

Annotation

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The Hopi History Project:

WHERE 21ST-CENTURY HOPIS MEET 16TH-CENTURY SPANIARDS

BY THOMAS E. SHERIDAN

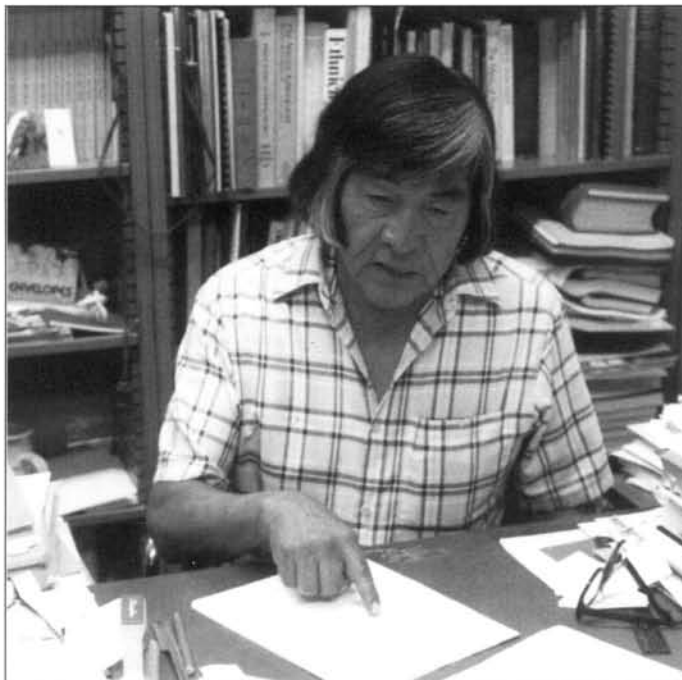
In 1541, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado and his force of more than 1,300 Spanish soldiers and Indian allies conquered the Zuni Indians of northwestern New Mexico. Searching in vain for the fabled Seven Cities of Gold, Coronado interrogated the Zunis about "the provinces that fell near its borders." The Zunis told him about Tusayán, "a province of seven pueblos similar to their own." Coronado ordered Don Pedro de Tovar to investigate.

Tovar and 20 others headed west across the high desert of the Colorado Plateau, entering "the country [Tusayán] so secretly

that they were not noticed by any man as they arrived." You can almost hear the muffled sounds of the horses as the party hid themselves in a ravine beneath one of Tusayán's "multistoried" villages. Morning dawned. The Spaniards "were discovered." The people "of that land put themselves in order, marching out well armed with bows and shields and wooden clubs, in file, without breaking line." The Spaniards and the Hopi Indians of northern Arizona were about to say hello.

Tovar had one of his Zuni interpreters read the *Requerimiento*. The *Requerimiento* was Spanish legalism at its most sur-

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Emory Sekaquaptewa, research anthropologist at the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology of the University of Arizona, and Chief Justice of the Hopi Tribal Appellate Court, transforms an English translation of a Spanish colonial document into the Hopi language.

Max Evans Appointed Executive Director

Max J. Evans joined the National Historical Publications and Records Commission as its new Executive Director on January 27, 2003. Most recently, Mr. Evans was the Director of the Utah State Historical Society and editor of the *Utah Historical Quarterly*. As Society Director, he also served as the State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO) and was responsible for publications, the history library (including published and manuscript materials, photographs, and maps), a statewide grants program, and the state history museum. He also served for over a year as the Acting State Archivist and was the chair of the State Records Committee from 1991 through 1998.



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Material accepted for publication will be edited to conform to style and space limitations of *Annotation*, but authors will be consulted should substantive questions arise. The editor is final arbiter in matters regarding length and grammar. Published material does not necessarily represent the views of the Commission or of the National Archives and Records Administration; indeed, some material may challenge policies and practices of those institutions.

NHPRC MEMBERS — *John W. Carlin*, Archivist of the United States, Chairperson; *Roy D. Blunt*, representing the U.S. House of Representatives; *Nicholas C. Burckel* and *David W. Brady*, representing the President of the United States; *Charles T. Cullen*, representing the Association for Documentary Editing; *Christopher Dodd*, representing the U.S. Senate; *Mary Maples Dunn*, representing the American Historical Association; *Barbara J. Fields*, representing the Organization of American Historians; *Alfred Goldberg*, representing the Department of Defense; *Margaret P. Grafeld*, representing the Department of State; *J. Kevin Graffagnino*, representing the American Association for State and Local History; *James H. Hutson*, representing the Librarian of Congress; *David H. Souter*, representing the U.S. Supreme Court; *Lee Stout*, representing the Society of American Archivists; and *Roy C. Turnbaugh*, representing the National Association of Government Archives and Records Administrators.

NHPRC STAFF — *Max J. Evans*, Executive Director; *Roger A. Bruns*, Deputy Executive Director; *Richard A. Cameron*, Director for State Programs; *Timothy D.W. Connelly*, Director for Publications; *Mark Conrad*, Director for Technology Initiatives; *Nancy Taylor Copp*, Management and Program Analyst; *Noreen Curtis*, Staff Assistant; *J. Dane Hartgrove*, Historian and Editor, *Annotation*; *Michael T. Meier*, Program Officer; *Laurette O'Connor*, Grant Program Assistant; *Cassandra A. Scott*, Staff Assistant; *Daniel A. Stokes*, Program Officer.

With the March 2003 issue of *Annotation*, we welcome the NHPRC's new Executive Director, Max Evans. This issue focuses on projects the NHPRC has funded in the West. Our featured articles are

"The Hopi History Project: Where 21st-Century Hopis Meet 16th-Century Spaniards," by Thomas E. Sheridan

"The Him Mark Lai Collection: Reclaiming a History of the Chinese in America," by Wei Chi Poon and Lillian Castillo-Speed

"Twenty Years with don Diego: The Vargas Project at the University of New Mexico," by John L. Kessell

"The Colorado Fuel and Iron Archives," by Jonathan Rees

"Expect the Unexpected—A Story about Process," by Wendy E. Bredehoft

"Editing the Journals of Lewis and Clark," by Gary E. Moulton

"Cataloging Manuscript Collections at the California Historical Society," by Wendy Kramer and Mary L. Morganti

NHPRC Application Deadlines

THE COMMISSION'S MEETINGS FOLLOW THE FISCAL YEAR OF OCTOBER 1 TO SEPTEMBER 30. CONSEQUENTLY, THE FIRST MEETING OF THE FISCAL YEAR IS IN NOVEMBER AND THE SECOND IS IN MAY.

June 1 (for the November meeting)

Proposals addressing the following top priorities:

- The NHPRC will provide the American public with widespread access to the papers of the founders of our democratic republic and its institutions by ensuring the timely completion of eight projects now in progress to publish the papers of George Washington, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and papers that document the Ratification of the Constitution, the First Federal Congress, and the early Supreme Court

OCTOBER 1 (for the May meeting)

Proposals not addressing the above priorities, but focusing on an activity authorized in the NHPRC statute as follows:

- collecting, describing, preserving, compiling, and publishing (including microfilming and other forms of reproduction) of documentary sources significant to the history of the United States
- conducting institutes, training and educational courses, and fellowships related to the activities of the Commission
- disseminating information about documentary sources through guides, directories, and other technical publications
- or, more specifically, documentary editing and publishing; archival preservation and processing of records for access; developing or updating descriptive systems; creation and development of archival and records management programs; development of standards, tools, and techniques to advance the work of archivists, records managers, and documentary editors; and promotion of the use of records by teachers, students, and the public

APPLICATION GUIDELINES AND FORMS MAY BE REQUESTED FROM NHPRC, NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION, 700 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE NW, ROOM 111, WASHINGTON, DC 20408-0001, 202-501-5610 (VOICE), 202-501-5601 (FAX), nhprc@nara.gov (E-MAIL), OR BY ACCESSING OUR WEB SITE AT www.archives.gov/grants

I am honored to begin work as the eighth Executive Director of the NHPRC. As I look through the list of my predecessors, I see that I have large shoes to fill. Some of the profession's most distinguished and accomplished members have been where I am now—some more than once. They, and the men and women who served as interim Executive Directors, set lofty goals and left an extraordinary record of performance over more than a half century. I congratulate Ann Newhall, who preceded me, and Roger Bruns, current Deputy Executive Director and former Acting Executive Director, for outstanding service to the Commission and to the nation.

I look forward to working with a fine group of professional and support staff and with a very capable Commission. I look forward also to my association with the many individuals across the country who care for the preservation and publication of the nation's historical record. All of us together have a wonderful opportunity to make important contributions.

My career as an archivist, librarian, editor, publisher, and administrator has focused on *access*. We are stewards of the record of a democratic nation. We have an obligation to select, preserve, and otherwise manage this record for the benefit of the people. Our democratic society has produced an information culture. The idea of a free press promoted a society rich in information found in more and increasingly sophisticated media. We demand information from government and about its operations. And we expect, perhaps unreasonably, that our non-government archives are not only open to inspection, but easily so.

I believe that the NHPRC's purpose is to promote greater access to more of America's documentary heritage, for more people, in more places, in more ways, more quickly, and more easily. We do this by encouraging wise and careful selection and acquisition of records; arrangement and description of records; and publication of finding aids and primary sources, the latter in microfilm and edited letterpress and electronic editions. I am convinced that the national historical product, the sum of the work of scholars, teachers, and museum curators, increases and improves when both they and the people have access to the primary sources of which history is made.

Annotation is one way we inform our constituencies and sponsors of NHPRC's work to support these objectives. The December 2002 *Annotation* focused as a theme on New England, an appropriate symbol of Ann Newhall's association with the region. By coincidence, this issue deals with the West, my home region (the issue was planned long before I was selected). The Turnerian view of the West as vast land open to settlement by wave after wave of westward-moving frontiersmen is still held in the popular mind today, although generations of scholars

have challenged this view. You will find within this issue descriptions of several NHPRC-sponsored projects. Each, in its own way, brings to light documentary evidence of the richness and complexity of Western history. Against the backdrop of the muted hues of the Western landscape are played out the stories of Native peoples who have always inhabited the land. Immigrants, including non-English-speaking peoples, approached the West from the South and Southwest, from the North, and from the Pacific coast. Each group brought its own rich culture. Their stories merge and overlap as they collide with others, as they work and play and struggle to maintain their own cultures while surviving in a harsh land.

NHPRC is proud of its record of bringing these records to scholars and citizens, so we can all better understand and appreciate our national historical experience. ♦

J. KEVIN GRAFFAGNINO JOINS COMMISSION

The American Association for State and Local History (AASLH) has named J. Kevin Graffagnino, the newly appointed Director of the Vermont Historical Society, to be its representative on the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. He succeeds Brent D. Glass in that capacity.

When he takes up his new post, Graffagnino will leave the position of Executive Director of the Kentucky Historical Society, which he has held since 1999. He previously served as director of the library at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Before assuming that post in 1995, he was head of special collections at the University of Vermont Library. He holds a doctorate in history from the University of Massachusetts and a B.A. and an M.A. in history from the University of Vermont.

In addition to 25 years of experience with historical library and archival collections, Graffagnino has edited and designed books, helped organize traveling museum exhibitions, and actively promoted statewide partnerships to further historical initiatives and projects. The recipient of several awards of merit from the AASLH and other organizations, he is the author or editor of 13 books and 30 scholarly and popular articles on history and library topics. ♦

The Him Mark Lai Collection: Reclaiming a History of the Chinese in America

BY WEI CHI POON AND LILLIAN CASTILLO-SPEED

The story of the Him Mark Lai Collection Processing Project is that of a dedicated historian who made his living as an engineer. It is also the story of a friendship. The son of garment workers, Him Mark Lai was born in San Francisco in 1925. He received a degree in engineering at the University of California at Berkeley in 1947 and worked as a mechanical engineer at Bechtel Corporation for 31 years.

However, during most of his adult life, Mr. Lai was an avid amateur historian who researched Chinese American history, wrote articles and books, and in 1969 co-taught the first college level course in America on Chinese American history. His books include *A History Reclaimed: An Annotated Bibliography and Guide of Chinese Language Materials on the Chinese of America* (1986) and *From Overseas Chinese to Chinese American: History of Development of Chinese American Society during the Twentieth Century* (1992, in Chinese).

In addition, Mr. Lai co-edited *Island: Poetry and History of Chinese Immigrants on Angel Island* (1980), for which he received an American Book Award from the Before Columbus Foundation. When he published his 13,000-word essay "Chinese on the Continental U.S." in the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* in 1980, he was already nationally and internationally known for his expertise.

Mr. Lai has received several awards from scholarly and community organizations, including the Chinese Historical Society of America, the Chinese Culture Foundation, and the Association for Asian American Studies. Very active in community cultural activities, from 1971 to 1984 he produced a weekly hour-long community-based Cantonese-language radio program.



Him Mark Lai in front of shelves containing a small part of his collection of materials on Chinese American history. Photograph courtesy of Him Mark Lai.

In 1991, Mr. Lai became a coordinator of the Chinese Culture Foundation's "In Search of Roots" program, which organizes Chinese American youths to research their family histories and to visit their ancestral villages. Mr. Lai collected everything about Chinese American history that he could, which has resulted in one of the richest and most extensive personal collections of materials of its kind.

In a 1997 interview with scholar Shan Te-hsing, Mr. Lai described what he collects and why:

My area of research focuses upon internal developments in the Chinese American community, into institutions and organizations. I am particularly interested in the development of the Chinese community during the twentieth century as I regard that period as being more relevant to developments in the contemporary community... Since Chinese immigrants led and dominated the community for most of its history, Chinese has been the language used to record most of its activities.

Accordingly, much of Mr. Lai's collection is in Chinese, including hundreds of news clippings from Chinese-language newspapers across the country, all relevant to the Chinese community. These news clippings, explains Mr. Lai, are a unique resource for the study of Chinese American history:

The Chinese in America are a small minority that is not quite 1% of the U.S. population in year 2000, and much less than in past decades; however, they have had an influence on American politics and culture in the past. Today they have become a community that is becoming even more important in American society. Due to the relatively small size of the community, however, mainstream society media coverage of the Chinese American community has been very limited and spasmodic. Thus for information on developments in the Chinese American community, one has to refer to the Chinese language press. This is where the present collection stands out since many of the records came from Chi-

nese newspapers and journals as well as community documents. These are not easily obtainable in nor collected by most research libraries. (E-mail correspondence, September 23, 2001)

Obviously, the Him Mark Lai Collection is the result of Mr. Lai's desire to make a significant contribution to research on Chinese Americans. However, he came to realize that racial prejudice was a major obstacle to understanding the truth about Chinese culture and the history of Chinese Americans. In his early years, he was aware of discrimination against Chinese, and this inspired him to promote ethnic awareness and nationalism. He also made a conscious decision at an early age to learn Chinese so that his bilingualism would enhance his chances of gaining employment.

Being fluent in both English and Chinese gave him an edge in his research on Chinese American history by broadening his perspectives. As he states in an essay entitled "The Chinese Language Sources Bibliography Project: Preliminary Findings" in *Amerasia Journal* 5: 2 (1978, 95-6),

Cultural and language gaps between Chinese and Westerners have often resulted in superficial observations and erroneous conclusions. Colored by the racist attitudes of the period, these English-language sources seldom reflected the attitudes and experiences of the Chinese themselves. In order to obtain more in-depth, objective studies of Chinese American culture and society; the researcher must necessarily use course materials that originate from the Chinese community.

Therefore, the Chinese American communities themselves became the rich source of information that Mr. Lai has mined for so many years. Besides scanning and reading Chinese newspapers from across the nation and clipping almost every article relevant to the Chinese community, he has collected thousands of profiles of prominent and notorious individuals. Most of this information is not available anywhere else.

In addition, Mr. Lai has comprehensive files on many community organizations.

Among these are family, political, and cultural associations, including bylaws, minutes of meetings and official rosters of organizations such as the San Yup family association, the Chinese American Democratic Youth League (Min Qing), the Chinese Historical Society of America, and the Chinese Culture Center of San Francisco. Chinatown directories of businesses and residences are also included.

Substantial portions of the collection deal with the relationship between Chinese Americans and China: how and why they came to the United States, for instance, and how they helped to build homeland schools as part of an effort to improve the lives of the people they left behind. As the Chinese saying goes, "once you are Chinese, you are always Chinese," even though some may disagree with Chinese government policies. As we process the Him Mark Lai collection, we are discovering rare items, such as the *Chinese Record*, January 2, 1880, an English-language newspaper with a Chinese section, as well as the only existing complete copy of the newspaper *New Era*, dated January 28, 1907.

How did the Ethnic Studies Library at the University of California at Berkeley (ESL) come to house such a wonderful collection? The answer has to do with a friendship that has lasted over 20 years. Wei Chi Poon, the Asian American Studies Collection librarian of the ESL, first became aware of Mr. Lai when she worked in the Chinatown branch of the San Francisco Public Library.

By the time she started working there in the 1970s, Mr. Lai was already legendary as the person to call whenever a reference question came in concerning the history of Chinese Americans, especially in the San Francisco Bay Area. He knew everything. In addition, he had voluminous files on almost any topic. Later, when Ms. Poon began to establish a research library for the University of California at Berkeley's Asian American Studies Program, Mr. Lai was on the advisory board and supported her in insisting on a vision for the library that would provide only the best resources for the new program.

Over the years, the two have worked side by side in many situations, on many advisory boards and committees, both in the academic arena and in the Chinese American community. Ms. Poon now has a close friendship with Mr. Lai and his wife Laura. Well known for his generosity in sharing his knowledge and resources, Mr. Lai is highly respected in the Asian American community. When Ms. Poon broached the subject of his donating his collection to the Asian American Studies Program, Mr. Lai, now in his seventies, was at first reluctant, mainly because he is still an active scholar and relies heavily on his files. Furthermore, it is not easy to agree to part with something that has taken a lifetime to collect. However, Mr. and Mrs. Lai's small house in the North Beach area of San Francisco just could not hold much more.

Because of his long relationship with the Asian American Studies Program, Mr. Lai knew that, without outside funding, it would not be able to process his papers. The Him Mark Lai Collection may eventually consist of more than 200 linear feet, not counting the numerous newspapers, journals, magazines, books, and directories.

Mr. Lai was enthusiastic about the prospect of the ESL gaining an NHPRC processing grant. He knows that it is very important for other individuals and community organizations to realize the value of the information they have kept and collected. At the same time, it is often the case that historical records are kept in the family or in closed files because of a mistrust of outside agencies such as libraries or government programs. As more and more people in the Chinese community become aware of the Him Mark Lai Collection Processing Project, it is hoped that more historical treasures will be uncovered and preserved for future researchers.

The Him Mark Lai Collection is arguably the most important of all the collections in the ESL's Asian American Studies archives, since it was collected by an avid amateur historian deeply involved in the Chinese American community who was conscious that he was collecting for posterity. It covers all aspects of Mr. Lai's
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Twenty Years with don Diego: THE VARGAS PROJECT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO

BY JOHN L. KESSELL

No period in the history of the Southwest was of greater consequence than the generation from 1680 to 1710—a time of revolt, resettlement, and reconciliation that assured the cultural diversity of the region—and no person more prominent than don Diego de Vargas, Spanish nobleman, governor, and recolonizer.



John L. Kessell, Rick Hendricks, Meredith D. Dodge, and Larry D. Miller, editors of The Journals of don Diego de Vargas, October 2002. Photograph courtesy of David Schneider, After Words Books, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

It was best we did not know. Had we foreseen the duration of the enterprise, perhaps none of us would have signed on. At the end, however, we have few regrets. Still, what grew into a two-decade-long documentary editing project enabled by Federal, state, and private funding began innocently.

Former National Park Service historian John L. Kessell, after receiving a doctorate from the University of New Mexico, had spent the 1970s as a researcher for hire. While preparing a history of Pecos Pueblo during the Spanish colonial era, he noted the richness of unpublished primary sources for New Mexico's

late-17th-century restoration. Meantime, critics had accused the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC) in Washington, DC, of a funding bias in favor of white Anglo-Saxon founding fathers. Documents written by Spaniards, on the other hand, represented diversity. Soon, at Kessell's bidding, the NHPRC set a place for Hispanic refounding father Diego de Vargas at the table with Adams and Jefferson. Hence, in 1980–81, with a modest start-up grant from the NHPRC and a concurrent Guggenheim Fellowship, the Vargas Project, a trusting, one-man operation tucked away in the cramped, second-story auxiliary map room of UNM's cavernous Zimmerman Library, came to be.

Fortuitously, by the mid-1980s, Meredith D. Dodge (1981), Rick Hendricks (1982), and Larry D. Miller (1984) had joined Kessell. Their training and capabilities in history, literature, and languages proved fundamental. Quite remarkably, this core group of four, aided by a sequence of two dozen gifted research associates and graduate students, held together as the Vargas Project long after each had earned higher degrees and three had moved away from Albuquerque.

From the beginning, our plan was threefold: first, to collect photographic copies of all Vargas' journals, the principal archives of his two administrations beginning at El Paso in 1691 and ending with his death in 1704; second, to transcribe and translate these several thousand manuscript pages; and, third, to publish them in a multivolume scholarly edition. We thought initially to include other contemporary documents, but soon recognized that sacramental records, land grants, wills, and the like would better serve us as material for annotation of the journals. Because standard Spanish colonial practice called for at least three copies—the original retained in Santa Fe, a copy sent to Mexico City, and another rendered there and forwarded to Spain—we had the advantage, when a gap occurred in the Spanish Archives of New Mexico, of seeking the backup at the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City, or if that were missing, the third copy at the Archivo General de Indias in Seville. The goal was to make widely available in English translation the public record of this pivotal time in the Hispanic Southwest.

Then an unexpected discovery in Madrid knocked our careful plan into a cocked hat. Here were two previously unknown family collections of don Diego's personal correspondence. Because

such a corpus of letters from a mid-level Spanish colonial administrator was not only rare, but also revealing of the man, we set aside temporarily our anticipated first volume and worked to produce *Remote Beyond Compare: Letters of don Diego de Vargas to His Family from New Spain and New Mexico, 1675-1706* (1989). Mainly biographical, *Remote Beyond Compare* cast the central figure of the era in a more human light.

Also in the 1980s, as we labored simultaneously on *RBC* and what would become *By Force of Arms: The Journals of don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1691-93* (1992), the Vargas Project entered, thanks largely to editor Hendricks, the world of computers and word processing. Our handwritten or typed paper inventory cards, preliminary volume outlines, and transcripts gradually gave way to electronic files. Bugs, almost laughable now, stung us from time to time. Yet by capturing the flourishes of the 17th century in the bits and bytes of the 20th, it became easier to produce readable and correctable texts, indices, and even concordances of the Spanish transcripts. We learned to code our manuscripts for UNM Press. Although the number of volumes we projected in grant applications fluctuated from a high of 10 or 12 to a low of 5 or 6, by the 1990s, we had begun publishing the archival record of the Vargas era featuring the people, events, and the cultural give-and-take of New Mexico's restoration. In each case, we took our volume titles from the phrases of don Diego or a contemporary.

To the Royal Crown Restored: The Journals of don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1692-94 (1995) chronicled the difficult return to Santa Fe of the colony-in-exile. Fierce fighting and deeply contested accommodation between Spaniards and

Even as our volumes began to appear, we continued, individually or in pairs, to seek complementary records in archives and libraries in the United States, Mexico, and Spain.

Pueblo Indians not only characterized *Blood on the Boulders: The Journals of don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1694-97* (1998), but also demanded a massive volume of two books and 1,249 pages. *That Disturbances Cease: The Journals of don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1697-1700* (2000) shifted the focus, as a recalcitrant Vargas and Pedro Rodríguez Cubero, who replaced him as governor for a term, and their agents traded damning charges and countercharges in Santa Fe, Mexico City, and Madrid. Because of the highly repetitive testimony, *That Disturbances Cease* required a more careful selection than any of the other volumes. Rodríguez's scantily documented final 3 years and Vargas's brief reappearance and death after a sudden illness cap the series in *A Settling of Accounts: The Journals of don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1700-1704* (2002).

Even as our volumes began to appear, we continued, individually or in pairs, to seek complementary records in archives and libraries in the United States, Mexico, and Spain. Documentary

trails led from Santa Fe to the Bancroft and Huntington libraries in California, to the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan, the Newberry Library in Chicago, the Benson Latin American Collection at the University of Texas, the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University, and the Library of Congress in Washington. Spanish repositories in Madrid, Torrelaguna, Simancas, Seville, Cadiz, and elsewhere, as well as the Mexican archives of Mexico City, Zacatecas, Sombrerete, and Parral all yielded relevant materials. Recourse to the incomparable collection of worldwide baptismal, marriage, burial, and census records maintained by the Church of Jesus

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Diego de Vargas, the only known portrait. From John L. Kessell, ed., Remote Beyond Compare (1989).

THE COLORADO FUEL AND IRON ARCHIVES

BY JONATHAN REES

The Bessemer Historical Society (BHS) of Pueblo, Colorado, is a nonprofit organization made up of local residents and civic leaders. The Society's mission is to preserve and display the written and physical heritage of the company and its employees. BHS is the owner of the Colorado Fuel and Iron (CF&I) archives, an estimated 21,500-linear-foot collection of material relating to Pueblo's onetime largest employer.

In its heyday, CF&I owned mines across Colorado and in four other Western states. It was once the largest private employer and landowner in Colorado. It also operated the only major steelworks west of the Mississippi.

CF&I owned subsidiaries across the United States. There are records in the collection from firms ranging from California to Massachusetts. CF&I fell on hard times in the late 20th century. The last of the company's mines closed in the early 1980s, and CF&I went bankrupt in 1990.

When Rocky Mountain Steel Mills (a subsidiary of Oregon Steel of Portland, Oregon) purchased the company assets in 1993, ownership of CF&I's records was included. These records were scattered through a group of nearly abandoned buildings just outside

There are excellent opportunities for groundbreaking research in nearly every section of the collection.

the mill complex. The collection was (and to a great extent still is) in much the same condition that CF&I left it, largely unorganized and unexplored. Nevertheless, it is still possible to discuss the collection's general contents and overall significance.

The collection dates back to the company's origins in the 1870s. It includes papers, books, photographs, films, and some steelmaking artifacts and ephemera. The subjects covered by the collection are equally varied. There are geological records from abandoned mines that might prove useful to modern mining concerns looking for new wealth, photographs from all parts of Colorado, and personnel records from every part of the business dating back to the late 19th century. The records of the firm's land holdings date back even earlier—they describe what certain plots were like before the company even existed.

The historical significance of the CF&I collection derives in part from its size. Most businesses do not open their archives to scholars because of the legal issues that raises. Therefore, business historians tend to study the same few companies over and over again because these are the only ones for which they can find good sources. The CF&I archives will give these historians much more to write about. There are excellent opportunities for groundbreaking research in nearly every section of the collection.



The CF&I Administration Building, designed by Denver architect Frederick Sterner, was built in 1901. Photograph courtesy of the author.

The importance of the archives is also a function of CF&I's significance to the American economy. For much of its history, CF&I operated the only steelworks west of the Mississippi River. According to CF&I historian H. Lee Scamehorn, these mines produced 182,941,733 tons of fuel between 1872 and 1982. The company burned some of this coal in its blast furnaces, but more of it was sold to households all across the West. CF&I products literally built the West.

In order to keep its mines running, the company built entire towns to house its workers. The company stores that CF&I owned through its Colorado Supply Company subsidiary were responsible for most of the commercial activity in these communities. The records of these company stores are one of the treasures of the collection. They offer an unparalleled opportunity to discover exactly how miners and their families lived.

CF&I is also important because of its role in the infamous Ludlow Massacre of 1914. On April 20, 1914, a Colorado National Guard contingent killed 20 innocent men, women, and children in a camp of striking miners and their families. Most of the victims worked for or were family members of CF&I employees. Although this event is famous for being one of the most violent events in American labor history, that is not the only reason that it is historically significant.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., was the largest stockholder in CF&I at the time of the massacre. Because of the public embarrassment of having his family connected to this tragedy, he hired a man named Mackenzie King to draw up an employee representation plan to give workers a voice in the management of the mill and the mines. Known as the "Rockefeller Plan," this arrangement was the first and most influential such organization in American history. The plan is also significant because King would go on to become the long-serving Prime Minister of Canada.

Up to now, BHS has raised over \$2 million in support of its activities. Much of this money has been used to purchase the buildings where the collection will be housed, which are an

annex to the original administration building erected in 1920. Although BHS is a grassroots organization, grants from the State of Colorado and the United States Government have proved pivotal in this effort.

In August 2001, BHS received a \$35,700 grant from the National Historic Publications and Records Commission to pay for the duplication of company microfilm. CF&I began to reproduce important historical records on microfilm in 1945, just as this technology was becoming available commercially. It continued to do so until approximately 1960. All told, there are 4,000 rolls in the collection. As logic dictates, the kinds of records that a firm would bother to microfilm are of particular historical significance. They include production reports and payrolls as well as ledgers detailing costs from all CF&I facilities.

When the company microfilm was first discovered, threats from exposure to water from overheated pipes and from the complete lack of environmental controls in the storage room were obvious. When BHS learned from former employees that the original copies of the documents were thrown out after microfilming, it knew it had to act fast.

The BHS NHPRC grant is supporting the duplication of approximately 1,000 of the microfilm rolls. Following standard archival practice, a contractor is making two copies of each reel. The first is on diazo stock for reference use by archives patrons. The second is on silver nitrate stock, and will be kept in storage except for making diazo replacement copies when necessary. The contractor is also replacing all the original cardboard boxes with acid-free material so as to minimize damage to the stored reels. Nevertheless, BHS is saving the original boxes and has assigned each roll of film an independent number in order to track and identify the microfilm. The contractor is also carefully indexing the copied rolls.

Current plans call for creating a temporary exhibit, in order to open a portion of the archives to the public within 18 months.

Despite the uniqueness and significance of the archives, saving the CF&I collection is only one part of the BHS mission. In order to honor the legacy of CF&I and its employees, BHS is planning to renovate CF&I's original 1901 administration building as a museum. Current plans call for creating a temporary exhibit, in order to open a portion of the archives to the public within 18 months. Subsequent exhibits will cover subjects like steel production, railroads, and the contribution of various immigrant communities to southern Colorado and the West. The museum will also be a repository for artifacts from the CF&I mines, steel mill, and the Bessemer neighborhood. You can also look BHS up on the World Wide Web at <http://www.cfisteel.org>. ♦

JONATHAN REES, DIRECTOR OF THE CF&I PROJECT, IS AN ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN COLORADO.

MAX EVANS APPOINTED EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

(continued from page 1)

Mr. Evans is an active member of the archival community. He was a founding member of the Conference of Intermountain Archivists and is a fellow of the Society of American Archivists, having served on and chaired several SAA committees. Long interested in archives and automation, Mr. Evans helped develop the MARC-AMC format and the Research Libraries Group's archives and manuscripts programs. He was a member of the RLG Board of Directors, 1991-92. He led a project to digitize and publish back issues of the *Utah Historical Quarterly* as well as NHPRC, LSTA, and NEH projects to catalog, produce EAD finding aids, and digitize primary sources.

His career has included work as an editorial assistant for the *Western Historical Quarterly*, an archivist for the LDS Church Historical Department, and an archivist at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. While in Madison he also served as the Director of the state history library.

Mr. Evans attended Utah State University and the University of Utah, where he earned a bachelor's degree in American history. He later earned a master's degree in history at Utah State University, specializing in the history of the American West. He also studied American history and information science at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Evans and his wife, Mary, have five children and four grandchildren who live in Utah, Wisconsin, and Florida. ♦

THE HIM MARK LAI COLLECTION

(continued from page 5)

commitment to documenting the Chinese American history and experience, including immigration to the United States, the establishment of community associations and foundations, creation of communities, representation in the media, success of prominent professionals, and yearning to find one's roots in the ancestral homeland. These are themes significant not just to the San Francisco Chinese American community, but to our nation of immigrants, whose stories have been well documented in some cases, but not in the case of Chinese Americans.

The story of Chinese Americans in the San Francisco Bay Area is beginning to emerge through the slow acquisition and processing of collections such as Mr. Lai's. Because of this project, a large Chinese American archival collection, which contains many Chinese-language materials, will be available to a broader range of researchers, especially those who have not had access to the thoughts and perspectives of people who have created Chinese American history. ♦

LILLIAN CASTILLO-SPEED IS THE HEAD LIBRARIAN OF THE ETHNIC STUDIES LIBRARY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT BERKELEY. WEI CHI POON IS THE ASIAN AMERICAN STUDIES COLLECTION LIBRARIAN.

Expect the Unexpected— A Story about Process

BY WENDY E. BREDEHOFT



The Wyoming State Archives received state legislative funding in 2002 for the development of an Electronic Records Unit. This unit includes Rich Wilson, electronic records supervisor, and Margaret Maione, electronic records analyst. They will be spearheading the Electronic Records Management project funded by the NHPRC.

It is, thus far, a story without an ending. But it is a story in progress, and to us at the Wyoming State Archives (WSA) and the Wyoming State Records Historical Advisory Board (SHRAB), it is an exciting effort. We are looking to build our fledgling electronics records program strategically, a program that might, in the future, be replicated by others in state government, and perhaps in local communities—one that would be cost effective. If we are successful, it might actually motivate others and provide a model for how best to handle electronic records on a static or even shrinking government budget.

The National Historical Publications and Records Commission has provided a grant of \$29,830 for our Electronic Records Management project. This grant will help the WSA, through a consultant, develop a strategic plan for our electronic records program and provide additional electronic records training for WSA staff.

Like many state archives across the country, the WSA is expected to take a leadership role in electronic records management, but what this role looks like is still being defined. With support from our state SHRAB, the WSA successfully ap-

proached the Wyoming Legislature in 2002 for the funding required to develop and implement an Electronic Records Unit (ERU). The decision to pursue this funding gained added impetus from recommendations made by Tim Slavin, Delaware's state archivist, who consulted with Wyoming to provide a comprehensive assessment of how the state was handling electronic records in 2001. Wyoming's SHRAB, with funds from NHPRC, helped fund this assessment.

Rich Wilson, who was selected to head the WSA ERU, suggested that we could strategically target the management of electronic records of archival value without the use of additional software. We could develop a climate of support among staff in all of our program areas by training them to use the programs we currently have available through the state's information technology systems. The Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources houses a valuable array of programs, including the State Parks and Historic Sites, the Wyoming State Archives, the Wyoming State Museum, the State Historic Preservation Office, the Office of the Wyoming State Archaeologist, and the Wyoming Arts Council. Each of these programs maintains historical electronic records based in the context of their very diverse program requirements. Examples include complex database records, e-mail, GIS records, spreadsheets, word-processing records, and web sites.

The electronic records strategic plan will guide our future efforts to develop effective, low-cost methods for managing electronic records with long-term value and to produce classification standards for archival electronic records. It will lay the groundwork for creating and implementing basic training on how to identify which archival records are being created electronically and how to manage those records for future accessibility. It will examine how to ensure that project participants receive adequate electronic records training and have access to technical assistance when needed.

As we progress in the project work, we maintain our vision of changing the cultural climate in our own department and other agencies in Wyoming government, into one that accepts electronic recordkeeping as the norm. We recognize that the development of a strategic plan will ensure this vision actually occurs within the context of the needs of these government agencies. It will allow us to identify future processes that will help us reach our goals. Meanwhile, we will expect the unexpected and be prepared to take advantage of what it brings our way. ♦

WENDY E. BREDEHOFT IS DIRECTOR, DIVISION OF CULTURAL RESOURCES, WYOMING STATE PARKS AND CULTURAL RESOURCES.

Editing the Journals of Lewis and Clark

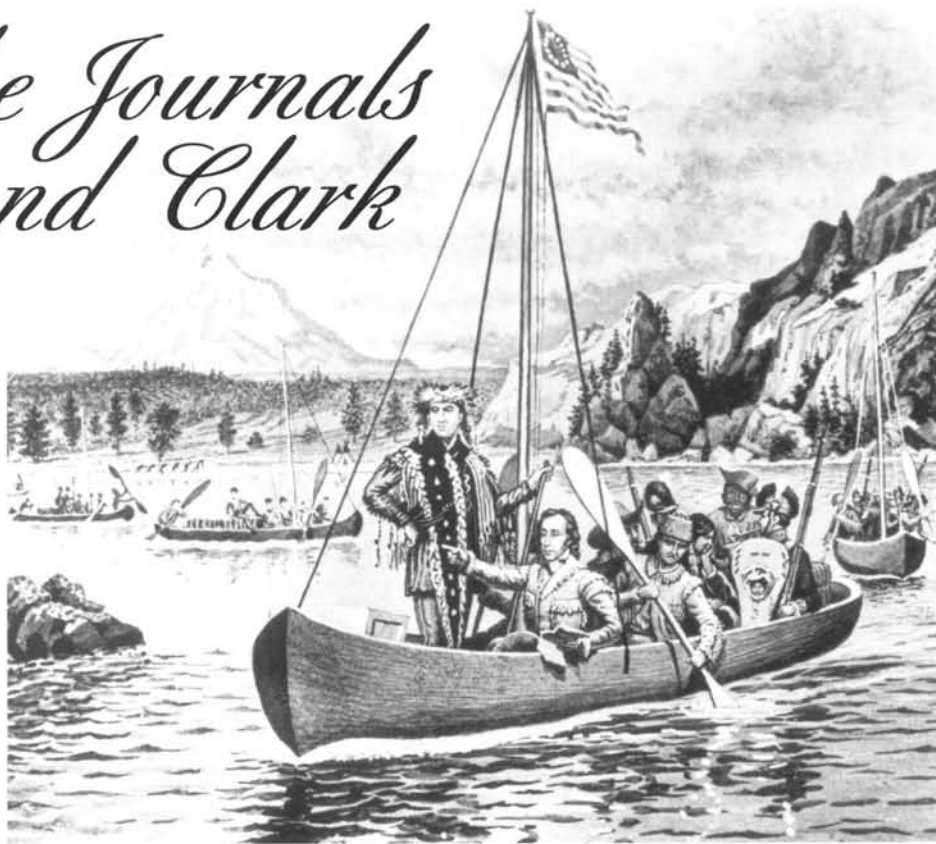
BY GARY E. MOULTON

Meriwether Lewis and William Clark have been called “the writingest explorers of their time.” President Thomas Jefferson instructed them to keep meticulous records on the geography, ethnology, and natural history of the trans-Mississippi West they explored from 1804 to 1806. In leather-bound notebook journals they filled hundreds of pages with such observations. The result is a national treasure—a complete look at the Great Plains, Rocky Mountains, and Pacific Northwest, reported by men who were intelligent and well prepared, at a time when East Coast Americans knew almost nothing about these regions.

A narrative based on the journals was published in 1814. Most of the journals were then deposited in the American Philosophical Society (APS) in Philadelphia, but they lay largely unused and almost forgotten for nearly a century until an edition of all known materials was published in 1905. That work, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, was a superb tool for studying the expedition, but over the years it suffered the kinds of erosion that besets all such editions. New manuscripts were discovered, new information became available with which to annotate the journals, and editorial procedures underwent profound changes. These deficiencies led to a project to publish an entirely new comprehensive edition of the Lewis and Clark journals.

Most of the journals were then deposited in the American Philosophical Society (APS) in Philadelphia, but they lay largely unused and almost forgotten for nearly a century until an edition of all known materials was published in 1905.

In 1967, expedition scholar Donald Jackson may have been the first to call for a new edition. Jackson noted what had been apparent for some time: that using the multiple published editions of the journals was difficult, and that some kind of unified work was needed. At the time, there were at least five versions of expedition materials, some out of print and in varying de-



Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark exploring unknown territory west of the Mississippi River: National Archives.

grees of completeness. However, Jackson’s call for action went unheeded for nearly a decade.

In 1977, an article recommending the reissue of Lewis and Clark’s journals caught the attention of Steve Cox, then with the University of Nebraska Press. Cox turned to the university’s Center for Great Plains Studies to discover the level of interest. The Center’s board of directors immediately embraced the idea of sponsoring a new edition of the journals.

In studying the feasibility of such a project, the Center engaged Donald Jackson as a consultant. Jackson was successful in obtaining the cooperation of manuscript-holding institutions. Not only did these institutions agree to share their materials with the anticipated project, but the principal holding institution, the APS, came on as a cosponsor.

By mid-1979, the project to publish a completely reedited version of the journals was under way at the University of Nebraska with me as editor. The Center for Great Plains Studies and the APS were its cosponsors, all the manuscript-holding societies were cooperating, and the University of Nebraska Press had agreed to be publisher. The NHPRC had endorsed the project, and we had submitted our first grant application to the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH).

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CATALOGING MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS AT THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BY WENDY KRAMER AND MARY L. MORGANTI

Introduction

As we begin our NHPRC-sponsored project to catalog manuscript collections at the North Baker Research Library of the California Historical Society (CHS), we have discovered that manuscript cataloging is by no means a discrete activity. It includes related archival activities that, taken together, mandate a re-evaluation of the library's manuscript collections and a reconsideration of their place within the library's entire holdings. In terms of access, this project enables us to introduce these collections to the historical and archival communities.

Documentation and Procedures

The CHS library has over 4,000 manuscript collections. Library tools for accessing the collections have thus far consisted of a card catalog and a two-volume, in-house book catalog.

Given the dearth of information as to what had gone on before our tenure, the first thing we did was to draft a procedures manual and a checklist to document what we do, how we do it, and our sources or reasoning behind it. In other words, we determined to set up operational structures that would outlast us. With grant-based projects and varying levels of staffing, the long-term continuity of manuscript cataloging depends on documentation, so that new staff or periodic gaps of inactivity do not make it necessary to reinvent the wheel when work is resumed.

We created an in-house procedures manual and mounted it on the shared drive of our server, so that each cataloger could refer to and edit it as needed. As a work-in-progress, this manual documents our institution's cataloging decisions as we make them. For example, once we decide how and when to use a particular MARC field, or how to word it, we write the guideline in the manual and use it as a model to catalog similar collections



One of 32 letters written during 1849 and 1850 by 23-year-old Robert Effinger to family and friends in Ohio, while en route to and during his stay in California, as an employee of the United States Boundary & Survey Commission appointed by President Polk to establish the boundary between California and Mexico. The four letters from March 1849 provide a detailed account of the 10-day voyage aboard the steamship Alabama to Chagres, describing the beauty of the Caribbean, life aboard the steamer; and description of the Chagres River and Panama, including the natives' physical appearance, lifestyle, housing, attitudes toward an influx of Americans, ceremonies (a child's funeral, a fandango), and native foods and their preparation. Effinger spent nearly a year and a half in San Diego and San Francisco, California, and his letters contain keen observations of the social climate of the Southwest and California. Robert Effinger Letters, MS 643 (California Historical Society, Manuscript Collections).

consistently. We refer to Library of Congress, AACR2, and APPM cataloging conventions, which we supplement by comparing the records of other institutions that have significant manuscript holdings, and selecting the cataloging practice that best fits existing conventions and our local needs.

The procedures manual is where we collectively communicate our decisions based on this combination of sources. It sets institutional standards and models for catalogers in otherwise gray areas. It also provides an overview of workflow for all library staff involved in manuscript cataloging, from the librarians who do the original cataloging and editing of records, to the library assistant who enters those records into the national bibliographic utility.

Gathering this information together on a checklist for inclusion in the MARC record often leads to the discovery of larger problems. For example, several "collections" consisting of one biographical sketch apiece have been identified as originally belonging to a single manuscript that had been split. By the end of the project, we expect to have found all component parts of the original collection. Once identified, these items can be restored to their original order as one larger manuscript. What had been viewed as separate

accounts of pioneer voyages to California can be viewed as materials collected for the purpose of making a book, as the author of the sketches had intended.

As mentioned above, much of the donor information being discovered is from a variety of sources. In the process of gleaning information that assists in identification and description of the collections, our donor files have become much more organized. We are creating new donor files for collections that did not previously have them, and adding information to extant donor files.

In addition to these paper-based files, we are using our RLIN records to record donor and administrative information. Instead of holdings segments at the end of our records, we have chosen to use archival segments, where there are fields for information such as donor name and address, date accessioned, and other non-public notes that are useful for librarians in conducting both reference and technical services activities.

Preservation

Original cataloging has given us the perfect opportunity to assess the condition of the collections we are processing. When we examine a collection, we also note any preservation needs, such as re-labeling, re-housing, or conservation, and file this in-

Researchers can be reminded of manuscripts as vital source material, together with books, maps, audiovisual materials, and images. By virtue of being “interfiled” with books, manuscripts gain the visibility once known only to published materials.

formation separately for future reference. Of course, the simpler problems, such as re-labeling a few folders, are solved on the spot. Since we also include notes on microfilm availability in the catalog records, we are checking for the existence of positive film copies for all existing negatives. We have thus been able to develop a reproduction policy for manuscripts that involves referral to microfilm copies when available.

Connections to Other Collections

Collections that have been split up into several smaller entities, collections with photographic components (with the photographs shelved in the Photography Collections), collections donated as part of much larger collections (such as those given by Templeton Crocker), and collections with items removed for inclusion in the Society’s Fine Arts Collections are recognized in the catalog records with descriptive notes and, where applicable, with added entries. Most of these connections would remain undiscovered, and would be unretrievable along these parameters, if not for the work of this cataloging project.

Wider Accessibility

A basic premise of the worth of a cataloging project is that the records provide accessibility to existing and potential researchers. A collection of which people are unaware will not get used, and a catalog record is a marker of the collection’s existence. Including such records in regional and national catalogs and utilities such as MELVYL and RLIN places the CHS Library collections intellectually with like materials in other repositories, and allows them to be retrieved by researchers both locally and remotely via the Web. These days, it is not enough to prepare a catalog record for internal use. That record

must be published, and for our library, MELVYL and RLIN are these publishing locales.

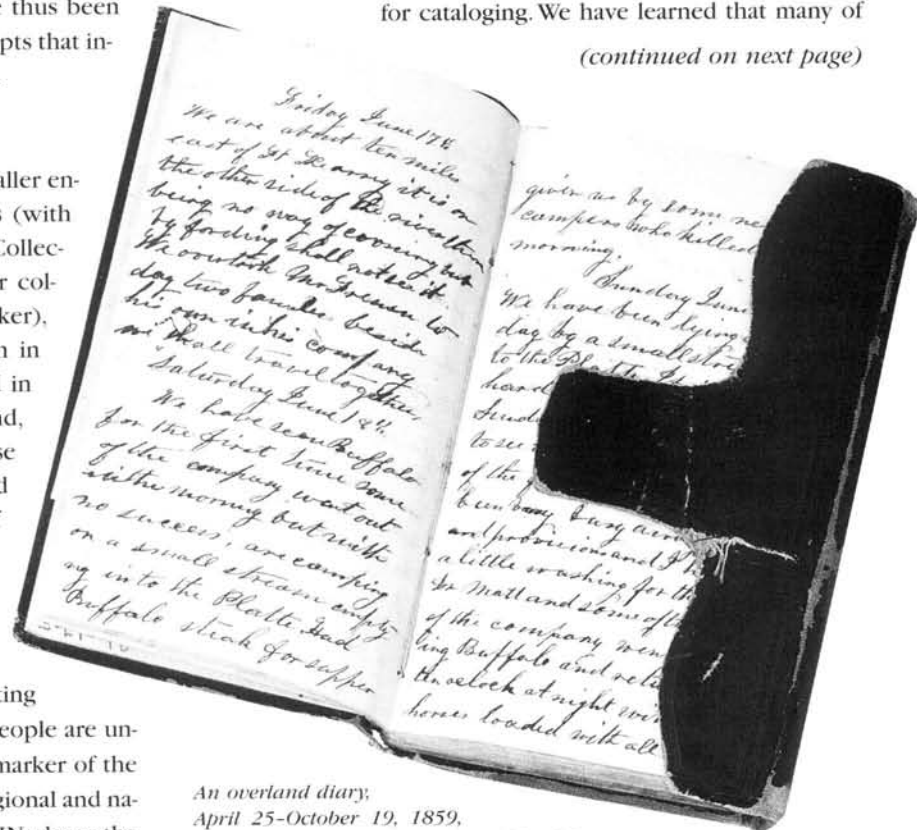
Another means of making our collections available outside their home institution is through participating in consortium projects. Through the cataloging supported by the NHPRC, the library is making records needed to support the inclusion of our materials in two consortium projects conducted by The Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley. Portions of our collections that pertain to the Chinese in California were digitized together with similar portions of Bancroft’s holdings in the Library of Congress American Memory Project. Our materials relating to the 1906 San Francisco Earthquake and Fire will join digitized images from several repositories in California for inclusion in the digital project of the Online Archive of California (OAC).

Finally, having access to manuscript collections via MARC records in a catalog or utility integrates these collections with other formats. Researchers can be reminded of manuscripts as vital source material, together with books, maps, audiovisual materials, and images. By virtue of being “interfiled” with books, manuscripts gain the visibility once known only to published materials.

Finding Aids

The 550 records with “finding aids” mounted on the OAC that were the focus of our initial project remain our top priority for cataloging. We have learned that many of

(continued on next page)



An overland diary, April 25–October 19, 1859, kept by Harriet Booth Griswold while traveling from Kane County, Illinois, to Diamond Springs, California, with her three small children, records road conditions, weather, and descriptions of the people and places they encountered en route. Harriet Booth Griswold Diary, MS 884A (California Historical Society, Manuscript Collections).

these descriptive guides have incorrect information, are not appropriate in tone or format, or are unnecessary for a small collection that is better served by a MARC record. The aforementioned checklist for each collection includes a section advising whether to delete, edit, or rewrite the existing guides. A library school intern is sorting, evaluating, and suggesting corrections to improve these finding aids prior to republication.

Evaluating existing finding aids while we are cataloging gives us an opportunity to examine them side by side with their MARC records, enabling us to work with two kinds of descriptive tools that complement one another. The degree of specificity and analysis that a MARC record possesses, as represented in descriptive notes and subject headings, is affected by the purpose these records serve in relation to finding aids.

Collections whose existing finding aid contains a significant amount of supplementary information or page-specific indexing with non-standard terms are being removed from the web site, but will be retained in paper copy for use in-house.

Smaller collections of one folder or even one item will have their OAC finding aids replaced by MARC records. Collections whose existing finding aid contains a significant amount of supplementary information or page-specific indexing with non-standard terms are being removed from the web site, but will be retained in paper copy for use in-house. And larger collections for which a MARC record best serves as an overview or first point of access will have their finding aids revised or replaced, with their main entries, titles, added entries, and notes edited and corrected to conform with archival and library standards. Once these collections are cataloged, we will proceed with cataloging other small collections that do not have or require finding aids, and plans will be made to produce finding aids and catalog records for our remaining larger collections.

Conclusion

In the introduction to this article, we pointed out that the creation of our MARC records for manuscript collections involves archival activities that might not normally be considered to be part of cataloging. It is perhaps more accurate to state that manuscript cataloging is an integral part of archival work. An electronic catalog record can serve as a nexus between collections and institutions, as well as archival and library practices. Procedural documentation, preservation, and organization of donor files are activities that anchor archival collections physically and place them intellectually in their institution. This basic work provides a base upon which intellectual access, via catalog records and finding aids, can be built. ♦

WENDY KRAMER IS MANUSCRIPT CATALOGER AND MARY L. MORGANTI IS DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH COLLECTIONS AT THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S NORTH BAKER RESEARCH LIBRARY.

Our first application to the NEH was turned down. I rewrote the proposal, cutting the monetary request and trying to correct some deficiencies. The downsized proposal was accepted in 1980, and the NEH funded the project generously thereafter. In later allocations, the NEH stipulated that the project had to find matching money to go along with the Endowment's outright award. On the second grant, I had to secure more than \$42,000 in outside money over 3 years to tap a like amount from the NEH and meet our budgetary needs.

That \$42,000 was an incredible amount of money to me. The APS and the University of Nebraska Foundation came up with about half of it, but I still needed more than \$20,000. Fortunately, I had already begun to make friends with Lewis and Clark buffs. One gentleman, Robert Levis of Alton, Illinois, had told me to drop him a line if I ever needed any help. Now I sent Bob a well thought out and carefully worded letter. I was astonished when he replied that he would be happy to cover the entire amount.

That wasn't necessary, because soon I met Robert Betts of New York City at a Lewis and Clark conference in Philadelphia. At a reception in Independence Hall, he told me he wanted to give the project \$5,000. Later, he handed me a check for \$7,500, saying he'd sweetened the pot a little. These individuals and 10 other private supporters, plus the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, have aided the project financially over the years.

The first volume of the new edition, *Atlas of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, was published in 1983. The maps were published first so they could be used as a resource and reference

I was amazed at the beauty, elegance, and precision of Clark's cartography. With no apparent training, working with crude and often unreliable instruments, and using dead reckoning for distances, he produced work that leaves one in awe of his draftsmanship.

tool for succeeding volumes. Not all of the 129 historic maps in the atlas came directly from the hand of Clark, the principal mapmaker, but all were closely associated with the expedition, and most of them were Clark's handiwork.

I was amazed at the beauty, elegance, and precision of Clark's cartography. With no apparent training, working with crude and often unreliable instruments, and using dead reckoning for distances, he produced work that leaves one in awe of his draftsmanship. Clark's maps are a model of cartographic excellence, and his example was admired and emulated by generations of explorers and mapmakers.

As for the journals, I decided to keep Lewis and Clark's materials together and to publish the diaries of the enlisted men in separate volumes. This followed the plan adopted by Thwaites, and for many reasons seemed the most sensible approach. Jour-

One of the more interesting results of the linguistic work was when we uncovered a phantom Indian tribe. When Lewis and Clark met native peoples, they always asked for their tribal name and the names of nearby tribes.

nal volumes 2 through 8, published between 1986 and 1993, cover the diaries of Lewis and Clark. Volumes 9, 10, and 11, comprising the enlisted men's journals, were published in 1996 and 1997. Volume 12 is the botany book.

The principal goal of the new edition was to present users with a reliable, definitive text. Earlier editors, pressed for time and working virtually alone, were not able to make multiple and careful readings of their transcriptions against the original text. Perhaps that explains why one editor had Clark struggling to the top of a hill near the Pacific Coast and saying, "I cue my hare [hair]," when the captain actually wrote that he had cut his hand. Every effort was made to prepare an accurate transcription that is nearly identical to the original text.

The new edition also gives readers a thorough explication of the journals. Scholars have been hampered by the paucity of notes in earlier editions, and users complained about inaccuracies and obsolescence. We aimed to be thorough, accurate, and complete in our annotation, but we understood that we were preparing source material to be borrowed from and enlarged on, and that we were supposed to be writing footnotes, not essays. Our general rule on annotation was to treat matter in the notes in relation to its prominence in the text.

The most difficult areas to annotate were in geology and botany, largely because I was least knowledgeable about the subjects and was slow to find the right people to help me. Once I secured the services of Robert N. Bergantino of Butte, Montana, for aid in geology questions, and the advice of A. T. Harrison, formerly of Lincoln but now in Sandy, Utah, in botany, I could move the process along.

Linguistics, another field of study for the captains, proved the most demanding and time-consuming for me. Following Jefferson's instructions, Lewis filled numerous loose sheets with vocabulary notes as he passed through an incredible array of native languages.

One of the more interesting results of the linguistic work was when we uncovered a phantom Indian tribe. When Lewis and Clark met native peoples, they always asked for their tribal name and the names of nearby tribes. When the party met Chinookan speakers along the Columbia River in October 1805, one informant identified a neighboring downriver group as the Chil-luckit-te-quaws. We found them identified as such in American Indian literature, with a reference to an expedition passage but no modern name. Linguistic work unraveled the mystery. In Chinookan, the term means "he is pointing at him." Lewis or Clark must have pointed downriver and asked the name of the neighboring people, and got a reply to the action rather than to the question. A nation of native people vanished in the light of linguistic analysis.

I wish I could say that the current great interest in Lewis and Clark has come as a result of my work, but that would not be true. Many of the important published works on the expedition that have come out in recent years were either under way or were in print before I started getting books out. John Allen had already

It has been my privilege and great honor to serve the Corps of Discovery for this generation. My Lewis and Clark colleagues and I stand as the fourth generation of expedition scholars.

completed his study of the expedition's geographic endeavors, and James P. Ronda was well into the book that became *Lewis and Clark among the Indians*. Even Stephen Ambrose's *Undaunted Courage* was in planning, although he was not able to devote time to the writing until the 1990s. What the new edition provides for recent writers is easy access to the complete corpus of expedition journals and annotation that touches on the full range of the diaries' discussions. It also expedited the production of Ken Burns' and Dayton Duncan's film on the expedition.

It has been my privilege and great honor to serve the Corps of Discovery for this generation. My Lewis and Clark colleagues and I stand as the fourth generation of expedition scholars. I hope that I can pass on the love and joy of working with these materials as I received the same from Nicholas Biddle, Elliott Coues, Reuben Gold Thwaites, Ernest Staples Osgood, and their contemporaries. May my work and theirs inspire future students of the expedition to new areas of study and help to keep the story alive for another 200 years. ♦

GARY E. MOULTON IS THE EDITOR OF *THE JOURNALS OF LEWIS AND CLARK*. EARLIER VERSIONS OF THIS ARTICLE APPEARED IN *MONTANA: THE MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY* (SUMMER 1998) AND *DOCUMENTARY EDITING* (MARCH 1999).

THE HOPI HISTORY PROJECT
(continued from page 1)

real: Indians had an absolute moral obligation to accept the authority of the Pope in Rome and the king in Spain. If they did not submit, Spaniards had a moral obligation to conquer and enslave them.

The leaders of Tusayán responded by drawing lines in the soil, “demanding that our people not cross those lines toward their pueblos and [that they] deport themselves correctly.” Tovar and his soldiers spurred their horses forward. One man from Tusayán “hit a horse in the cheek pieces of its bit” with his club. The Spaniards shouted “Santiago!” and attacked.

Hopis had never seen horses before. They had just heard terrifying rumors “that Cíbola [the main settlement of the Zunis] had been conquered by very fierce people who rode on animals that ate people.” Thrown into confusion, the Hopis quickly changed strategy. They feigned obedience and offered gifts of cotton cloth, turquoise, tanned skins, parched corn, and “native



Anthropology graduate student Rebecca Waugh reads a reel of microfilm from the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City, searching for documents about the Hopis prior to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.

The Spanish colonial documentary record, like the records of any imperial power, squints at the lives of Native peoples. Soldiers and missionaries were not privy to whole domains of Native culture, such as religious ceremonies or healing practices.

birds.” Hopis and Spaniards spent the next several days trading until Tovar returned to New Mexico.

That, at least, is the Spanish side of the story. It was written by Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera, two decades after the encounter. Castañeda was a soldier in the Coronado expedition, but he did not accompany Tovar. His account is secondhand, after-the-fact, drawn from memory, but it is all we have.

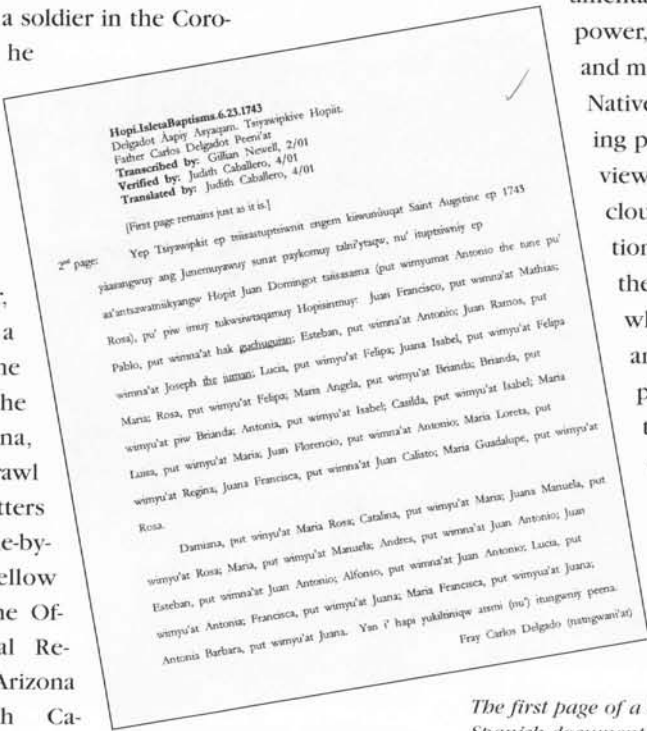
At least on paper.

Four centuries later, Heather McMichael, a graduate student in the Spanish Department at the University of Arizona, stares at Castañeda’s scrawl and slowly pieces the letters together into a literal, line-by-line transcript. Her fellow graduate students in the Office of Ethnohistorical Research (OER) at the Arizona State Museum—Judith Ca-

ballero of the Spanish Department, and Anna Neuzil and Dale Brenneman of Anthropology—verify the transcript against the original, translate 16th-century Spanish into 21st-century English, and annotate the translation. Project director Tom Sheridan, an anthropologist and head of OER, and his colleague Diana Hadley, a historian, edit the translations and annotations for publication. One side of the Hopi History Project—a documentary history of Hopi-Spanish relations—nears completion.

But the process does not end there. The Spanish colonial documentary record, like the records of any imperial power, squints at the lives of Native peoples. Soldiers and missionaries were not privy to whole domains of Native culture, such as religious ceremonies or healing practices. When the Spaniards did observe, they viewed events and people through a myopic lens clouded by their own prejudices and preconceptions. Later generations of scholars who rely on the documentary record alone are limited by what the Spaniards witnessed or did not witness, and how and why they reported it. Native peoples like the Hopis, with a culture as rich and intricate as any on earth, appear as savages, children, two-dimensional foils.

That is why the Hopi History Project is reaching beyond the limits of the documentary record to explore the oral traditions of the Hopis themselves. Emory Sekaquaptewa, an anthropologist in the Bureau



The first page of a Hopi-language version of a 16th-century Spanish document.

of Applied Research in Anthropology and Chief Judge of the Hopi Tribe's Appellate Court, translates as many of the English translations as he can into Hopi. This is part of Sekaquaptewa's life's work, to transform Hopi into a written language and teach Hopis how to write as well as speak it. Sekaquaptewa was cultural editor of the *Hopi Dictionary* (University of Arizona Press, 1998), a massive compendium of 30,000 entries, all with sentences that put Hopi words and phrases into cultural context. He is now senior consultant for the Hopi History Project, working with Sheridan, Hadley, and ASM Interim Director Hartman Lomawaima, a member of the Hopi Bear Clan, to tell both sides of an old and bitter story.

The work shifts from offices at the University of Arizona to the Hopi Mesas northeast of Flagstaff. Stewart Koyiyumptewa, tribal archivist for the Hopi Preservation Office, reads Castañeda's account to Hopi elders like Morgan Saufkie and Valjean Joshevama, Sr. They speak into a tape recorder, recalling stories that have been passed down for 10 or 20 generations about the Hopis and the *Kastiilam* (Castilians; Spaniards). This stage of the Hopi History Project has just begun, but already tantalizing glimpses into

the past are emerging—Spanish objects incorporated into religious ceremonies, a missionary who only drinks water from a spring many miles away and forces young Hopis to run back and forth with water jugs every day, a bridegroom who tracks Mexican slavers who stole his bride and successfully negotiates with the governor of New Mexico to get her back.

The knowledge of Hopi elders steeped in the oral traditions of their clans and religious societies will correct at least some of the inherent biases in the Spanish and Mexican documentary record.

OER is giving the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office translations in chronological order, even though Project personnel have already transcribed and translated some documents from the late 18th century. Sheridan and Hadley are still searching archives in Mexico and Spain for documents about the Franciscan missionization of the Hopis prior to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, when the Hopis and other Pueblo peoples drove the Spaniards out of New Mexico for 14 years and destroyed many missions and their records.

Now in its third year of funding from the NHPRC, the Hopi History Project follows much of the same methodology established by earlier projects of the Documentary Relations of the Southwest (DRSW), a program founded by Jesuit historian Charles W. Polzer, S.J., at the Arizona State Museum in 1975. Project editors select representative documents to tell the story about important aspects of life in northern New Spain, that vast, shifting frontier of conquest stretching from Louisiana to California. Dr. Tracy Duvall, an anthropologist who also has a master's degree in Latin American history, is finishing the fifth and final volume in DRSW's series on the Presidio and Militia on the northern frontier of New Spain. His volume concerns the Marqués de Rubí's inspection of New Spain's presidios in the 1760s. Earlier volumes, all published by the University of Arizona Press, traced the development of presidios and militias from the Chichimec wars of the 16th century to the growing militarization of the frontier in the mid-18th century.

The Hopi History Project will produce the third volume in a series focusing on relations between Native peoples and Spaniards. The first, *Rarámuri: A Tarahumara Colonial Chronicle, 1607-1791*, edited by Sheridan and Thomas H. Naylor (Northland Press, 1979), explores patterns of missionization and rebellion among the Rarámuri, the Tarahumara Indians of Mexico's Sierra Madre Occidental. The second, *Empire of Sand: The Seri Indians and the Struggle for Spanish Sonora, 1645-1803*, edited by Sheridan (University of Arizona Press, 1999), examines how small bands of Comcáac, or Seris, suc-



Franciscan missionary Carlos Delgado's baptismal entry at the mission of San Agustín de la Ysleta, November 9, 1742 (Archives of the Archdiocese of New Mexico, New Mexico Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, Roll 5). Delgado's entry records only the Christian names of los sigientes parbulos que saque de la Provia de Moqui, hijos de padres Jentiles ("the following children that I removed from the Province of Moqui, children of gentile parents"). Ysleta, now Isleta, is located south of Albuquerque along the Rio Grande, hundreds of miles away from the Hopi mesas. There was a severe drought in Hopi country at the time. Perhaps some of the "Moquis" who migrated to Isleta were descendants of Rio Grande Pueblo peoples who had taken refuge among the Hopis during the Reconquista, or Reconquest, of New Mexico, in the 1690s.

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cessfully resisted Spanish conquest because of their intimate knowledge of the desert and sea along the Gulf of California.

Beginning with the Hopi volume, however, OER is introducing three major changes. Project personnel used to produce Spanish transcriptions that modernized spelling, spelled out abbreviations, and inserted punctuation. On the Hopi project, OER staff and students are producing literal, line-by-line transcriptions. Translations are also more conservative, as OER struggles to strike a balance between preserving the author's style, even when it is clumsy and convoluted, and making the translation comprehensible to modern readers.

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The third and most radical innovation is the incorporation of modern Hopi commentary. The knowledge of Hopi elders steeped in the oral traditions of their clans and religious societies will correct at least some of the inherent biases in the Spanish and Mexican documentary record. They may also illuminate aspects of Hopi history about which the documents are mute. Did the leaders of Tusayán draw the line in the sand by sprinkling sacred corn meal? Was it a challenge to the Spaniards or an indication that all inside the line was sacred and not to be despoiled?

"For their part, the Hopi Tribe hopes to glean information on a wide variety of subjects including Hopi trading networks and trail systems, Hopi cultural affiliation with other tribal groups, Hopi tribal sovereignty, and the Spanish perception of Hopi land occupation at contact," co-project director Lomawaima explains. "Hopi people also want to learn more about how the Spanish empire functioned and why it was unable to reconquer and reincorporate the Hopi into the imperial system after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680."

The Office of Ethnohistorical Research hopes to collaborate with the Hopi Tribe in making these documents available to the Hopi community for cultural and educational purposes. Sheridan and Hadley have participated in Hopi Culture and History Week for the past 3 years and in the Hopi commemoration of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt in August 2001. OER hopes that the Hopi History Project will serve as a model of collaboration between Native peoples and ethnohistorians. We also hope it will be the first in a series of documentary histories that include the oral traditions of the peoples themselves. ♦

THOMAS E. SHERIDAN, PROJECT DIRECTOR OF DOCUMENTARY RELATIONS OF THE SOUTHWEST, IS ALSO DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF ETHNOHISTORICAL RESEARCH, ARIZONA STATE MUSEUM, UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA.

Mary Giunta Retires from Commission Staff

Mary A. Giunta has retired from the staff of the NHPRC. While completing her doctorate in history at Catholic University, she worked for a time with the Documentary History of the First Federal Congress project, searching for records in the National Archives. In November 1973, she joined the Commission staff, and thereafter worked with the editors of most of the NHPRC-sponsored editions, helping find elusive documents, assisting the publications projects in innumerable ways. In 1991, the Association for Documentary Editing presented its Distinguished Service Award to Mary for her service to the field.

In 1991, Mary also became chief editor of a major project undertaken by the Commission staff to edit the documents of early American foreign policy. Along with staff colleagues and volunteers, she did a marvelous job of editing *The Emerging Nation*, a three-volume documentary publication. In addition to the scholarly edition, the project included two other components: a reader for college and university classroom use and an educational kit for grade-school use. In 1997, the Society for History in the Federal Government awarded the publication its Thomas Jefferson Prize. In accepting the award, Mary praised the work of more than 20 National Archives and Records Administration volunteers who worked on the project.

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Mary's work on a series of early American diplomacy seems fitting. She herself was, in a large sense, a diplomat for the NHPRC throughout her career, bringing people together to start projects, making individuals aware of the work of the Commission. In 1998 alone, for example, she participated in sessions at the annual meetings of the Organization of American Historians, the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations, and the Society for Historians of the Early American Republic. All of this was in her usual role as one of the most effective ambassadors the NHPRC has ever had. ♦

(continued from page 7)

Christ of Latter-day Saints enabled the extensive genealogical annotation of our volumes. One has only to compare the muster rolls of Vargas's colonists with today's telephone directories—or the innumerable mentions of Native American communities to a modern map—to appreciate New Mexico's vital historical continuity.

The sheer quantity of the public record precluded any thought of printing both English and Spanish in further volumes. Thus, for the next two, we prepared corresponding fiche editions, despite the awkwardness of using them.

Our desire to make available the Spanish transcripts for each volume provided an example of how advancing technology altered our course. In the case of *Remote Beyond Compare*, since the collection of Vargas' personal correspondence was small and discrete, we published in the volume itself semi-paleographic transcriptions of all the letters. At the same time, Rick Hendricks, guided by Prof. John J. Nitti of the Dictionary of the Old Spanish Language Project at the University of Wisconsin, succeeded in

producing a complementary computer-generated microfiche edition that included a concordance and summary vocabulary and frequency list. The sheer quantity of the public record precluded any thought of printing both English and Spanish in further volumes. Thus, for the next two, we prepared corresponding fiche editions, despite the awkwardness of using them. By the time double-sized *Blood on the Boulders* went to press, we had decided to delay publication of further Spanish transcripts until the end when we could make them available for the entire series on one cumulative and searchable CD-ROM.

A challenge none of us appreciated in the beginning was money, keeping the long-term Vargas Project funded. From start to finish, the NHPRC stuck by us, for which we will be ever grateful. Its mission, however, limits the funding of documentary editions and encourages contributions from others. In 1983, the Translations Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities provided a grant to the Vargas Project and subsequently renewed it for several 3-year periods with large matching components. Thanks to certain enthusiastic UNM administrators and several members of the New Mexico State Legislature, we managed with annual appropriations to raise the required match. Lesser grants along the way came from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, the University of New Mexico Foundation, the L. J. Skaggs and Mary C. Skaggs Foundation, and the H. L. Wilson Foundation. Acknowledged in every volume since *Remote Beyond Compare*, members of our generous friends group, La Compañía de Vargas, demonstrated to government agencies the requisite community support. Without the financial backing and encouragement of each and every one, the Vargas Project would not have lasted.

By placing the present documentary edition of Vargas' journals in the hands of students, scholars, and other interested readers, we hope not only to heighten understanding of this formative period, but also to stimulate further inquiry.

By placing the present documentary edition of Vargas' journals in the hands of students, scholars, and other interested readers, we hope not only to heighten understanding of this formative period, but also to stimulate further inquiry. To its enduring editors, the Vargas Project has taught much. Still, if asked, What has 20 years with don Diego meant to you? each of us, we know, would answer differently. ♦



A Zuni Pueblo Indian man. Photograph by Edward S. Curtis, 1903, courtesy of the Museum of New Mexico (Negative No. 143712).

JOHN L. KESSELL SERVED AS PROJECT DIRECTOR AND EDITOR OF *THE JOURNALS OF DIEGO DE VARGAS*.

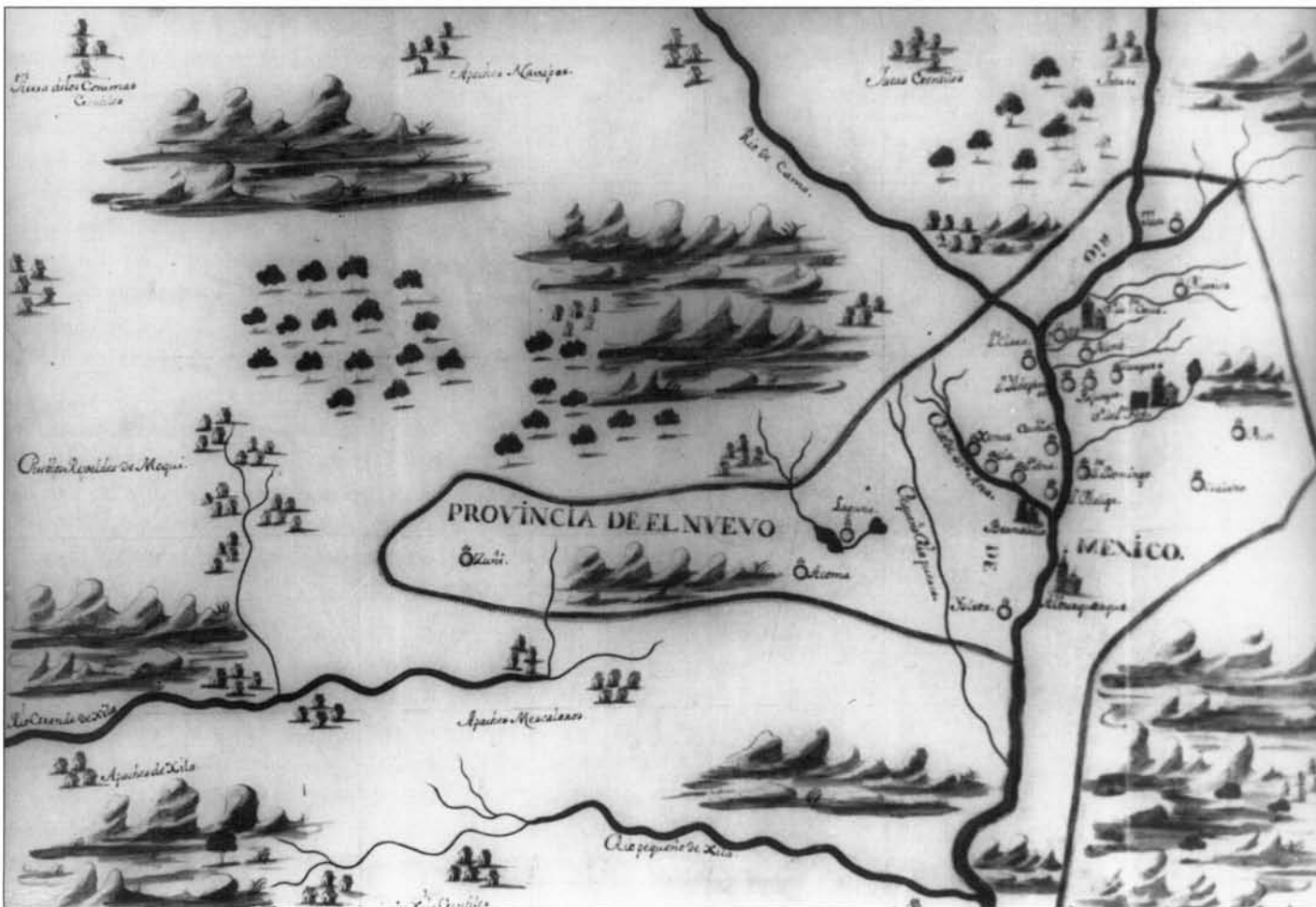
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Detail from Francisco Álvarez Barreiro's *Plano Corográfico del Reyno y Provincia de el Nuevo México*, 1727 (Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Guadalajara 144). The map shows the "Pueblos Reveldes de Moqui" west and well outside the boundaries of New Mexico. Moqui was the Spanish term for the Hopis, the only Pueblo people never reconquered after the 1680 Pueblo Revolt. A related article begins on page 1.