contains two components: a miniature pamphlet, titled *War Ration Book Four*, and a miniature book, titled *Consumer Rationing in World War Two*. Both pamphlet and book are 2 inches by 2½ inches, and they are collected in a cardboard sleeve with a miniature WWII-era announcement affixed to the cover. The announcement was purportedly issued by the United States Office of Price Administration, urging people to "Never buy rationed goods without ration stamps" and "Never pay more than the legal price." The collected set was published in 1979 by Robert E. Massmann, a well-known publisher of miniature books.

The pamphlet collects several WWII ration stamps pasted onto the pages. The only text in the pamphlet is handwritten in the front cover. It reads, "These are genuine World War II ration stamps" and is signed by Massmann. The ration stamps are 1½ by ½ inch paper rectangles, and they would have been distributed beginning in 1942 by the US government in books of 28. Rationing operated as an exchange or trade system: consumers would exchange ration stamps for goods, such as tires, household cleaning supplies, sugar, and oil. It is important to note the types of items that were rationed—they were generally staples, not luxuries. In addition to helping conserve valuable war materials, the goal of these rationing stamps was to streamline the distribution of commodities. The

Massmann, Robert E, and Ruth E. Adomeit. *Consumer Rationing in World War Two*. New Britain, Conn: REM Miniatures, 1979.

stamps were intended to help save time, money, and manpower needed for the war effort.

The book that accompanies the pamphlet is a brief history of rationing and its connection to the expansion of labyrinthine bureaucracy in the war years. Although the ration stamps were intended to support the American war effort by streamlining the distribution of commodities, several problems resulted from the use of ration books, including counterfeiting. Another problem was that some commodities were deleted from and subsequently re-added to the list of rationed items, creating confusion. A third problem associated with ration books was that consumers had to register for each book, typically once a year starting with the first book in 1942, the second book in 1943, and so forth. This registration process was not only inconvenient, but it allowed the government to keep track of consumers.

Despite the attempts to streamline the rationing system and process, Massmann's miniatures make clear that he is not celebrating the rationing system itself but its passing. In the opening pages of the book, he writes, "Bureaucracy surely reached one of its pinnacles with the growth of the ensuing complexity of booklets, cards, stamps, coupons, certificates, and tokens" (1979, n.p.). The closing sentence expresses his "fervent hope that such measures never again become necessary."

Application for Basic "A" or "D" Mileage Ration: For Passenger Automobiles or Motorcycles Only. 1944. Washington DC: US Government Printing Office.

These certificates are fuel oil ration certificates issued as part of the WWII rationing program administered by the United States Office of Price Administration. They were issued to Abbie F. Stevens of Waltham, Massachusetts in 1942 and were used between November 1942 and April 1943. Each certificate had coupons attached to each side, which Stevens would have exchanged for oil and gasoline. There is also a log on each certificate that documents the dates and amounts of oil and gas delivered to Stevens. These certificates were issued in connection with one's place of residence, so if Stevens moved, she would forfeit these certificates and presumably acquire new certificates in connection with her new address. As a bureaucratic form, the fuel oil ration certificates fulfill several streamlining functions, including streamlining (1) the delivery of fuel, (2) records for the distribution and receipt of fuel, and (3) the exchange of ration allotments. As the war carried on, more commodities were rationed, including fuel, but also cleaning supplies, cooking supplies, meat, rubber. As the rationing system expanded, the forms involved in managing the rationing system proliferated and were specially designed and regularly updated to combat counterfeiting and forgery. Stevens' certificates, for instance, are printed on specially marked paper with an official Office of Price Administration stamp. They are also marked with a unique identification number. Producing and regulating the various forms and coupons intended to streamline the exchange of commodities constituted a massive bureaucratic operation in its own right.


Form OPA R-1105B

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION

V-FUEL OIL RATION
Class 1 Consumer Coupons
(One-unit Coupons, and Change Coupons)

Copy this number in ink on each coupon in the space provided. After each 5 or 10 entries, check against original number for accuracy.

№ V-524250M-5

OFFICE OF PRICE ADM.
R-123
V-524250M-5

Date issued Oct. 1, 1942 Date expires Sept. 30, 1943

These coupons are issued to Mrs. Abbie F. Stevens to be used at

20 Riverview Ave. Waltham
(Number and street or R. F. D.) (City or post office)

Mid Mass.
(County) (State)

and consists of change coupons of a total value of 50 gallons and 86 ONE-UNIT coupons.

Dealers in fuel oil or their representatives are hereby authorized to deliver fuel oil to the above person or his agent for use at the above address, and are required to detach from this sheet coupons having a gallonage value equal to the quantity of oil delivered, in accordance with the rules and regulations of the Office of Price Administration in effect at the time of such delivery. At the time of delivery, the dealer or his agent must fill in the delivery record below.

War Price and Rationing Board No. 36 at Waltham
(City)

Mid Mass.
(County) (State)

By H. E. Peel

COUPONS VOID IF DETACHED

Received by
(Signature of coupon holder)

PERIOD 1 PERIOD 2 PERIOD 3 PERIOD 4 PERIOD 5

RECORD OF DELIVERIES

I CERTIFY that I have delivered to the user and premises named above the amount of fuel oil entered by me opposite my signature below, and that upon such delivery I removed from this sheet the coupons stated opposite my signature, in accordance with the provisions of the Fuel Oil Rationing Regulations.

(Use ink or indelible pencil)

CERTIFICATE OF REMOVAL OR TRANSFER AND SURRENDER OF COUPON SHEET

I CERTIFY that I vacated or transferred the premises at .... on ...., 194..., and that change coupons having a total value of .... gallons, and one-unit coupons.

Signed ....
(Tenant, transferor, or other designation)

I HEREBY CERTIFY that this coupon sheet was surrendered to me as aforesaid.

Signed ....
(Landlord, transferee, court officer, etc.)

By ....
(Officer, agent, etc.)

Upon request, the person to whom the coupon sheet is surrendered shall give in exchange a copy of the above certificate

GALLON COUPONS

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1942 16—30770-1

Application for Basic “a” or “d” Mileage Ration: For Passenger Automobiles or Motorcycles Only. Washington D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1944.

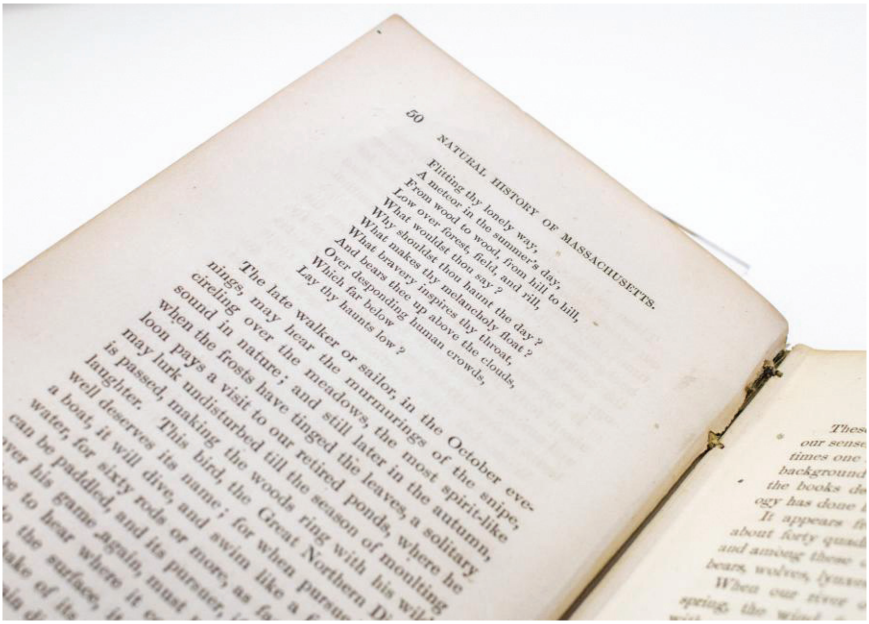
LOCATING

Locating occurs through acts of compilation, as people assemble individual pieces of information or material objects into a whole. We locate ourselves in the world, in nations, and in states by arranging information and specimens into meaningful relationships, and it is in these acts of arrangement that we determine our relationship to that information and thus to the places and histories it represents. In short, locating helps us find things and find ourselves among them. Bureaucratic forms facilitate these arrangements, even as they instruct users about their place on local and global scales.

Thoreau, Henry David. 1863. *Excursions*. Boston: Ticknor and Fields.

Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862) was an American author, poet, philosopher, historian, naturalist, and transcendentalist. Published in the year following Thoreau's death, *Excursions* is an anthology of the writer's travelogues and essays, most reprinted from the *Atlantic Monthly*, to which Thoreau was a frequent contributor. The text shown here, "Natural History of Massachusetts," was one of Thoreau's earliest published essays, first appearing in April 1842 in Emerson's literary magazine *The Dial*. Thoreau wrote "Natural History" at Ralph Waldo Emerson's urging.

The essay is no traditional natural history, however, for it reviews state-sponsored natural histories of Massachusetts. Thoreau employed their classificatory systems, maps, and statistical studies as a foundation for his own reading of nature. Yet instead of collecting facts and classifying the birds, fish, and animals he observed, Thoreau sought to understand nature through sensory experience. Thus, he studies botany not just by observing plants but also by analyzing the "crystalline frost" (Thoreau 1864, 65) that appeared on his window during the winter, in order to comprehend the "law" that unites both of these "creatures" (66–67). "Natural History" reflects Thoreau's growing interest in and support for transcendentalists like Emerson, who argued that science should not be a dry and dead focus on natural particulars only, but should seek to comprehend and transcribe the truth in nature "by taking up facts into the spirit" (Walls 1995, 37). In his writings, Thoreau sought to locate himself within the whole of nature by using particular observations of Massachusetts to position himself in a larger, global context. For example, on page 51 (shown here), he writes that the muskrat "cabins" he observes resemble the "barrows of Asia." Locating himself in the



Thoreau, Henry David. *Excursions*. Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1863.

natural world of Massachusetts provides a foundation for Thoreau to position himself in the world.

This edition of *Excursions* was published by Ticknor and Fields, a Boston-based publisher notable for publishing authors such as Thoreau and Emerson, as well as many now canonical nineteenth-century authors, from Charles Dickens and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow to Harriet Beecher Stowe and Nathaniel Hawthorne. The firm eventually became known as a "preeminent publisher of *belles lettres*" (Winship 2002, 7). Ticknor and Fields contributed to the mid-nineteenth-century growth of the American book trade, which made it possible to publish American books in America rather than sending them to Britain and which resulted in a centralized book trade located in large East Coast cities. Thus, if the content in *Excursions* located Thoreau in Massachusetts and its natural productions, the publication context for the book located Thoreau in American literary history as one of its significant authors.

Greene, Harvey. 1895. *Wildflowers from Palestine*: *Gathered and Pressed by Harvey Greene*. Massachusetts: Butterfield & Company.

Wildflowers from Palestine features seventeen pressed and mounted flowers from an area now composed of parts of Jordan, Israel, and Israeli occupied territories. Each specimen is assembled alongside a corresponding poem or Biblical reference, as well as a descriptive paragraph detailing the flower's place in Biblical history, its appearance in the Bible, its location in Palestine, and its physical appearance. A unique aspect of this copy is that all seventeen specimens are well preserved and still included in the text (other extant copies contain incomplete or lost specimen sets). In the preface, Greene promises to provide a comprehensive picture of "the homeland of Christ," and he writes that he was entranced with the flowers not just for their beauty but because "the Lord Jesus Christ while here upon earth saw and loved these same flowers, and used them to illustrate eternal truths. The book's assemblages likewise "illustrate eternal truths" by placing the flowers alongside descriptions and verses. The scriptural references range from the overt—the Lily of the Valley is the first flower to appear and is linked to Matthew 6's "consider the lily of the valley"—to the implicit: a bit of papyrus in the form of a cross is preserved alongside 2 John 12: "I would not write with paper (papyrus) and ink." In six cases in which the flowers are not mentioned in the Bible, Greene substitutes a poem—usually about flowers and their status as symbols of God's presence—for the Biblical reference. Greene locates these flowers in Biblical history by commenting that they would have "lined the foot-paths of the country" and thus would have been seen by Biblical figures. In addition to Biblical history, Greene also locates the flowers in natural history, by providing both their common and Linnaean names.

Taken as a whole, the flowers and their corresponding texts localize Palestine by placing it within Biblical history. The relationship between the flowers and the text is illuminated by two lines from Henry Wadsworth that face the "Carmel Daisy" specimen: "Emblems of our own great resurrection / Emblems of the bright and better land." The wildflowers are emblems—material specimens associated with layered symbolic meanings, historical references, poetic allusions, and geographic connections. For example, in the discussion of papyrus, Greene employs the flowers to move from specific Palestinian locales to Biblical stories to the history of the plant's use as a writing surface: "By the streams the oleander and myrtle grow, while in a great marsh near the site of the ancient Roman city of Antipatris, where Paul spent a night while on his way to Caesarea, is found the now rare *Cyperus Papyrus*, the famous papyrus of Egypt, the reed from which the ancient manuscripts were made."

The book was originally compiled and published in 1895. It contains the following specimens: Lily of the Field, Papyrus, Judean Clover, Madonna Flower, Flax, Carmel Daisy, Anise or Dill, Cyclamen, Grass, Rose of Sharon, Passion Everlasting, Mignonette, Puff Ball, Mustard, Lentil, Bean, and Pheasant's Eye. Selah Merrill, a missionary to Palestine penned the introduction to Greene's pointed work. His expertise provides an overview on the historical and religious contexts of Jerusalem (Merrill 1898, 293–302). *Wildflowers* was reviewed in the scientific publication entitled *The Gamophyllous*, which describes Greene's work as a well-done but amateurish venture since it is claimed to be "a work of art" rather than a scientific text (Bird 1900, 78). The book also received recognition from the

Greene, Harvey. *Wildflowers from Palestine: Gathered and Pressed by Harvey Greene*. Massachusetts: Butterfield & Company, 1895.

popular magazine *Good Housekeeping*, in which the anonymous reviewer claims that "nothing could possess greater interest than these mute mementoes of scenes which have held a sacred interest for untold millions during the entire Christian era" ("Library Leaflets" 1897, 232).

Greene's interest in botanical specimens as evidence for divine truths and his decision to market such specimens emerged out of a century of intense American interest in and travel to Palestine. By the time *Wildflowers* was published, American audiences would have been quite familiar not only with the region but also with its history and its significance for American science and religion, owing to multiple travel narratives, missions, and even attempted settlements in the region. Napoleon's occupation of Cairo in 1789 and his failed conquest of Syria facilitated international awareness of and interest in these places, and as trade between the West and the Middle East increased, so did opportunities for travelers to visit what they called the Holy Land. Missionary societies such as the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent representatives to Palestine in 1821, and missionary activity increased over the course of the century, fueled in part by millennial beliefs that the return of Christ was at hand if all the world's peoples could be converted.

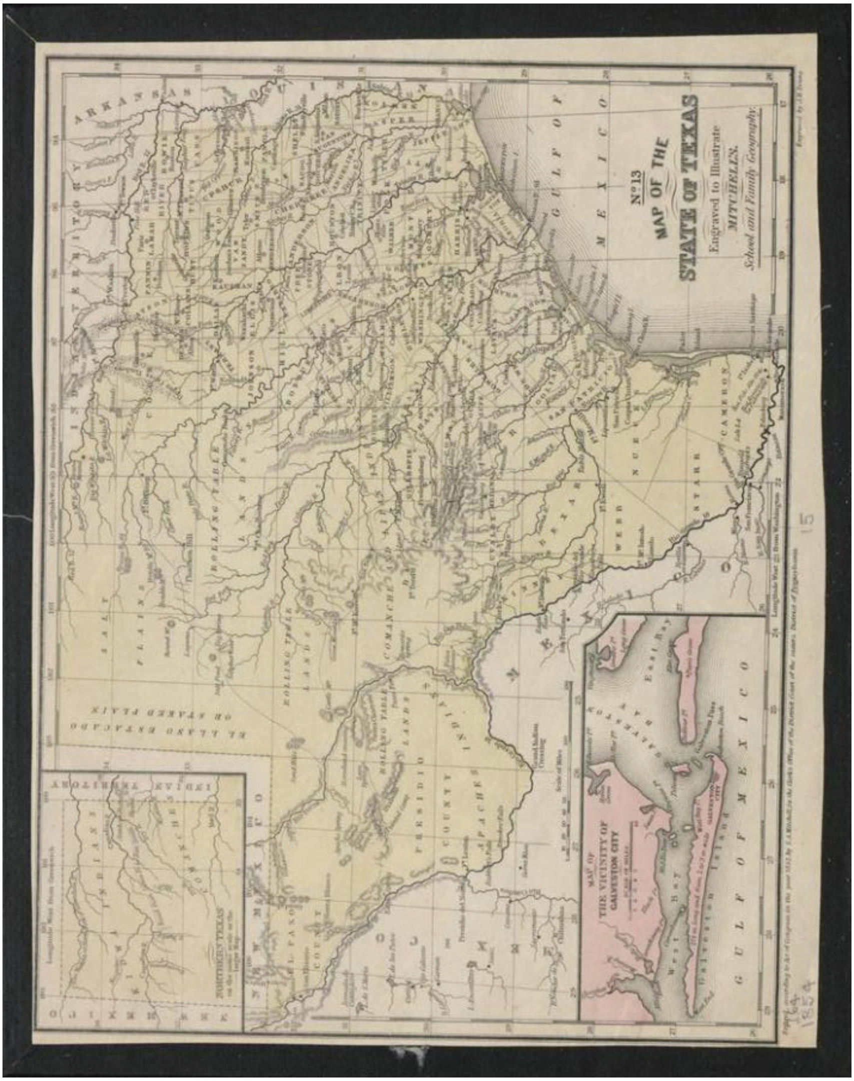
In the 1840s, books by theological scholars such as John Lloyd Stephens and Edward Robinson radically altered American audiences' geographic knowledge by identifying biblical sites in Palestine, thus producing 'rediscoveries' of other religiously significant sites. These books articulated the central role that Palestine played for America: its land and natural history authenticated biblical knowledge, by making material what had previously been only textual. The Holy Land offered a key to interpreting the Bible, for its landscape, stones, and flowers were thought to be sites of revelation that could "elucidate entire biblical passages"

Greene, Harvey. *Wildflowers from Palestine: Gathered and Pressed by Harvey Greene.* Massachusetts: Butterfield & Company, 1895.

(Davis 1996, 49). As John Davis argues, such material objects and their representation in paintings, novels, and travel narratives validated not only the Bible but also the centuries-old idea that America was the sacred "city on a hill," the "heir to the sacred topography" of the Holy Land (3). Greene's assemblages of biblical references, botanical specimens, and historical descriptions clearly participate in this process of locating Palestine in American history and religious beliefs.

Young, J. H. (James Hamilton). 1852. *Map of the State of Texas: Engraved to Illustrate Mitchell's School and Family.*

This 1852 map of the state of Texas was engraved by James Hamilton Young and accompanied *Mitchell's School Geography,* written by Samuel A. Mitchell (1790–1868), which was the most popular geographic textbook of the mid-nineteenth century. First published in 1839 and then revised and republished in successive editions until 1866, the *Geography* contained geographic descriptions, exercises, and definitions, as well as copperplate engravings such as this map. The text had a wide scope: it included descriptions of the world and its (then) five continents, as well as of the various 'races' of humans. The *Geography* taught students to locate themselves within this world by including exercises about the "Learner's own state" that required students to identify key geographic features, the capital, and counties (Mitchell 1860, 106).



Young, J. H. (James Hamilton). *Map of the State of Texas: Engraved to Illustrate Mitchell's School and Family. Map*, 1852.

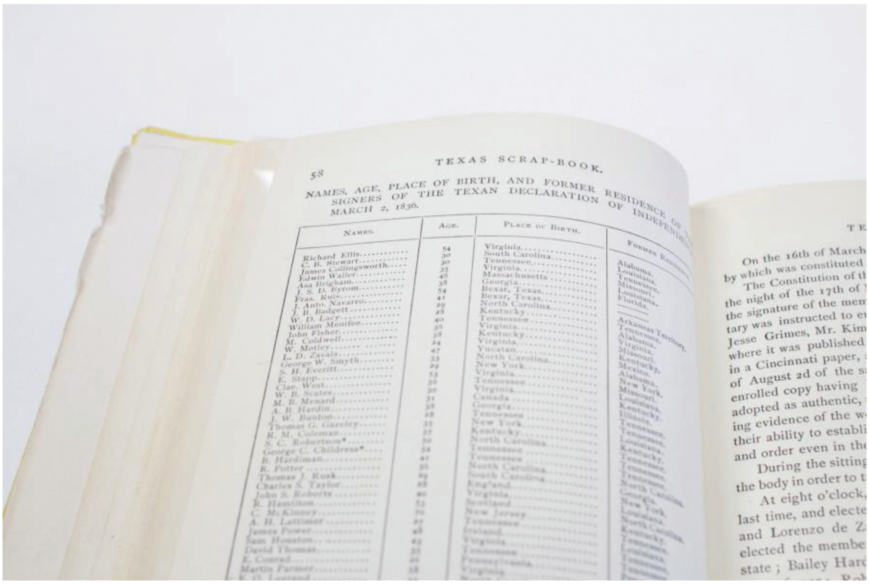
The *Geography* continued the post-Revolutionary emphasis on geographic education as a means of promoting "national education and good citizenship" (Brückner 2006, 146). By including exercises in both geography and writing, textbooks placed geographic knowledge hand in hand with the acquisition of literacy. Moreover, many textbooks represented the United States as a geographic unit, rather than as separate colonies or states, in this way facilitating students' conceptualization of themselves as Americans rather than as British citizens. *Mitchell's Geography* also sometimes emphasized Americans' European ancestry over their separate status as US Americans, as shown by an illustration of the five races that defined the "American" race by depicting a Native American person (thus suggesting that white Americans were of the "European" race and emphasizing their Old World origins).

This map represents Texas as part of the United States by illustrating its geographic relationship to other US states, such as Arkansas and Louisiana and to Indian Territory and Mexico. In this way, the map depicts what had been the independent Texas Republic less than a decade earlier as now a part of the US. Yet the map also illustrates the ways in which Texas was a space where land, its ownership, and its identification were still contested. The northern and eastern parts of the state are divided into neatly defined counties with major cities marked, while the western and southern parts of the state are identified by geographic features—salt plains, rolling table lands, the staked plain—and by the names of Native American tribes—the Comanche and Lipan Indians, the Apache Indians, and the Kiowa Indians. In this way, the map marks not just location(s) but also political realities. Moreover, the map shows how, as the presence of Native people was erased from the eastern part of the state and replaced by the names of counties and cities, Native peoples were memorialized in the landscape through names for geographic features, such as Comanche Peak.

Baker, D.W.C. 1935. *A Texas Scrap-Book: Made up of the History, Biography, and Miscellany of Texas and Its People, Compiled by DWC Baker.* Austin.

Businessman DeWitt Clinton Baker (1832–1881) was born in Portland, Maine and educated at Gorham Academy and Bowdoin College before eventually obtaining an apprenticeship in the printing business in Portland. Around 1850, he moved with his wife and nine children to Austin, Texas, where he worked in the drug business for several decades. During this time, he was not only appointed an official weather record keeper for the state but also served on the state school examining board and attempted to develop a public school system. An author of numerous poems, he is best known for his two book publications—*A Brief History of Texas from Its Earliest Settlement* in 1873 and *A Texas Scrap-Book* in 1875 (Flachmeier 2010). The first book was briefly adopted for use in schools before the school board banned it, claiming that it expressed "anti-Southern" views (McLemore 2007, 27). While the *History* contained few references to political events or to slavery, the *Scrap-Book* departed from interpretation and analysis altogether and instead compiled sources about Texas history. Like the *History*, the *Scrap-Book* was a commercial failure, and Baker sold his plates to another publisher, who incorporated them into Homer S. Thrall's *A Pictorial History of Texas, from the Earliest Visits of European Adventurers, to A.D. 1879* (McLemore 2004, 75).

Like other post-Civil War Texas histories, which sought to memorialize war veterans, the *Scrap-Book* focused in particular on the Texas Revolution of 1835–36, a war in which the colony of Texas declared its independence from Mexico and established the Texas Republic. However, also like other histories, the *Scrap-Book* focused on the exploits of white men, providing little information about other populations in Texas, such as Tejanos and African Americans. The *Scrap-Book* is divided into four parts—historical, biographical, miscellaneous, and statistical. Each section collates documents related to Texas's past, including historical accounts of battles, accounts of conflicts with Native Americans, narratives of famous men's lives, lists of the war dead, and copies of Texas's multiple constitutions. The "historical accounts" offer a history of Texas from its Spanish colonizers through the Texas Revolution, focusing primarily on the Revolution, the settlement of Texas by Anglo-Americans, and violent conflicts between settlers and Native peoples. Meanwhile, the "miscellany" included cultural and natural information.



Baker, D. W. C. *A Texas Scrap-Book: Made up of the History, Biography, and Miscellany of Texas and Its People.* Compiled by DWC Baker. Austin, 1935.

In the preface, Baker states that he viewed the *Scrap-Book* as a volume that would reclaim the history of Texas from obscurity, especially since many of the men who participated in the Texas Revolution had died. He had carefully "collect[ed] whatever of interest he could find relating to the history, biography, and miscellany of Texas people" in order to offer "original narratives of Texas history and adventure." As Baker's title suggests, he participated in the immensely popular practice of scrapbooking, the process of collecting and compiling newspaper clippings to "to save, manage, and reprocess information" (Garvey 2013, 4). The form of the scrapbook preserved history for future readers while also allowing compilers to redefine their relationship to the material. For Baker, the form also allowed him to produce a selective version of Texas history. For example, by listing personal information about the signers of the Texas declaration of independence on page 58 (shown here), Baker locates Texas history in the stories of particular men and suggests that readers can access the Texas past through the lives of its founders. Finally, on a practical level, the *Scrap-Book* allows Texans to locate their history: by turning to the compilation, they could find evidence of their country's (and later, state's) history, heroes, and natural and cultural productions.

The *Scrap-Book* also seeks to locate Texas as a political and cultural entity separate from non-Anglo people and influences. For example, Baker includes accounts of the battles fought during the Texas Revolution and its reproduction of Texas constitutions, and these histories define the state as a separate geographic, historical, and political entity from Mexico, despite the fact that people from the two entities shared histories, experiences, and languages. Indeed, the *Scrap-Book* acknowledges this fact by recounting Texas's settlement by Spanish colonizers, thus representing the origins that Texas shared with Mexico. Yet, by focusing on the Revolution, the *Scrap-Book* also posits that war as a key turning point that located Texas in a new history and disrupted its relationship to a Spanish past. Similarly, the book seeks to define Texas heroes and cultural values as forged in their encounters with violent Native Americans but also as totally separate from those peoples.

RESISTING

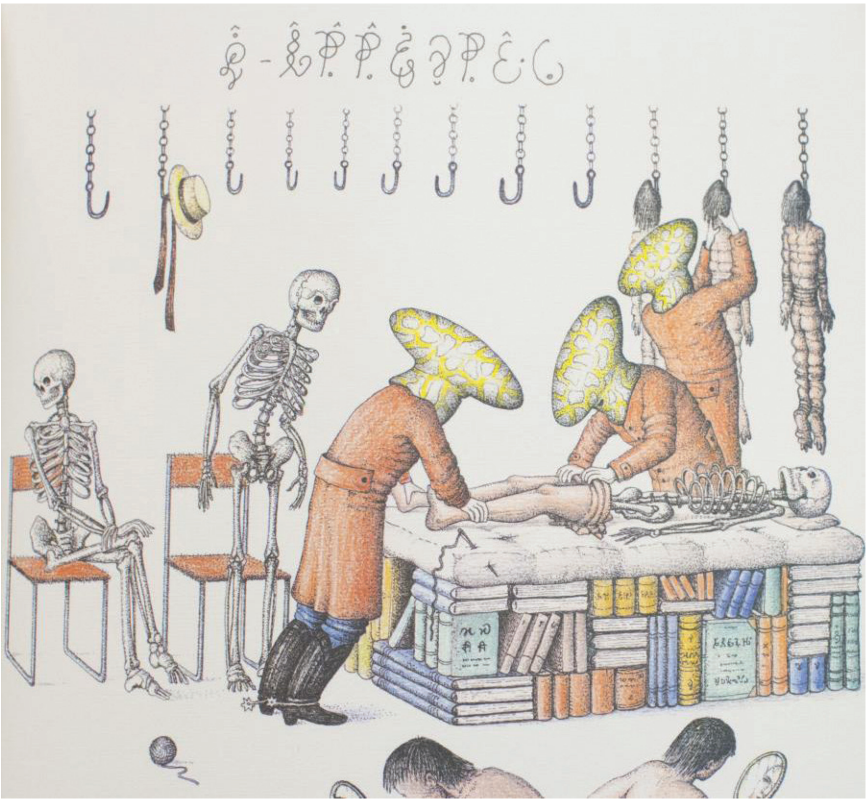
Resistance to the systematizing drive of bureaucracy comes in many shapes; its traces can be seen in forms filled out incompletely or overabundantly, documents crumpled up in a ball, reference books dismantled or never finished, and catalogues amended or corrected with manuscript notes. Sometimes resistance is a willful attempt to disrupt bureaucratic forms, other times, it simply indicates where bureaucratic forms are unsuited to individuals' lived experiences and needs. Beyond resistance that comes with use, some printed objects are designed and produced with the specific purpose of contesting the work of bureaucracy and exposing its more pernicious tendencies. Illegible dictionaries, fantastical encyclopedias, philosophical satires, and bureaucratic fictions—these works draw attention to the ways bureaucracy can homogenize, oppress, and even destroy the people and things caught in its web.

Serafini, Luigi. 1993. *Codex Seraphinianus*. Nouvelle Éd. augmentée. Milan: Franco Maria Ricci.

It has been categorized as one of the strangest books ever published—a nonsensical art book with a surrealist vision. Grotesque, yet disturbingly beautiful, it commands a mix of wonder, awe, and frustration. Originally published in two volumes in 1981 by the Italian publisher Franco Maria Ricci, *Codex Seraphinianus* is an illustrated encyclopedia of an imaginary world, conceived and created by artist and designer Luigi Serafini (1949-) between 1976 and 1978. The copy of the *Codex* acquired by UNT is a facsimile reprint of the original, published as part of a 1993 single-volume edition. It is labeled copy #2159 of 5000, comprises 250 hand-made pages, and is bound in Ricci's trademark black silk with gold gilt lettering on the cover and spine. Reissued in both the US and Italy, the book has gained wide recognition for its use of asemic (or non-semantic) writing and its depiction of bizarre and fantastical flora, fauna, anatomies, technologies, fashions, and architectures.

In an interview with *Wired* magazine in 2013, Serafini said he wanted to "convey to the reader … the sensation that children feel in front of books they cannot yet understand" (Girolami 2013). Although there have been many attempts to translate the *Codex*, it has thus far resisted efforts to decipher its language and meaning. Jeff Stanley's (2010) recent MA thesis examined the *Codex* using computer-assisted decipherment, and his conclusions support Serafini's statements that the "language" is artistic, not linguistic. Following statements made in the book itself, some have speculated that the *Codex*—created in the late 1970s when coding and decoding messages had become important across numerous academic fields, including genetics, computer science, and literary criticism—represents a creative vision at the precipice of the Information Age (Davies n.d.). Today, as communication and information technologies multiply, the allure of Serafini's work continues to grow. Decades after its initial publication, opinions remain divided over the asemic language of the *Codex* (White 2012): is it a code meant to be deciphered, a meaningless jumble of signs, or perhaps entirely visual, meant to be "read" as a sequence of images?

The continued fascination with the *Codex* may stem from its combination of a rigid structure borrowed from the encyclopedia and illustrations that defy conventional classifications. The book is organized like many nineteenth and twentieth-century encyclopedias: there are eleven separate sections that, in



Serafini, Luigi, Italo Calvino, Yves Hersant, and Geneviève Lambert. *Codex Seraphinianus.* Milano: Franco Mario Ricci, 1993.

spite of the impossibility of reading the texts, have evident topical coherence. The first section illustrates various types of flora, from eccentric flowers to trees that uproot themselves, migrate, and split in half to reveal an avocado-like structure. The second section transitions into fauna, depicting a bestiary of more real world animals as well as one of fantastical creatures that appear to be made up of human body parts. From here the book moves through sections vaguely resembling physics, chemistry, meteorology, anthropology, biology, and architecture. Although the *Codex* employs the organizational principles of an encyclopedia, its fantastical illustrations encourage imaginative play that actively confounds the systemization of knowledge that is characteristic of the genre.

A common theme in the illustrations is the idea of layers: as layers are peeled back from different creatures, new beings come into view. There is an image of a hippopotamus in which a human is pulling back the skin from its backside to reveal another, smaller hippopotamus beneath, emerging from the first's skin. There are multiple images that show how the bureaucratic systems that seek to hold our inner animals in check fail as animals break forth from human bodies or humans turn into animals. In later sections, another related theme emerges: the integration of human and machine. A soldier is revealed to have an arm that ends with a gun instead of a hand. A writer's arm ends with a fountain pen nib. These images suggest the bureaucratic drive for efficiency changes the very makeup of the human being. Perhaps most disturbing—and most relevant to the topic of bureaucracy—is the illustration in which surgeons are taking human skins and stretching them onto skeletons. The surgery table is held up not by legs, but by piles and piles of books, perhaps suggesting that the modern push towards homogeneity is built upon centuries of tradition. Other skeletons, awaiting their skins, watch the progress of the procedure. In the next illustration, the skeletons—now clothed with skin stitched together on their side—are examining themselves in the mirror. Clothing identical to the surgeons' clothing sits next to them as they prepare to put on the uniform of the institution and, presumably, continue the process of making others just like them. Later on, there is an image in which a man is seen literally being fed words, with the ink dribbling onto the bib he wears around his neck. The sequence suggests that not only must physical appearance be made homogenous, so must words and thoughts.

Even though we cannot read the text of the *Codex*, these illustrations convey the idea that the knowledge system of the book aims to force us into a mold: people, animals, and things must be classified and categorized, and the outcome is the homogenization of life. The surreal, uncanny elements of the illustrations get at the heart of the book's larger message: to the artist, Serafini, this drive to normalize society and make all human beings alike is horrifying, grotesque, and perverse. The book thus dissents from the current condition of modern life with its divisive structures and drive to sameness.

Although the *Codex Seraphinianus* paints the image of an imaginary world in which there are creatures walking around that look like a pair of human legs and animals spring forth from people like Artemis came forth from the head of

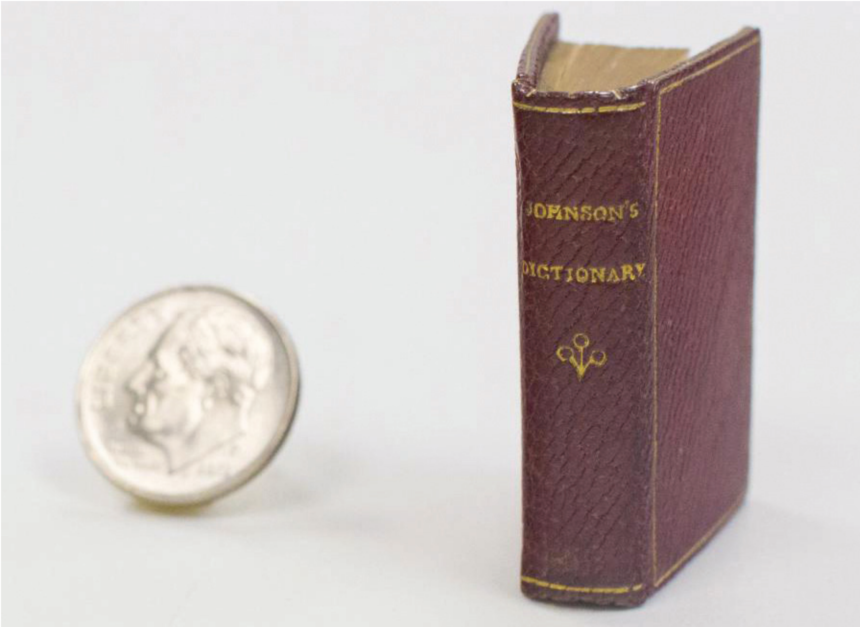
Zeus, the world of the *Codex* has a realistic quality as well—one that underscores its powerful critique. As Peter Swirski wrote, "Literature simply cannot but constantly refer to, and otherwise depend on, real world structures. In a clear sense no work of literature—including what may probably be the least reality-dependent literary work of our time, Luigi Serafini's *Codex Seraphinianus*—could be understood if it did not correspond in some way to the actual world" (Swirski 1998, 19). By embedding surreal images and asemic text in the form of a reference book, the *Codex Seraphinianus* resists the bureaucratic implementation of cultural norms; its language without sense both gestures to and undercuts the bureaucratic technologies of description we use to codify the world and ourselves.

The Smallest English Dictionary in the World: Comprising besides the Ordinary and Newest Words in the Language Short Explanations of a Large Number of Scientific, Philosophical, Literary, and Technical Terms. **1900 [?]. Glasgow: David Bryce & Son.**

The Smallest English Dictionary, published around 1900 by the Scottish press, David Bryce & Son, is a miniature book measuring 1⅛ x ¾ inches (27 x 20 mm). It has 384 gilt-edged pages, and was bound in maroon morocco by Zaehnsdorf of London. "Johnson's Dictionary" is embossed on the spine in gold letters, and there is a gold floral decoration, similar to a fleur-de-lis, beneath the title. There is a frontispiece engraving of Samuel Johnson inside the cover. The volume reportedly contains 13,000 definitions set in 1½ point type. In its miniature format and voluminous content, *The Smallest English Dictionary* enacts bureaucratic functions while simultaneously subverting them.

David Bryce (1845–1923) became a partner in his father's Glasgow printing business in 1862, at the age of 17, and inherited the business when his father died in 1870. His first publishing effort, a large-format edition of Robert Burns' poetry, sold only 5000 copies. Noting the growing popularity of miniatures in Victorian society, Bryce reprinted the edition in two volumes at a fraction of its original size, and sold 100,000 copies. Bryce soon became one of Scotland's most famous publishers, issuing at least 40 different titles during the time tiny books were in vogue. Bryce & Son's catalogue of miniature books features British and Scottish literature, religious texts, including the Koran, reference works, and other miscellaneous publications. Bryce printed his books using "photolithography," an innovative reduction process that allowed him to print at extremely small sizes while maintaining high readability. He also had access to special paper from Oxford University publishers, who owned a process to make ultra-thin but opaque paper called "India Paper." It allowed hundreds of sheets to fit into very thin volumes. Cutting-edge materials and new technology made Bryce the most successful miniature book publisher in the Victorian Age ("Miniature Books" n.d.).

Miniature books have existed since the advent of printing, though their popularity grew as print technologies allowed for greater ease of production.



The Smallest English Dictionary in the World: Comprising Besides the Ordinary and Newest Words in the Language Short Explanations of a Large Number of Scientific, Philosophical, Literary and Technical Terms. Glasgow: David Bryce and Sons, 1900.

Miniature books were popular because they served practical functions ("Miniature Books" 2016). Portable and relatively cheap, we might say that the miniature book was an equivalent technology to today's cellphone, allowing people to carry with them and access a great deal of information with ease. Readable miniature books were usually between 3 and 5 inches tall, but not all miniature books were practically oriented. Miniature books also allowed publishers artistic license to craft technically perfect yet essentially unreadable books.

The particularly small size of Bryce & Son's *The Smallest English Dictionary* may indicate that it falls into this category, yet a look at an undated Bryce & Son catalogue complicates this assumption, for many of the publisher's miniature books—including *The Smallest English Dictionary*—came with a protective case and a magnifying glass. The case and the glass signify that the book was intended to be used. Whether or not Bryce & Son intended for the dictionary to be used or not, the words and definitions in *The Smallest English Dictionary* cannot be read without the magnifying glass, so its use value depends on mediation.

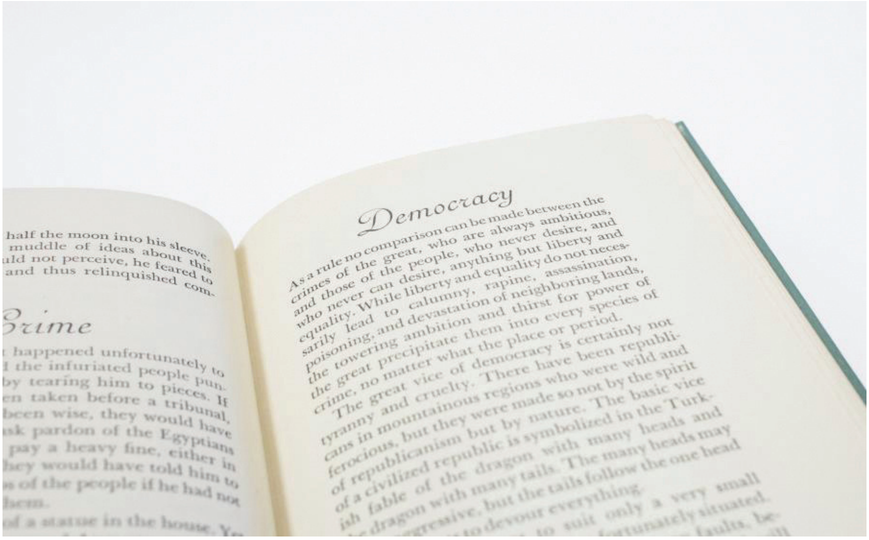
Because *The Smallest English Dictionary*, by way of its genre, takes part in the codification of knowledge, it also takes part in bureaucratic (mediating) functions. Because it is difficult to use, however, it simultaneously resists its bureaucratic function. The miniature book is interesting because the means of assessing its function and value are various. Is it meant to be used, or is meant to be an object of art? Where does one capacity end and the other begin? In the case of this particular book, how does having or not having a magnifying glass change the way the object was circulated and perceived?

The Smallest English Dictionary is connected to other texts in this exhibit, most clearly *Glossographia* and *Johnson's Dictionary in Miniature*. All of these volumes have origins in the tradition of early modern reference books, and indicate to the reader socially appropriate understandings and uses of language. Perhaps because it straddles a line between function and art, knowing and seeking, the *Smallest English Dictionary* feels particularly modern, even post-modern. But like many texts in this exhibit, *The Smallest English Dictionary* both participates in and resists aspects of bureaucracy, and examining these texts may remind us that what we think of as a contemporary conundrum—the navigation of such systems—is not, in fact, particularly modern.

Voltaire, and Paul McPharlin. 1946. *Satirical Dictionary of Voltaire*. Mount Vernon, NY: Peter Pauper Press.

This small "dictionary" cannot properly be called an original work by Voltaire (1694–1778), although the words are, for the most part, his own. It was compiled by an American editor and illustrator, Paul McPharlin, and pulls material from Voltaire's *Dictionnaire Philosophique* (1764) and *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie* (1770–1774). McPharlin's *Satirical Dictionary* is thus a compilation and condensation of Voltaire's writings from several sources, all satirical in nature but not explicitly so. This co-authored work is a categorical translation, but is also a cultural translation, having been produced for a modern American audience. Voltaire composed the articles translated here after an apparently dissatisfactory job of working on articles for the letter "T" in the 1762 edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*; his *Questions* also responds to the massive Enlightenment project of knowledge making, the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and d'Alembert, which we discussed elsewhere in this book. Voltaire's original texts resist the idea implicit in the creation, manufacture, and distribution of an encyclopedia or dictionary: that knowledge can be codified, information ordered and digested, and truth commodified. By calling attention to Voltaire's satirical intent with his title, McPharlin directs his American audience to notice and embrace Voltaire's resistance to the bureaucratic forms of systematized knowledge.

The Satirical Dictionary is a smallish book, about 5 inches by 7¾ inches; its hardcover is printed with ornate, framed letters of the alphabet in earthy tones of blue and taupe. It was printed by the letterpress method. The first edition of the *Satirical Dictionary* (UNT owns a second edition) was printed and designed by the husband and wife co-owners of Peter Pauper Press in 1945. Peter and Edna Beilenson commissioned McPharlin to illustrate the cover, select and compile its contents, and write an introductory statement.



Voltaire, and Paul McPharlin. *Satirical Dictionary of Voltaire.* Mount Vernon, N.Y: Peter Pauper Press, 1946.

McPharlin's selections in the *Satirical Dictionary* comprise a whimsical smorgasbord of reflections on human hypocrisy, vanity, and hubris. The book consists of seventy-six entries arranged alphabetically, with no particular logic to the selection other than the juxtaposition of the lofty and the banal: the subjects range from "Democracy" to "Love" to "Testicles." Although the book is organized alphabetically, the articles in the *Satirical Dictionary* are actually more encyclopedic, stemming from their inspiration in Voltaire's response to the *Encyclopédie*. Voltaire's use of satire may perhaps be obvious to modern readers but was not necessarily as obvious during his lifetime (Tallentyre 1903). For example, in *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie*, Voltaire includes an etymology of the word *Bulgare* (not included in McPharlin's collection) which is rife with vicious satire aimed at his sometimes friend, Frederick the Great of Prussia. The entry can also be understood as a prompt to read his later and most famous work, *Candide*, as satire (Langille 2007, 55–57). Of "Books," Voltaire counsels his reader to "[r]emember that the whole world, save only the savage parts, is under the sway of books … Who lead their fellow men in all civilized countries? Those who can read and write" (McPharlin 1946, 18). The satirical bent of such an observation only becomes clear when read alongside the entry on "government," which observes that "[t]here must be some exquisite pleasure in governing, to judge from the numbers who are eager to be concerned in it. We have more books on government than governors in the world … I understand nothing about government" (50).

Voltaire's choice of the word "dictionary," and by extension McPharlin's, can be inferred from the excerpt from Voltaire's preface to the *Dictionnaire*

Philosophique (1764): "This book does not require continuous reading; but wherever one opens it, matter for reflection can be found. The most satisfactory books are those of which the reader is part author" (McPharlin 1946, 4). Here, Voltaire draws on the idea of "consultation reading" common to early modern reference books (Blair 2010), but he also encourages his readers to browse the work according to their own inclinations, and to share in the authority of the author/compiler (Blair). McPharlin's selection takes Voltaire at his word: he admits to taking liberties with the material while also claiming that the articles "do not suffer from the condensation they have undergone" (McPharlin 1946, 3). What might strike a modern reader as an unforgivable disregard for textual integrity might actually, in an ironic way, bear an affinity to the spirit in which Voltaire composed his texts. In his brief preface, Voltaire uses a Biblical allusion to pinpoint his own process of compiling: as a compiler from "standard works," "he himself remains anonymous, and takes the position of the Gospel, 'Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth'" (4). This serves as a tongue-in-cheek apology for any accidental plagiarism he might have committed; he adds that he expects his debts to be recognized and his innocence assumed. By reprinting this excerpt, McPharlin points out Voltaire's response to the procedures of compiling reference works and justifies his own practice of selective recompilation.

Dickens, Charles. 1853. *Bleak House*. London: Bradbury & Evans.

This 1853 edition of *Bleak House* by Charles Dickens represents the first publication of the novel in the form of a single book. Like most of Dickens's fictional works, *Bleak House* was initially serialized. It was distributed to readers in 20 separate installments (19 individual issues, the last containing the final two increments) between March of 1852 and September of 1853. This edition of the novel was published by Bradbury and Evans and dedicated to the "Guild of Literature and Art." It contains 38 lithograph plates featuring illustrations by Habolt Knight Browne, a.k.a. "Phiz," as well as 42 demarcation points indicating that it is a fully compiled and comprehensively re-edited issue, devoid of any typographical errors. The covering is the original solid material overlaid with a thin film of half-calf leather. The spine and corners of each side feature coverings as patches in marble coloring, an aesthetic largely enhancing the autonomy and authenticity of the full-text volume as opposed to the pamphlet installments often deemed as ephemera.

Bleak House presents a grand cross-section of British Victorian society, from the lavish wealth and opulence of the upper classes to the miserably impoverished suffering of the undeserving poor. This novel also levels a powerful critique at bureaucracy that highlights the potentially pernicious and destructive effects of convoluted and over-evolved systems of distributed power and authority. While the novel follows a vast web of plot lines, all of them are connected by a long-standing testamentry case, *Jarndyce v. Jarndyce*, that feeds the needs of legal processes and processors while sapping the spirit—and money—of the litigants

Dickens, Charles, and Hablot K. Browne. *Bleak House.* London: Bradbury and Evans, 1853.

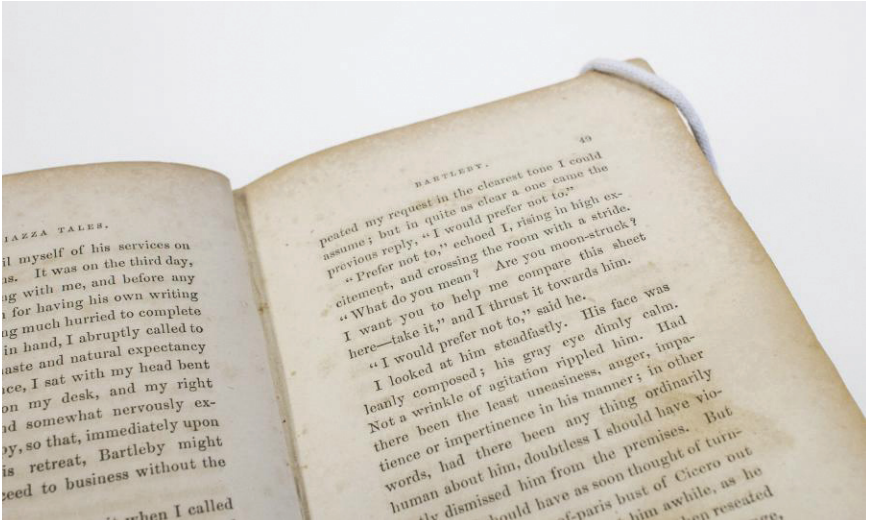
involved. Dickens had worked in law and was thus familiar with its mechanisms and personality. Some critics have speculated that the fictional case at the center of *Bleak House* was based on one or several protracted, real-life cases, including that of poet and novelist Charlotte Turner Smith. The novel reveals the English legal system—specifically its Courts of Chancery—"as producing gas in prolix pleadings and judicial vapourings, throwing up fog and mud in its lack of clarity and muck in its disclosure of old scandals, while resembling a dinosaur in its failure to address the modern age" (Slater 2009, 45). These courts would be abolished approximately 20 years after the publication of *Bleak House*.

Melville, Herman. 1856. *The Piazza Tales*. New York: Dix & Edwards; London: Sampson Low, Son & Co.

This first edition of Herman Melville's short story collection *The Piazza Tales* was published by Dix and Edwards in 1856. With the exception of the story "The Piazza," all of the stories were originally published in the magazine, *Putnam's Monthly*. Joshua Dix (a former employee of Arthur Putnam) and Arthur Edwards purchased that magazine in 1855, with the new book and magazine publishers working to maintain the successes of their predecessors (Greenspan 2000).

The Piazza Tales contains six novella-length stories, including "The Encantadas," "Benito Cereno," and "Bartleby the Scrivener." Both "Benito Cereno" and "Bartleby" thematize bureaucracy by representing and replicating its material forms. "Bartleby" is set among the increasing visibility of large businesses and their managerial practices in the nineteenth century, which included the rise of the American corporation, the codification of managerial practices, the advent of Wall Street, and the privileging of efficiency over individuality. At the same time, by using as his subtitle "A Story of Wall Street," Melville located the story in a space of labor activism and debates about workers' rights (Reed 2004). The actions of the titular scrivener—a copyist who replicated business and legal records—indicates how the bureaucratic system is susceptible to resistance from within. Bartleby's famous line, "I would prefer not to," is often referenced as a mantra of dissent towards the bureaucratic power of the state or capitalist economy. At the end of the story, Bartleby refuses to move from the law office where he is employed even when the lawyer who employs him switches buildings; when he is thrown in jail, he refuses to eat and dies. The story mocks the functions of bureaucracy—namely, the copying of obscure documents that the lawyer required of his clerks—while highlighting their effects on the human mind.

The lawyer who employs Bartleby places great emphasis on efficient, correct written communication, even as he recognizes repeatedly that these bureaucratic ideals are undercut by the particular ages, bodies, preferences, work practices, whims, and hands of his clerks. While Turkey, Nippers, and Ginger Nut might produce work of uneven quality, it is Bartleby and his statement that he "would prefer not to"—his refusal to work and to vacate the law office at night and, eventually, at all—that disrupt the efficient office and force the lawyer to



Melville, Herman. *The Piazza Tales*. New York: Dix & Edwards; London: Sampson Low, Son & Co., 1856.

move. Bartleby is further identified with non-efficiency at the end of the story, when the lawyer notes that he had previously worked at the Dead Letter Office, a repository for letters that, after failing to reach their recipients, were sent to the office to be destroyed. Bartleby's jobs represent how bureaucracy must organize and consume all documents; they must be put into place regardless of whether or not they served their purpose. At the same time, Bartleby's refusal to complete his tasks highlights the ways that bureaucratic systems are highly contingent on individuals and their participation in the system.

Melville temporarily adopted the role of a scrivener himself when he transcribed legal documents from Amasa Delano's *Narrative of Voyages and Travels in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres* (1817) in order to write "Benito Cereno" (DeLombard 2009). These documents formed the foundation of the short story, and Melville inserted selections from the actual legal deposition, or testimony, at the end of the novella. There, Benito Cereno, the Spanish captain of a slave ship, explained how the slaves took over the ship, held him captive, and forced him to pretend that he had freed them and trusted them. Finally rescued by an American captain, Amasa Delano, Benito Cereno gives a legal account of the events that led him to pretend as if the rebellion's mastermind, a man named Babo, was his trusted manservant. The deposition provides only one perspective of the revolution and plot, since enslaved Africans' testimony was not permitted in court. Moreover, the deposition employs the law and its bureaucratic forms to transform the past into historical record and to endow it with authority. As both "Bartleby" and "Benito Cereno" show, the individuals and the forms required to complete this transformation resist it, and, interestingly, they accomplish this resistance through inaction—by Bartleby's preference not to and by Babo's silence. If the point of Cereno's deposition is to create an "officially sanctioned retrospective narrative" (37), then Babo's actions and his silence throw that narrative into question. And, if the point of Bartleby's vocation is to reproduce and recirculate letters, then his preference "not to" stalls that process and highlights its dependence on material forms and manual labor.

POSTSCRIPT

In April 2015, as the "Bureaucracy: A Love Story" exhibit was winding down, the editors of this book (with the addition of Kevin Curran) put together a two-day symposium at the University of North Texas, called "Bureaucracy and the Organization of Knowledge." The goal of the symposium was to pick up on the thrumming energy and excitement of the bureaucracy exhibit and broaden the reach of our thinking about bureaucracy by including perspectives from scholars in a variety of fields from around the country. We brought in eight scholars—historians, library scientists, literary scholars, and rhetoricians—from universities around the country and essentially asked them to teach us about the materiality of bureaucratic knowledge in Europe and the Atlantic world from 1450 to the present. No proceedings exist from that symposium—an oversight for bureaucrats, if ever there was one—but the presentations resonated with the expansive notion of bureaucracy sketched by the exhibit.

To give just a few examples, Martin Halbert, Dean of Libraries at UNT, opened the symposium by recounting his years-long work helping to develop *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database* which collects and makes accessible a vast collection of information that describes the people, places, and practices that constituted the Trans-Atlantic slave trade from the mid-1500s through the late 1800s. Casey Boyle, Assistant Professor of Rhetoric and Writing at the University of Texas at Austin, described an agglomeration of defunct bureaucratic systems—pneumatic tubes, call buttons, etc.—that still exist in his university building, because they are too expensive to remove. Mark Tabeau, Associate Professor of Public History at Arizona State University, Eric Wertheimer, Professor of English, and talked about the evolution of calculating risk as a financial transaction with the invention of fire insurance policies. And Kelly Wisecup described the creative uses to which early American surveyors put blank forms that did not conform to their needs.

In just these four examples, we can see the ways in which bureaucracy facilitates new ways of understanding the world we inhabit, leaves material traces (detritus) in the world to witness what we have done with it, informs new ways of acting that were previously unthinkable, and describes the limits of bureaucracy for codifying the radically individual needs of humans. At the risk of overstating the case, we constitute the world with bureaucracy and it is mutually constitutive of us in the 21st century (and has been for many centuries).

All this, obviously, doesn't mean we have to abandon our suspicion, and even righteous hatred, of bureaucracy. But as the exhibit, symposium, and now this book, have repeatedly demonstrated to us, we cannot content ourselves only with the comforting certainty of hating it. This is, after all, a love story, and like any good love story, it is equal parts passion, mundaneness, affection, anger, comfort, bitterness, joy, frustration, hope, misunderstanding, and dawning awareness. We hope this love story showcases the limits of bureaucracy but also showcases the limits of bureaucracy and the wide possibilities that exist for future engagements with bureaucracy.

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