New Mexico Historical Review

Volume 79 | Number 3 Article 4

7-1-2004

Alexander M. Stephen and the Navajos

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> Dear old "Steve!" as he was familiarly known to his multitude of friends in Arizona and New Mexico—a man devoted to ethnographic research without regard to the pecuniary reward which his work might bring him. (Washington Matthews, Review of *The Snake Ceremonials at Walpi*, by J. Walter Fewkes with the assistance of A. M. Stephen and J. G. Owens, *American Anthropologist* 7 [October 1894]: 422)

During excavation and repair of the Puebloan tower structure in Canyon del Muerte's Mummy Cave in 1932, a Navajo workman brought archaeologist Earl Morris a piece of paper that had been wrapped around a "curiously carved stick" he had found in a crevice. On it was written "Jer: Sullivan M.D. / Alex M. Stepen M.A. / September 2" [2nd] 1885 / Sketch, etc." Morris noted, "While Sullivan and Stephen were not the first white visitors, no earlier names or dates have thus far been found written in Mummy Cave."[1] Morris recognized neither name. Four years later, however, Columbia University Press published the *Hopi Journal of Alexander M. Stephen*,

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edited by Elsie Clews Parsons, making "Alex M. Stepen M.A." a significant figure in the grand historical narrative of southwestern anthropology.[2]

Remembered today primarily for his research notebooks on the Hopis from 1890–1894, Stephen was first and foremost a student of the Navajos during his lifetime. His article, "The Navajo," published in the *American Anthropologist* (1893), remains one of the classic ethnological accounts of the period.[3] His contemporaries—Washington Matthews, Cosmos Mindeleff, James Mooney, and Henry C. Yarrow—acknowledged Stephen's ethnological and linguistic work in their publications. Nevertheless, Don D. Fowler calls Stephen one of the "least known characters in the coterie of nineteenth-century southwestern anthropologists."[4] Virtually unknown to historians and anthropologists are Stephen's compelling and significant contributions to Navajo studies.

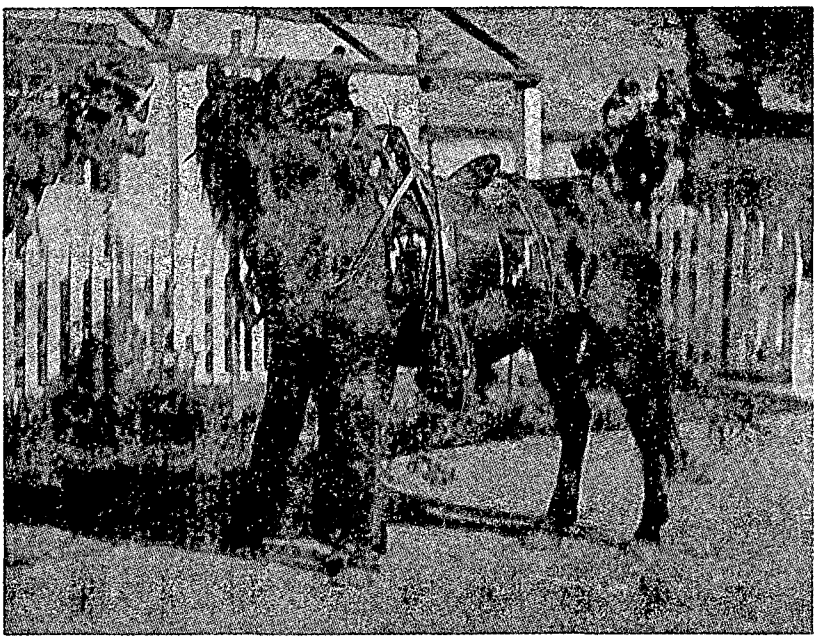
Michel-Rolph Trouillot has written, "Any historical narrative is a particular bundle of silences."[5] In Stephen's case there are many reasons for the silences. Few of his many letters, notes, memoranda, reports, and other papers on the Navajos exist in archives or libraries today. At his death on 18 April 1894, no obituary appeared in local newspapers or in scholarly journals. A quarter century passed before J. Walter Fewkes wrote more than a footnote—then he wrote less than a paragraph—to "record his obligation" to Stephen's work. Some of Stephen's research was published in long-forgotten periodicals. (See examples in the appendices to this essay.) Some of his research was published under the names of other scholars. For example, in his monograph-length study, "Navaho Houses," Cosmos Mindeleff declared that "much of the material which is comprised in this report was collected by the late A. M. Stephen, who lived for many years among the Navaho."[6]

Stephen wrote his accounts of the Navajos during the 1880s, the first and formative decade of American anthropology. Directed by John Wesley Powell, the Bureau of Ethnology (BE), a unit of the Smithsonian Institution, promoted Lewis Henry Morgan's evolutionary paradigm as the general theoretical framework of human social development. The BE also selected and funded several of the first generation of ethnologists. Stephen was familiar with Morgan's perspective and received some support from the Smithsonian. However, Stephen's work reflects an independence of intellect and a prior knowledge of Navajo culture and society that led him to present their world, both its seriousness and humor, in an empathetic and convincing manner. Moreover, while Stephen received some funding and recognition from the Smithsonian Institution, it provided neither a paid position nor the prospect

of fame that eventually drew him to study the Hopis. Among the remaining fragments of Stephen's Navajo research are historically important notes regarding the meaning of *'Anaasází*, the attributes of the supernatural being *Begochídí*, and an account of Navajo curing practices, as well as descriptions of significant men in Navajo society at the time—ethnographic materials previously unknown to Navajo scholars of the twentieth century. This article provides the biographical and historical contexts in which Stephen's work developed, reproduces several ethnographically significant texts, and reassesses his place in southwestern anthropology.

Alexander M. Stephen's Early Life

Alexander M. Stephen was born in Scotland, but his date of birth, his name, and how and when he came to be among the Navajos and Hopis living near Keam's Canyon in Arizona Territory have been matters of speculation. The



"BILL" AND HIS MASTER, A. M. STEPHEN, FALL 1884
In the background is Keam's residence.
(Photograph by Frederick H. Dellenbaugh, Dellenbaugh Papers, Special Collections, courtesy The University of Arizona Library, Tucson)

biennial performances of the Snake/Antelope ceremonies in the Hopi village of Walpi on the East or First Mesa drew numerous anthropological observers, John G. Bourke among them, who mentioned Stephen in their records. Beginning with the establishment of the BE in 1879, frequent and often annual expeditions brought ethnologists such as James and Matilda Coxe Stevenson, Victor and Cosmos Mindeleff, and others to Keam's Canyon. They, too, noted Stephen's presence, but their observations are, to use a phrase of Stephen's, "a medley of odds and ends." However, the historian can piece together Stephen's life with some certainty. Indeed, Stephen came to Keam's Canyon as a prospector, not an ethnologist. He reflected later: "I have not chosen this pursuit to make money in; nor scarce can I say I did choose it. Years ago it came to me almost unawares and never since will it let me be."[7]

"Alexander Stiven"—Alexander Middleton Stephen—son of James Stephen and Elizabeth Croll (or Cree), was born near Dundee, Angus, Scotland, on 29 October 1846.[8] His father was a joiner (a furniture maker or inside carpenter), and he had two older siblings, Mary and William. In 1861 Alexander was a lodger in Dudhope, Wynd, Scotland, and a millwright by profession.[9] Nothing more is known of Stephen's life before he came to the United States. Frederick Dellenbaugh's recollection that Stephen was a graduate of the University of Edinburgh appears to be without foundation.[10]

Shortly after the 1861 census was taken in Scotland, Stephen sailed for the United States, where he enlisted in the Union Army on 22 October 1861, and mustered into service on 30 October 1862, the day after his sixteenth birthday. He served in the New York Volunteer Infantry until honorably discharged on 6 February 1866.[11] Only once in his lengthy correspondence to Fewkes did Stephen allude to his Civil War experience: "I first made the acquaintance of Frank [Carter] and some other rebel gentlemen in a dark-nasty-stormy-night—the night of May 31st 1862." Stephen's reference was to his combat in the Army of the Potomac at the Battle of Seven Pines during Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan's campaign against Richmond, Virginia. After the conflict, most of Stephen's close friends were Civil War veterans, either comrades-in-arms or simply others who shared the war.[12] Unlike so many of his contemporaries (e.g., Lieutenant Keam, Colonel Rizer, and Colonel Stevenson), Stephen was never referred to by his Civil War rank of lieutenant.

Stephen's whereabouts during the years following his discharge in 1866 are another mystery. In the U.S. census of 1880, Stephen declared himself an "explorer" and a "prospector." Indeed, four years later, in *The Snake*

Dance of the Moquis of Arizona, Bourke stated, "At Keam's ranch we met Mr. Alexander Stevens [*sic*], a bright Scotchman who, during the past twelve years, has had considerable experience as a metallurgist and mining prospector in Nevada and Utah [since 1869]. He gave me a thrilling account of his journey westward to the country of the Cohoninos, a tribe of Indians living in the canon [*sic*] of Cataract Creek, near its junction with the Grand Canyon of the Colorado in this territory."[13] Stephen's name also appeared in the *Eureka Herald*, whose owner and editor Henry C. Rizer published a series of articles on the activities of a U.S. Geological Survey expedition operating near Fort Wingate in 1882. In one piece, Rizer described his arrival at Keam's Canyon in the company of James and Matilda Coxe Stevenson on 6 October: "In the absence of Mr. Keam we were welcomed by two friends and guests of his, Mr. Stephens [*sic*], a native of Scotland, and Mr. [Thomas] McElmell, formerly an officer in our navy. They are both attractive gentlemen of unusual breadth of information, intelligence and culture. They both came west quite young men upon the conclusion of the war and have followed the varied and strangely fascinating life of prospectors. . . . in California, Nevada, Utah and this region."[14]

Thomas McElmell and his associate, John T. Moss, were key figures in Stephen's early career in the Southwest. McElmo Creek (Stephen's "McElmell Drainage") found in southwestern Colorado and the small settlement of McElmo located at the junction of the creek with the San Juan River in southern Utah were named for McElmell (various spellings) in the 1870s. In the 17 May 1884 issue of the *Holbrook Times*, Henry Reed, the editor, wrote:

> Thomas McElmell, of Keam's Canyon, is visiting Holbrook, [Arizona Territory] and we are glad to look upon his cheerful countenance once more. Long years have passed since we bade adieu to him and his companion de voyage, the eccentric John Moss, as they left Fort Wingate to find a path to the Pacific Coast through the Moquis [Hopis]. Moss and [John C.] Fremont were alike in being path-finders, and unlike, in that Moss never lost his way. . . . [M]onths rolled on, and at last we heard, with joy, of their arrival at San Francisco. . . . Moss, in the interest of his patron and friend, John Parrot [Tiburcio Parrott], the banker of San Francisco, for whom he located and name[d] the once famous Parrot [*sic*] City in San Juan country [*sic*]. McElmell settled in south-western Colorado.[15]

John Moss first came to Arizona in 1857 and afterward spent much of his life exploring the Colorado River and southwestern Colorado. The trip to California occurred in 1873, and for a few years Parrott City was the seat of La Plata County, Colorado. Among other activities, Moss guided photographer William H. Jackson to Two Story Cliff House above the Mancos River at Mesa Verde in 1874. Stephen's association with Moss undoubtedly contributed to his knowledge of ancestral Puebloan villages ("ruins") in the Four Corners area. The mining venture at Parrott City did not meet expectations, and in 1878 Moss moved to California, where he was accidentally killed in a fight two years later.[16]

The two newspaper accounts indicate that Stephen and McElmell were likely among the prospectors in Parrott City, and, indeed, their experience may well predate that adventure by many years. McElmell spent the years 1882–1884 at Keam's Canyon, pursuing mining interests, and Keam, Stephen, and McElmell were lifelong friends. At his death in 1904, one of the major beneficiaries of Keam's estate was Thomas A. McElmell of Philadelphia.[17] Among the "silences" of these early years are answers to how the Stephen encountered at Keam's Canyon became a polished and practiced writer, a literary man who read Carlyle and Lowell, and a man who strived to apply the methods and language of nineteenth-century science to describe and understand the prehistoric and historic cultures of northeastern Arizona.

Alexander M. Stephen at Keam's Canyon

Stephen first came to Keam's Canyon in 1879. There, at a place then known as Peach Orchard Spring, Thomas Varker Keam (1842–1904) had established a trading post four years earlier. In a deposition dated 17 August 1882, Stephen stated: "I am now, and for the past three years have been, a resident of Keam's Canyon, Apache County, Arizona. I first came here in April 1879 and remained until July of the same year. I have resided continuously at Keam's Trading Post in this Canon [*sic*] since January 1880. During 1879 and 1880 Mr. William Keam, since deceased, was in sole charge of this Trading Post. Mr. Thomas V. Keam during those years, and for many previous years, resided at Fort Defiance."[18]

Throughout the 1870s, Thomas Keam sought the federal position of agent to the Navajos. In November 1879, with support from James Stevenson, he again lobbied unsuccessfully for an appointment, this time to the Moqui Agency.[19] Meanwhile, Keam's trading post near Fort Defiance was included

in the lands set aside as part of the addition to the Navajo Reservation on 6 January 1880. These factors, coupled with the death of his younger brother William, led Thomas Keam to relocate to the canyon and to pursue new business ventures, among them the sale of prehistoric pottery and other "relics" excavated from ruins and burials near Keam's Canyon and in Canyon de Chelly.

After many years of exploring and prospecting, Stephen would have found Keam's ranch, as it was often called, attractive as more than just a room and a source of employment. As Bourke saw in 1881, Keam's residence was furnished with the classics of English literature as well as current journals and newspapers. Keam had a cook and a flower garden, and he and Stephen had friends in common, most notably Thomas McElmell. Individuals associated with the BE, the U.S. Geological Survey, and the U.S. Army, as well as independent researchers like Herman F. C. ten Kate and Gustav Nordenskiold, were frequent guests. For a young man interested in cultural and intellectual pursuits, especially anthropology and archaeology, Keam's ranch was an exciting place to be.[20]

Stephen had his own room in the complex of buildings that comprised the trading post. In the 1880 census, Stephen identified himself as a "boarder." He and Keam were "associates" but not business partners. Keam employed Stephen as the manager of the "general store," where he was also postmaster from 1883–1888. At various times, other individuals filled in for Stephen or Keam when visitors, travel, or business occupied their attention. Their arrangement was clearly one of convenience, one that provided Stephen with a source of income.

When taking up residence at the trading post in 1880, Stephen joined a man who had nearly fifteen years' experience working with the Navajo people as an interpreter, a trader, and an advocate.[21] Keam boasted an excellent knowledge of Navajo language and culture, and enjoyed the trust and confidence of many important Navajo leaders. At the store, Navajos traded wool, pelts, and livestock for coffee, sugar, and other goods. Keam and Stephen carried out transactions in Navajo, with Spanish as a second language. From necessity, Stephen began learning the Navajo language, through which he conducted much of his later work with the Hopis.

Although his lasting legacy is his Navajo and Hopi ethnography, Stephen demonstrated other areas of interest while living and working at Keam's Canyon. First, the lure of prospecting persisted at least through 1884. In a letter describing past performances of the Hopi Snake Dance, Stephen

wrote, "The year I missed was 1883—we were all very wealthy copper mine owners—prospective millionaires—and our studies were not at all of ethnologic nature."[22]

Second, given the presence of the prehistoric and, to a lesser degree, modern materials Keam acquired through excavation and trading, Stephen not only developed a descriptive language for pottery but also explored developmental frameworks for differences in styles. One significant result was the creation of a catalog, "Pottery of Tusayan: Catalogue of the Keam Collection," in 1884.[23] Third, beginning with the Snake Dances of 1885 and 1887 but working in a more considered and careful way after 1889, Stephen recorded many observations of Hopi social and ceremonial practice. In 1891 J. Walter Fewkes, director of the Second Hemenway Expedition, hired Stephen to assist his research on the Hopis: Over the course of the next three years, Stephen compiled the most detailed description of the social and ceremonial life of any Native American people in the nineteenth century. From this research, Stephen submitted several brief articles under his own name and coauthored several studies with Fewkes.

Finally, in the early 1880s, the Keam's Canyon community also included the Moqui (Hopi) Pueblo Agency and the Presbyterian mission to the Hopis. Keam and Stephen observed the conflict between Christian mission and federal agency that led to the establishment of the Executive Order Moqui Indian Reservation on 16 December 1882. Subsequently, they witnessed the closure of both.[24] As a consequence of their knowledge of, friendship with, and business relationships with the Navajos and Hopis, Keam and Stephen were frequent advocates for both tribes throughout the decade that followed.[25]

Ethnologists among the Navajos, 1880–1894

Dr. Washington Matthews (1843–1905), a U.S. Army surgeon, was stationed at Fort Wingate from October 1880–March 1884 and again from March 1890–March 1894. While carrying out fieldwork under the auspices of the BE, Matthews occupied a position Stephen might otherwise have filled. Most of Matthews's early studies of Navajo material culture (weaving and silversmithing) and ethnobotany were carried out in the immediate vicinity of the post. Shortly after his arrival, Matthews saw the last night of the Nightway ceremony near Fort Wingate on 19 December 1880 and a part of the Mountainway ceremony near Keam's Canyon in the fall of 1882, two events that would shape his future research. Matthews was recalled to the Army

Medical Museum in Washington in the spring of 1884 but was able to return to Fort Wingate in the fall to carry out field research that contributed to his "The Mountain Chant" published in 1887.[26] While Matthews was in Washington, D.C., Dr. Robert W. Shufeldt was stationed at Fort Wingate from November 1885 to the early spring 1889. He eventually published a number of minor studies on the Navajos. Like Matthews, Shufeldt conducted his research in the immediate vicinity of Fort Wingate where, for example, he documented culture change, "the evolution of house-building," among the Navajos living there.[27]

Research from Keam's Canyon was even more opportunistic than from Fort Wingate. U.S. Geological Survey and BE expeditions brought large numbers of scientists to "the ancient province of Tusayan," the Hopi villages, and to Keam's Trading Post. Rizer's account of part of the Mountainway ceremony in 1882, and the Stevensons's description of a Nightway ceremony in October 1885 were the product of visits to Keam's Trading Post as performances were about to occur.[28] Likewise, Cosmos Mindeleff's publications on Navajo architecture—"Navaho Houses" and "Houses and House Dedication of the Navahos"—appear to be deeply indebted to the knowledge Stephen had developed, much of which Cosmos acquired while Stephen assisted him and his brother Victor in their research near the Hopi villages during the fall and winter of 1887–1888.[29]

Alexander M. Stephen and Navajo Studies, 1880–1894

As the principal employee in Keam's Trading Post, Stephen had daily interaction with the Navajos and Hopis who came to trade and visit. He undoubtedly accompanied Keam to social and ceremonial gatherings nearby. Unlike Matthews who was an experienced linguist and ethnologist, Stephen molded his intellect under the direction of BE ethnologists and through his reading in the developing literature of anthropology. The spontaneous character of his early field experiences was illustrated in several events recorded by Rizer. At the post during the evening of 20 October 1882, Keam, Stephen, and Rizer interviewed Guisheen Begay (*Gishí bíye'*), who was an important Evilway singer, and other Navajo headmen. (Stephen's record of the evening—"Indian Traditions"—is published in appendix 1.) In the interview, Rizer (the Colonel) asked questions, the responses providing the first general account of Navajo religion including references to one of the most complex of Navajo deities, *Begochídí*. Stephen described the individual

Navajo participants and remarked, for example, on the size of their sheep herds, information important to a trader responsible for judging how much credit to extend to an anticipated wool clip. Critical to ethnologists was that, in passing, Stephen provided the first recorded use of the word *'Anaasází*.[30]

Within a few days of the interview, Keam gave Rizer an even more significant account of *'Anaasází*, placing the meaning of the word in the Navajo emergence narrative:

> According to this repository [Navajo John] of his nation's traditions, the Navajos came out of the ground. As they increased they spread over the country. Their fathers came to the region now occupied by them 'seventeen lives of old men ago,' and when Ganado Mucho, the present chief, dies, it will be eighteen. The life of an old man is from sixty to seventy years. The cliff houses in the walls of the cañon [Canyon de Chelly] that we had been examining were built by an ancient race that preceded the Navajos. These ancient people are by them called Nah-sus-si [*'Anaasází*]. They were all dead when the Navajos came. The great column by our camp [Spider Rock] was once the home of a giant whose main food supply consisted of the Nah-sus-si. To escape the capricious maw of the giant these ancient people built their houses in the caves in the cañon walls. The Navajos never saw the giant, but fearing his return, one part of their most imposing annual festival, or dance, is celebrated in his honor, that he may be duly appeased. The name of the dance is Hosh-Kon [*hashk'aan* (yucca fruit; popular name of the Mountainway)].[31]

In their recent article on the English word *Anasazi* and the Navajo word *'Anaasází*, Harry Walters and Hugh C. Rogers could find no record of the word or explanation of its Navajo meaning before 1930. Their contention that the Navajo *'anaa-* (those who live beside us but not among us) and *-sází* (ancestors greater than five generations old, ones whose bodies have returned to the earth and are now scattered about) receives remarkable confirmation in the explanation recorded in the interview and in the fragment of the emergence narrative given above.[32]

A week after the interview with Guisheen Begay, Stephen wrote the earliest entry in his "Notebook No. 1." On 27 October 1882, he recorded, "Tsin-a-ga-hi tells me he represented the Hunter's wife in the Comedy occurring in the Hosh-Kawn celebrated yesterday at Kai-itso-dez-nily-bi-to." This brief

account of dialog and action from the final night of the Mountainway is published in this article (see appendix 3) for the first time, but the event, "the Comedy" as Stephen refers to it and its representation in the various published forms, became an ethnological cause célèbre a few years later.[33]

The occasion for these narratives was the gathering of various members of the Stevensons's party from Fort Wingate as it made a circuitous trip to Keam's Trading Post on the way to Canyon de Chelly in October 1882. When the Stevensons, Rizer, and others arrived at Keam's Canyon, they met Stephen and McElmell. Shortly afterward, Keam brought Matthews with him. In Matthews's pseudonymous account, eight White men attended the Mountainway ceremony, although, in Rizer's undated account, he witnessed the "Hosh-Kon" with only Stephen: About midnight, the Navajo headman Ganado Mucho addressed "the gathering, congratulating them upon the peace and harmony that prevailed among them, the condition of their horses, sheep and cattle, their friendly relations with the Americans, and the abundant yield of crops. He exhorted the young men to kindness and consideration toward their elders and against the use of intoxicating drinks." Rizer then acknowledged Stephen: "My friend, Mr. Stephens [*sic*] is sufficiently familiar with the language to enable him to catch the substance of the old man's remarks, and to him I am indebted for the interpretation I have received as given above."[34]

Matthews's "The Mountain Chant" appeared in the *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1883–1884*, the publication of which was delayed until 1887. That delay gave Matthews time to include the observations of a performance that he saw in October 1884 and the perspective of Tall Chanter (*Hatali Nez*), a Navajo singer, whom he brought east in fall 1885. Likewise, Stephen went to Washington, D.C., in November 1884 and stayed until the end of February 1885. During that trip, Stephen may have provided Matthews with the dialogue of "the Comedy." When Matthews's account of the Mountainway appeared in 1887, it included the following statement: "Many facts concerning not only the *hackan inca*, but other parts of the mountain chant, have not been allowed to appear in this essay. Recognized scientists may learn of them by addressing the author through the Director of the Bureau of Ethnology."[35] The expurgation met sharp criticism in Washington's intellectual community. Anthropologist Katherine Spencer Halpern and Susan Brown McGreevy write, "For example, a letter dated 16 March 1889 from Louis Henri Ayme, a career diplomat and amateur ethnologist, to W. H. Holmes at the Bureau of Ethnology comments, ' . . . such evidence of ridiculous prudery as is here displayed is supremely stupid.'"[36]

Matthews's response was the publication of the booklet *The Suppressed Part of the Mountain Chant* in 1892. Matthews stated that the dialogue "was obtained for me by Mr. A. M. Stephen of Keam's Canyon, Arizona, who witnessed with me the night ceremonies of November 5th, 1882, and next day [Stephen's October 27], learned the words of the play from the man who enacted the part of the woman. I have since heard other versions of the dialogue, but none superior to this." The full text of this booklet, as well as Matthews's pseudonymous account of the final night of the Mountainway, has been recently reprinted in Halpern and McGreevy's *Washington Matthews: Studies in Navajo Culture, 1880–1894*.[37]

Little information regarding Stephen's relationship with the Navajos survives for 1883 and 1884. Much of what he learned throughout his years at Keam's Canyon was gleaned through informal daily interactions, not purposeful investigation. Stephen's practice, later at least, was to dedicate separate notebooks to specific topics. The seven surviving notebooks for the 1882–1888 period document his shifting interests, for example, his personal reading course, Tinneh (Diné)-Hopi-Tewa vocabularies, and occasional detailed accounts of Navajo topics and events, but no notebooks dedicated solely to the Navajos have survived.

Explorers, Stephen among them, came and went in Navajo country during 1883 and 1884. By the time Rizer returned to Fort Wingate, New Mexico, with another U.S. Geological Survey party in fall 1883, he had sold *The Eureka Herald*; he mentioned neither Stephen nor Keam in the one article he sent to his former newspaper. At the time, Stephen may have been engaged in mining. At Fort Wingate, Rizer witnessed part of the Nightway ("Ga-bi-tcai," i.e., *Yé'ii bichei*) a ceremony he anticipated seeing after learning about it from Keam the year before.[38] Much of Stephen's "spare time" during 1884 was undoubtedly taken up with the preparation of "Pottery of Tusayan: Catalogue of the Keam Collection."[39] In March, Matthews was recalled to the National Medical Museum in Washington, D.C., but returned to the Southwest in the fall to do fieldwork. In late summer, Stephen joined F. T. Bickford's exploration of Canyon de Chelly.[40] In late October, Matthews witnessed a nine-night Mountain Chant near Fort Wingate and saw sandpaintings for the first time.[41] Stephen left for Washington, D.C., at the end of November, accompanying part of the Keam collection (he took the mummy of a young man with him on the train) being offered to the Smithsonian Institution for use at the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition in New Orleans.[42]

Stephen returned to Keam's Canyon in late February 1885. During the summer, he worked again with Gishí bíye' to record a version of the Navajo origin narrative, which they completed on 5 August.[43] Shortly afterward, Cosmos Mindeleff, Dr. Henry C. Yarrow, and others arrived for the Snake-Antelope ceremonies. Like Matthews, Yarrow was a medical officer attached to the BE. Through the assistance of Keam and Stephen, Yarrow was able "to procure from a noted Navajo wise man [probably *Gishí biyé*] an exact account of the burial customs of his people, as well as valuable information regarding their medical practices, especially as such relate to obstetrics."[44]

In early September, Stephen and Jeremiah Sullivan spent several days in Canyon de Chelly, making sketches, drawings, and notes, and it was at this time that Sullivan left the note Earl Morris found fifty years later. A year later, on 16 September 1886, Stephen wrote Yarrow a letter that was subsequently published in *Forest and Stream* under Yarrow's name as "Navajo Methods of Curing Ague." (Omitting Yarrow's introductory remarks, Stephen's letter is published here in full [see appendix 2].) Stephen also wrote a well-known popular version, "When John the Jeweler Was Sick."[45] The original account that Yarrow received was Stephen's attempt to demonstrate that Navajo curing practices were reasonable if they were understood within the Navajos' world view. Specifically, he describes how the Navajos practiced portions of the Enemyway ceremony to determine whether it was the appropriate cure in the case of contact with a non-Navajo people.

A few weeks after Stephen wrote to Yarrow, the Stevensons visited Keam's Canyon where they had the "good fortune to arrive . . . a few days before the commencement of a Navajo healing ceremony."[46] The Nightway began on 12 October, and the Stevensons, through their interpreter Navajo John (or John Navajo), documented the performance over the next nine days. According to his notebook, Stephen attended a "Yeibetchi" on 20 October—presumably the final evening of this Nightway. In his "Report" for 1885–1886, BE director John Wesley Powell noted simply: "Mrs. Stevenson was also enabled to obtain a minute description of the celebrated dance, or medicine ceremony, of the Navajos, called the Yeibit-cai. She made complete sketches of the sand altars, masks, and other objects employed in this ceremonial."[47] Neither of the Stevensons had much, if any, knowledge of the Navajo language. Even with Navajo John assisting the Stevensons, Stephen likely provided the texts of the prayers as well as the narratives that were appended to the published "Ceremonial of Hasjelti Dailjis and Mythical Sandpaintings of the Navajo Indians" by James Stevenson."[48] James Stevenson died in 1888,

three years before his Nightway account was published in 1891. Shortly after its appearance, Stephen wrote to Fewkes, "*Tilly's contribution*—viewed as a votive offering to the manes of Colonel Jim—is highly laudable—otherwise I should call it a fragmentary tissue of absurd blunders."[49] Stephen attributed "Ceremonial" to Matilda, James's wife. Modern assessments are more generous. For example, James C. Faris claims that James's account "is the *best actual description of a specific* Nightway" ceremony. Most other accounts, including Matthews's, are not specific but composite accounts.[50]

Much of the surviving correspondence from Keam's Canyon for the 1884–1887 period is concerned with the sale of Keam's buildings to the Bureau of Indian Affairs for a school. Stephen prepared detailed measurements and drawings of the property. Keam, with the Stevensons's assistance, continued to promote the "Moki Industrial School," which opened in August 1887. In his notebooks for 1887, Stephen compared the evolutionary perspectives of Lewis Henry Morgan and Stephen D. Peet, locating the Hopis in the "older period of barbarism," five years later.[51] He seemed to be searching for his place in the discipline of ethnology then developing under Powell's direction in the BE and the National Museum. Unfortunately for Stephen, however, Matthews was the recognized ethnologist of the Navajos, the Stevensons were positioned to be the collectors for the Smithsonian, and Sullivan was living and working on Hopi First Mesa. Still more important was that the federal government granted little funding to support Powell's program.

Early in 1887 Stephen wrote Otis T. Mason, curator of ethnology and assistant secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, offering to assemble collections for the National Museum. Three weeks into May, G. Brown Goode responded with fifty dollars and instructions to acquire a representative collection of "tools of all kinds."[52] The "Report of the National Museum, 1887" records: "*Navajos, Arizona.*—W. M. Stephen [*sic*] (accession 18812): Awls (3); needles (2); unfinished shoes (3); finished shoe (1); dance shoes (1 pair). Dr. Washington Matthews (accession 18865): Woman's dress (1)."[53] Accompanying the collection was an illustrated essay, "The Navajo Shoemaker," published the following year in the *Proceedings of the U.S. National Museum*. In this ethnographic piece, Stephen described the materials, tools, and techniques employed in making various types of shoes as well as furnishing a narrative that gives the origin of shoes in Navajo culture.[54]

Apparently approaching both William H. Holmes and Victor Mindeleff, Stephen offered his services to the Smithsonian. In 1886 Mindeleff had recommended to Powell the appointment of Stephen, "a gentleman of excep-

tional culture and scholarship," to collect traditional Hopi narratives as they related to the "ancient pueblo pottery" and "ruined pueblos" in the vicinity.[55] Nothing came of these efforts. In a notebook entry written a year later, Stephen seemed to project something of his own situation (betrayed, perhaps, in his choice of the word "reivers"—a common Scottish term for raiders) in a note entitled "Navajo":

> The young men—no longer reivers—are loiterers—skulking from one hogan to another—like coyotes haunting the flocks. Are they waiting for some incentive to call them to action? What is the *thing* that will awaken them to real interest in life? The old men tell of past glories—battles & successful raids? The young men have no epoch to reckon from nor future in their conception other than old age, the time when they will be toothless. Ambition is now unknown for they have now no field for deeds. Literally they are a generation without hopes. What a deplorable condition is theirs when one considers it. A life of mere scant animal enjoyment—their mental diversions gambling and participating in religious dramas—hunting & games fallen into desuetude.[56]

As almost a response to this reflection, Victor Mindeleff telegraphed Stephen to make arrangements for an extended field season. Previously, in the fall of 1882, the Mindeleffs had spent a month surveying the Hopi villages in preparation for making papier-mâché models for exhibition at the Louisville Exposition of 1883. Returning in 1887, they began fieldwork on 6 October and, over the course of the next six months, surveyed ancestral Hopi sites from the Jeddito Valley in the east to Moencopi in the west. With Stephen's assistance they completed the research for "A Study of Pueblo Architecture in Tusayan and Cibola [Hopi and Zuni]." Records in Stephen's notebooks suggest that Victor and Cosmos also began the research on Navajo architecture eventually published by Cosmos Mindeleff.[57] For the first time, "Work of Mr. A. M. Stephen" was recognized as a part of the BE's research in Powell's prefatory reports in the ninth and tenth *Annual Report[s] of the Bureau of Ethnology*. In the report for 1887–1888, Powell stated: "Mr. A. M. Stephen was engaged during half of the fiscal year in collecting traditions and other matter from the Tusayan [Hopi] villages and among the Navajo. He has transmitted a number of valuable short papers on these topics and also on the house-lore of the Tusayan Indians, and has furnished

descriptions and drawings of the 'kisis' or rude temporary shelters of the Tusayan, comparing these with the primitive structures of the Navajo."[58]

The following year, Powell noted:

> Mr. A. M. Stephen continued work among the Tusayan pueblos under the direction of Mr. Victor Mindeleff. . . . He secured from the Navajo much useful information of the ceremonial connected with the construction of their conical lodges or "hogans," supplementing the more purely architectural records of their construction previously collected by Mr. [Cosmos?] Mindeleff. As opportunity occurred he gathered typical collections of baskets and other textile fabrics illustrative of the successive stages of their manufacture, including specimens of raw materials and detailed descriptions of the dyes used. These collections are intended to include also the principal patterns in use at the present time, with the Indian explanations of their significance.[59]

With Sullivan's departure in 1888, Stephen was now the resident expert on the Hopis, if not the Navajos. In 1889 he published a brief note on Hopi "Tribal Boundary Marks" in the *American Anthropologist*, and a full-page, illustrated article on "The Snake Dance," coauthored with Hernando J. Messenger, in the New York newspaper, *The World* (New York).[60] However, scientists, institutes, and societies still sought his Navajo expertise. In response to a circular requesting information on American Indians, Stephen submitted several essays on the Navajos to the Canadian Indian Research and Aid Society of the Royal Canadian Institute in Toronto. Published in 1890, these four pieces, separately titled and popularly written, filled just four printed pages. "Marriage among the Navajoes [*sic*]," "Navajo Dress," and "Navajo Dwellings" were published in *Our Forest Children*. "Notes about the Navajoes [*sic*]" appeared in the *Canadian Indian*. In 1891, while doing research on the Ghost Dance religion, James Mooney wrote an inquiry to Stephen, "who had studied the Navajo and Hopi for years and spoke the Navajo language fluently." Mooney received this reply from Stephen: "While out this last time I camped over night with some Navajo friends, and over a pipe brought up the messiah topic."[61]

By March 1890 Matthews had returned for a second tour at Fort Wingate. Little of the decade-long correspondence between Matthews and Stephen survives, but the few remnants suggest a long-standing relationship of mu-

tual respect and intellectual generosity between the two men. For example, in a letter of 5 November 1891, Stephen acknowledged an offprint, or "pamphlet," of Matthews's recent article, "The Gentile System of the Navajo Indians," and asked a question about a reference Matthews made in "The Mountain Chant." A month later, on 4 December 1891, Stephen sent Matthews information on Navajo clans to augment materials dispatched sometime earlier.[62]

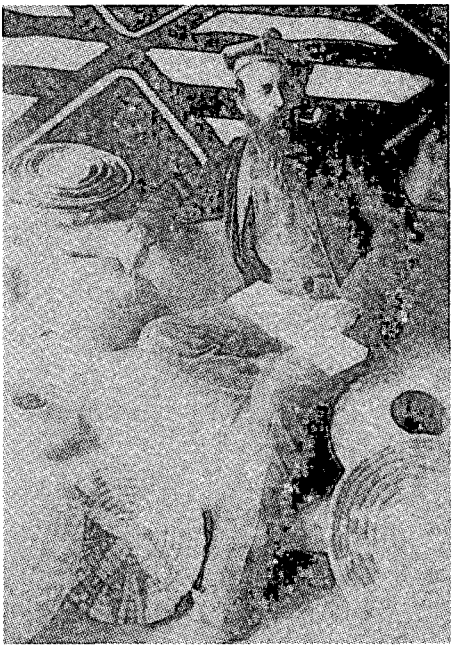
During his first ten years at Keam's Canyon, Stephen had managed the "general store" and post office, catalogued Keam's collection of "relics," assisted the Mindeleffs in documenting Hopi and Navajo architecture, and, on occasion, returned to prospecting. His knowledge of the Navajo language and of the material culture of both Hopis and Navajos was recognized by various scientists and bureaucrats connected with the Smithsonian Institution. However, when Michael J. Riordan, Flagstaff lumberman and the younger brother of former Navajo agent Dennis M. Riordan, published an article on "The Navajo Indians" in 1890, he noted that "a very little time has been given to scientific investigations among them, notably by Doctor Matthews." Riordan criticized the federal authorities for being "so niggardly in their appropriations for ethnologic research" that almost no other investigations had been done among the Navajos. Matthews, an army surgeon, had been an official "scientific collaborator" of the BE, an unpaid position that conferred scientific status and affiliation and little else. Riordan undoubtedly knew of Stephen, but only fragments of his research documented in this article were published anywhere—especially in the scholarly venues where Matthews's "scientific investigations" appeared. More importantly, Stephen was always "on the wrong side of the ledger" with Keam, and, although he tried to build connections with the BE, there was little money available to support the kind of Navajo research to which his unpublished notes and letters attest.[63]

Stephen and the Hemenway Expedition

In September 1891, Stephen agreed to work with J. Walter Fewkes, who had been appointed two years before to replace Frank Hamilton Cushing as director of the Hemenway Southwestern Expedition. Funded by Boston philanthropist Mary Tileston Hemenway, the expedition was initially concerned with the prehistory of Zuni Pueblo. Adolph Bandelier, Bourke, and Matthews suspected Fewkes of "villainous intrigues" in replacing Cushing as director.

Fewkes spent brief periods at Zuni in 1889 and 1890 and had shifted his research to Hopi by the summer of 1891. Matthews feared that Stephen would receive "scant glory and scanter money" from Fewkes.[64] In another letter to Cushing, Matthews elaborated:

> You may expect soon a great work on the Moqui snake dance from the hand of the learned ethnologist [Fewkes] who has recently been there. He pumped poor Steve dry, and promised Steve (so the latter told me, poor fool!) that he would give him credit for all. But I see, in the last number of the *Anthropologist* an article by him on "Tusayan Pictographs." Now this has been for years Steve's specialty and *all* his information must have been derived from Steve. Yet he only mentions Steve in the most indirect way and in a footnote and then gives his name incorrectly. But he will prosper! All frauds do, and get ahead of honest men.[65]



MOQUI BASKETS AND POTTERY. "STEVE" (the title is Wittick's own). This October 1882 photograph shows Stephen holding one of the notebooks he used to record aspects of Navajo and Hopi social and ceremonial life. *(Photograph by Ben Wittick courtesy Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, neg. no. 149231)*

Stephen did complain about his name and about Fewkes's occasional unresponsiveness to his need for information or supplies. Still, in weekly letters to Fewkes, Stephen described his research and clarified their understanding of Hopi ritual practice. Fewkes sent drafts and page proofs of articles for Stephen's review. Called a "sneak," Fewkes was accused of taking credit for Stephen's work. Stephen, a contract ethnographer in Fewkes's employ, clearly knew how he was being credited. Three essays on the Hopis—one in the *American Anthropologist* and two in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*—appeared in 1892 and 1893. They were coauthored by "J. Walter Fewkes and A. M. Stephen."[66] Fewkes's critics were not privy to their correspondence:

My Dear Fewkes,

It chanced that old Kwa-tca-kwa looked in upon Tom yesterday—just after the mail—and Tom promptly dispatched by him your two letters of the 1st & 4th. I really think that if you knew how much pleasure your letters give me you would write oftener—my dear boy—pity the hermit. You never have led the life—but your desert experiences tell you what it is. They tell you all the external conditions—but there are vivid strokes of hell in it that can not be observed—they must be felt. Not strokes—but stabs that bleed internally.

I am glad the notebooks give you pleasure. I knew they would—but I have a good deal of more recent data—that will round out many of the subjects—but most of it will require discussion. But of course you will not print anything until after we shall have discussed it.[67]

Stephen quickly found himself committed to research on the Hopis, a project unparalleled in nineteenth-century American ethnology. A letter to Fewkes on Christmas Eve 1891 reveals much about his new commitment to Hopi anthropology as well as his ties to the Navajo people:

I write under trying conditions—and this epistle must be desultory and fragmentary. A bevy of my own clan (the Deer folks of the Navajo) are in for Christmas—some of them I haven't seen for a very long while—and I can't show them the cold shoulder even if it were not holiday time—but they give me the fidgets and interrupt constantly. Nor would I mind the cheery gossip of the men with the cackle of the women as an accompaniment—but they pluck & nudge me to turn from my table, insist that I stop my paper-marking, and here [*sic*] this—and this—and as they continue to distract and bedevil me. Apropos—I have extended a small part of the sum you left me among Navajo shamans—just now I have given $1.50 to my friend N'taz—this is for elucidation of topics perhaps not immediately in hand but which must be taken up sooner or later—[such] as migration of Hopi gentes & their incorporation with Navajo—identification of sacred plants & birds &c common with both—and other kindred topics. I will explain this matter when we meet & think I can show you this is not really a diverted expenditure.[68]

Stephen rarely revealed as much about himself as he did in this passage. At the same time, what did he mean by "my own clan"? According to ethnologist Stewart Culin, a Hopi named Tinabi told him in 1905 that Stephen "had a Navajo wife who is still living." Other information provided by Tinabi, whose father Intiwa knew Stephen well, appears reliable. However, nothing else in the surviving documents of the period supports this report.[69]

As Stephen's life neared its end, his most significant work on the Navajos appeared in 1893. Based on over ten years of his experience with the "Tinneh," his article, "The Navajo," described their environment, subsistence, kinship and social organization, architecture and settlement pattern, and ritual and world view. The editor of the *American Anthropologist* immediately invited Stephen to submit another article. However, the illness that was to prove fatal led him to postpone writing. Ironically, the piece was intended to be an essay on mortuary practices for the March 1894 issue.[70]

On 7 December 1893 Stephen reported, "The annoying hoarseness of last winter has again gripped me—but Masi is doctoring me with hot herb infusions—Lord how nasty—and he predicts a cure in five days—we shall see." In the weeks and several months following, Stephen began his letters to Fewkes with a description of his illness. On 28 February 1894, he sent Matthews a detailed account of another Hopi doctor's efforts to cure his illness. Eight days later, Stephen mentioned to Fewkes that he had written Matthews for medical assistance only to learn a week later that Matthews's own illness had led to his return to Washington. Then word came of Mary Hemenway's death on 6 March and its implications for his work. On 28 March, Stephen wrote, "I have a lot of drugs sent me with which I am doping myself and I hope to be able to announce a full recovery soon."[71] Throughout this entire period Stephen continued to work day and night. On 12 April Keam wrote Fewkes that he had gone to First Mesa, where he found Stephen "at death's door." Carried to the trading post, Stephen died of congestion of the lungs, probably tuberculosis, on 18 April 1894.[72]

Alexander M. Stephen and Nineteenth-Century Anthropology

"Steve!" Matthews called him. "He was known to all the Indians as Es-teeb, from the Spanish Estaban," Culin learned.[73] Stephen's research among the Hopis was carried out in the Navajo language until the last year of his life. Often in writing to Fewkes, Stephen formulated a perspective by saying, "Like the Navajo, the Hopi . . ." Stephen was first and foremost a student of

the Navajos. Prophetically, though, he wrote to Fewkes, "There is no doubt as to the richness of the ethnic field which this East Mesa alone presents—we will win fame here."[74]

Fame did come to Stephen finally in 1936 with the publication of *Hopi Journal of A. M. Stephen*. He once wrote to his benefactor Mary Hemenway that his career chose him; personal financial gain did not interest Stephen.[75] To Fewkes he stated, "I constantly strive to keep in the legitimate path of the collector—avoiding all extraneous subjects—especially theories. Time enough for me to take up comparative study after I shall have completed my collector's task. Still I greatly relish the suggestive homologies you submit to me—but, mind you, just for relaxation."[76] Selecting, collecting, translating, describing (often seeking the scientific term for flora and fauna), classifying, and occasionally venturing into developmental and, as the occasion demanded, evolutionary frameworks were the mainstays of Stephen's ethnological approach. Clearly, he was interested in "the misty places and their meanings"—as he wrote in his last letter to Fewkes—and in forming conceptions based on the explanations offered by the Navajo and Hopi "authorities."[77] But his focus was on observable behavior—material and ritual. Important to remember is that his field notes were on-the-spot observations and sketches, not the comprehensive Hopi monograph that he envisioned.[78] His description and understanding of the changing worlds of the Navajos and Hopis are best seen in his published essays, most of which were written for a popular audience and not the scientific community in which he sought fame, and in his letters.

Stephen's place in southwestern anthropology is secured by his detailed descriptions of Hopi social and ceremonial life. His research among the Navajos, on the other hand, represents a lost legacy of materials of continuing value to Navajo studies. Given his command of the Navajo language, Stephen's explanations of central concepts and practices in Navajo religion as well as his descriptions of significant individuals in late-nineteenth-century Navajo religious and economic life are of continuing historical and anthropological significance.

Appendix 1

From September 1882 to January 1883, Henry C. Rizer, editor of the weekly Kansas newspaper, *Eureka Herald*, published a series of letters he wrote

from the field as he accompanied Almon H. Thompson and other members of a U.S. Geological Survey to Fort Wingate, New Mexico Territory, and the surrounding region. Rizer is credited for having published the first accounts of portions of the Mountainway and Nightway ceremonies. Introduced by Rizer is Stephen's account of an interview regarding Navajo religion published in the *Eureka Herald* on 1 February 1883. The first published explanation of the Navajo word *'Anaasází* appears here as well as historically significant documentation of *Begochídí*.[79]

Indian Traditions[80]

While in Arizona last fall we had an opportunity to attend a council of principal men of the Navajo Indian tribe, and took advantage of the occasion to get a few strange traditions that these people preserve from generation to generation. We were placed under obligations to Messrs. T. V. Keam and A. M. Stephens [*sic*] for arranging the council and for assistance at the time, in formulating questions and making the interpreter[']s language more comprehensive, both the gentlemen named being more or less familiar with the Navajo language. At our request Mr. Stephens was kind enough to reduce the interview to writing after we left the region where it was held. He took notes at the time, and in putting it into shape he stripped it of verbiage and redundancy. During our absence in the east he kindly forwarded the notes as corrected by himself, and we found them upon our return home. We deem it best to give the matter as prepared by Mr. Stephens without change or alteration, being unable to see wherein we might improve it. We therefore submit the following from his manuscript:

NOTES OF AN INTERVIEW HAD OCTOBER 20TH, 1882, AT KEAM'S TRADING POST, WITH SOME OF THE SUB-CHIEFS AND PRINCIPAL MEN OF THE NAVAJOS

A few brief details concerning these Indians may be of interest, as they were in *propria persona* introduced to yourself. These men may be fairly reckoned of that class which among ourselves would be termed respectable. Not that the Navajo social system is thus defined or graded, but it did not escape your own observation that there exists among them a recognized standard of reputation, and great disparity is apparent in the distribution of means and morals.

An improvident race controlled by curious tribal laws—slightly repressive—rarely punitive—mainly an ill-digested plan of restitution; in operation, loose and desultory, but at times enforced with savage implacability. The chief

governed to a certain extent by tradition, makes and renews the laws, the sub-chiefs and principal men interpret them and enforce them.

Famous through all the country side at unraveling any of these traditional difficulties is our friend Osteen Bukude [*Hostiin Bagodi*], "the Lame Kneed;" nor is he of less repute in medicine. His mystic songs, though tuneless, are potent to invoke supernal aid; his shrill rattle inspires the despondent, and expels the malignant sprite no matter how obdurate. To complement these musical therapeutics, he uses decoctions of roots and herbs extensively, and in the more occult branches of his profession, he is profoundly skilled in the virtues of powders, beads, feathers and images. But aside from his faith in these peculiar practices he is of marked intelligence and a ready, logical reasoner, and indeed, as I know but little of the inner meaning of these symbol rites, I hesitate to set them down as a token of his ignorance. From an intercourse of several years, I deem Bukudi as good a man as the Navajo system can produce.

Et-setty-sunny-begay [*Atsidí Sání Bíye'*], the old blacksmith's son, sits at Bukudi's elbow. Perhaps you recall him, of medium height, stout figure, scrubby mustache surmounting a wide, humorous mouth, giving frequent vent to hearty laughter when a good point is made by any of the coterie. He perhaps more nearly approaches our idea of a practical shepherd than any other Navajo of my acquaintance, and although even his manner is thriftless and in the rough, yet from such as it is his flocks have thriven and he has grown comparatively wealthy,—he owns about 3,000 sheep. He has, too, the rudiments of a good business faculty, and by dint of judicious trading and exchanging, has got rid of all his black sheep. His flocks thus yield him a clip of all white wool to bring to the trading post which nets him a handsome profit over his undiscerning neighbors, who potter around scabby flocks, more black than white, and bring a haggled lot of mixed wool to market. He does not array himself in dainty raiment, in fact, his calico shirt and breeches were in shocking condition, but to point a contrast with his dingy apparel you noticed that he wore some two hundred dollars worth of superb coral beads around his neck.

Squatted on the sheepskin before the hearth was Guisheen Begay [*Gishí bíye'*], son of the man who walked with a crutch, a friendly, well-disposed medicine man who lives in the Chin Lee [Chinle] valley, about seventy miles north from this post. He is a capital talker and has a tenacious memory well stored with Navajo legend, hence his action of this night as the chief story teller.

Osteen Eeajy [*Hastiin Yázhi*] takes his name from his diminutive stature, a quiet, civil-spoken old fellow, and a medicine man of good reputation. He lives within a few miles of this point and is fairly well-to-do in the Navajo world. His income from fees (the customary pay of a medicine man, for an all night exorcism, is two sheep) serves to maintain his family in their daily mutton without encroaching often upon his flock, its natural increase is thus preserved, and he now probably counts more than a thousand sheep.

Ditcha'hly [*Ha'dishch'ali*], the emphatic talker, [is] a substantial shepherd, grazing his flocks in the Mesa valleys, about forty miles west from this place, a person of singularly few words for an Indian (how entirely the taciturn Indian has disappeared; did he ever exist, I wonder, out of the realms of romance?) but when Ditcha'hly feels constrained to make a few remarks, he expresses himself so that he cannot be misunderstood—hence his name.

Kee-ahly [*Kiiali*?] is another doctor, but as he is young he has his reputation still to earn, as yet he only takes part in the minor ceremonies. He also aspires to be a worker in silver ware, a lucrative trade as practiced here, the silversmith receiving a dollar in pay for every dollar in silver he manipulates. The name Kee-ahly means a dweller in a stone house and is given to all the members of the band to which this versatile doctor belongs. They say that although they now live in the ordinary Navajo hogan (a conical structure of small tree trunks and boughs), a long while ago their fathers built and lived in stone houses. This band is, I think, of Zuni origin, as there is a legend of certain families of Zunis having been incorporated, long ago, with the Navajoes.

Na-Kais-Nez [*Naakaiisnéézi*], the long Mexican, is the tall Navajo who acted as interpreter. He calls himself "John Navajo," and writes his name in a very legible script. While quite a young boy some officer took him to Texas, where he remained several years and acquired his English. On his return to the tribe he was facetiously dubbed the Long Mexican and the name has clung to him ever since.

There were many other decent worthies present that night, but, I fear me, a more lengthened descriptive list would prove monotonous.

A bountiful supply of tobacco having been procured and set before them, cigarettes are deftly rolled and smoked with hearty vigor, filling the Council room with a dense cloud which envelopes white man and Indian in a becoming atmosphere of the Indian weed. Quoting John Brongham's Powhatan—

"Now having smoked ourselves to proper dizziness,
We will at once proceed to business."

In answer to the Colonel's [Rizer's] query as to what they knew concerning the origin of their tribe, Guisheen Begay said: "We have many different stories about our origin; the old men say the Navajoes sprang from various sources.

In a time long passed away there grew two wonderful stocks of corn, one was white and the other yellow, and there was but one ear upon each stock. The sun was the father of the corn and he shone warmly upon it; the lightning was its mother, and when the sun had fully ripened the ears the lightning darted new life into them and they became, the white ear, a man, the yellow ear, a woman. They lived long and had many children, and they grew to be a great nation, until after many years the land was swept with fire and they were all destroyed.

After this came a man and woman from the sun, who, in their turn, gave origin to a great people; they also were destroyed, carried away by a whirlwind.

The lightning next made a man and woman, whose children increased and spread over the land until floods of water came and they were all drowned.

After this a man and woman came from the water."

COLONEL:—"Were they saved from drowning?"

GUISHEEN:—"I cannot tell. The old men say that a great water animal brought them forth. The descendants of these people all died. Thus, you see, our people have passed away four times, and four times they have been renewed, and when four more destructions and four more creations have occurred the Navajo will disappear forever."

COLONEL:—"What will eventually become of them?"

GUISHEEN:—"Hola?" (Who knows?)

COLONEL:—"Can you tell where the present tribe of Navajoes came from?"

GUISHEEN:—"From a small, round mountain in the far north. The lightning struck it and made a pit-like hole in its side; on the fourth day after this a woman came out of the pit and laid herself down on the hillside and fell asleep. The sun shone upon her and she conceived and bore twins—both boys.

There was a tremendous giant in the land at that time. He lived in the mountains and threatened to devour the woman and her sons. They also lived in dread of another terrible monster who infested the plains. He was in shape like a buffalo, but larger, and had long hair and horns. When these boys grew strong enough their mother sent them far to the west the house of

the sun, to ask their father for means to rid themselves of the giant and monster.

After many grotesque adventures they came to the western edge of the world, where the water and sky meet, and where the twelve roads end that are traveled by the sun through the sky. Here they found the house of the Asun Nuttally [*Asdzáá Nádleehé*, Changing Woman] (woman hermaphrodite), who gave them a fur mantle and told them to go into the house and call to the sun, their father. They first attempted to pass into the house by the door at the north, but a great snake sprang out and nearly killed them. They next tried to get in by the south door, but found it guarded by a bear. They were afraid to try the east door because a thunder cloud and flashes of lightning barred the way, but they crept close up to it and called for their father. A man of great stature emerged from the clouds, and saying, "You are not my sons," thrust a spear at them, but their fur mantles could not be pierced; he then hurled lightning at them, but this, too, was resisted by the charmed mantles, and the boys remained unharmed. He then divested them of the mantles and taught them to build the sweat-house, a small conical hut of boughs and twigs, closely thatched with leaves and earth. It was only knee high, and he made them crawl into it and then he rolled in hot stones and dashed water on them and closed the entrance. After a while he opened the sweat-house, and finding the boys uninjured, he declared himself to them as their father. They then proferred their request as their mother had directed, asking him to give them lightning to destroy the monster who infested their country. He went to the house, and returning, gave them each a bow and quiver of arrows and instructed them in their use. He then called to the whirlwind to carry the boys back to their home. They were caught up and carried swiftly, high in the air, when they were passing over this region the whirlwind hovered awhile and showed them their land and named the mountains which mark its boundaries. Navajo mountains, on the north; Mogollon mountains, on the south; San Francisco mountains, on the west; Mount Taylor, on the east. The whirlwind set them down on Mount Taylor, and they immediately went in pursuit of the giant. They spied him drinking at a spring in a gorge in the mountain side, and warily approaching, they killed him with the weapons their father had given them. His blood flowed down from Mount Taylor across the valley, where it still lies to this day, and his bones were scattered by the whirlwind across the country.

[NOTE—The blood and bones have been metamorphosed into lava deposits and petrified wood.]

They next sallied out upon the valleys, and soon saw the horned monster, but as there was no shelter they despaired of ever getting within bowshot. They met a mole to whom they told their trouble. He said that he would help them, and at once began digging a tunnel, the end of which reached directly under the monster's heart. By this means they were enabled to dispatch the monster, after which they returned to their mother and related to her all that had happened to them since leaving her.

Apey-got-chitty [*Begochídí*], the spirit who lives overhead, sent them horses, and sheep and goats, and our people have been herdsmen in this land ever since. But it would take many nights to tell all that happened to the early people."

COLONEL:—"Do you know anything of the people who built those great piles of houses, now in ruins in the Canon de Sehgy [Canyon de Chelly] and other places?"

[NOTE—This canon and its water course are set down on the maps as de Chelly, an error arising from phonetic spelling of the Navajo word "Seh-gy"—a canon.]

GUISHEEN:—"A whirlwind destroyed the people and tore the roofs off the houses. We speak of them as the 'Eh-nah-zussy' ['*Anaasází*]."

COLONEL:—"What is the meaning of that word?"

GUISHEEN:—"Many different races of people inhabited the land before the Navajoes came upon it, but a great fire swept over the earth and destroyed nearly all of them. When the fire ceased the fragment of these different peoples came together in places, and from this mixed stock sprang the tribes we call Eh-nah, such as the Zunis and Mokis and some other peoples. Zussy means an old shell."

COLONEL:—"Do you worship any one God or Great Spirit?"

GUISHEEN:—"No, but we believe in the existence of several Great Spirits who control the world and its people. The Asun Nattaly [*Asdzáá Nádleehé*, Changing Woman] is the only one to whom we pray. She lives in the west by the ocean, and she can relieve us from ills and sickness. She also first gave us beads and shells and medicine. Ahey-got-chitty [*Begochídí*] lives high above and made the sky and its stars, the earth and some of its people. Ash-jaish-jinny [*Haashch' ééshzhiní*, Black God] lives in the east and sends out the evil spirits that bring sickness. Wo-ish-jeen [possibly *Woo'ishzhiin* or *Wótsizhiin*, Black Teeth or Black Gums] is a monster in the north who sends hail and snow and blights our corn with frosts. There is no Great Spirit [who] lives in the south.

The coyotes are evil spirits, and are constantly seeking to do mischief. It was a coyote who scattered the stars over the sky. When Ahey-got-chitty [*Begochídí*] had made all the stars he put them in a great bag, and taking a few at a time, began to set them in the sky in regular order, and had placed the north star, and the group which revolves around it, and set other groups in various parts of the sky, but this work consumed a long time. The coyote urged to be allowed to help, saying that he knew how to arrange them by a rapid method; but he was no sooner granted permission to go to the bag then he tore its mouth open and tossed it on high, scattering the stars far and wide, as we now see them.

The first time that Ahey-got-chitty [*Begochídí*] made a fire, the coyote stole it and was chased across the sky; the fiery trail he then made is what the Americans call the milky way."

After a recital of many legends, traditions and history of medicine dances, Guisheen said, as we intimated a wish to adjourn:

"He who would know the Navajo beliefs must sleep little, eat and drink little, and must think daily over all the traditions he learns, but only one here and there ever lives to learn all."

Appendix 2

Stephen's account of Navajo curing practices in a letter to Dr. Henry C. Yarrow was published in *Forest and Stream* on 3 March 1887. Ague was the term then used for an intermittent fever. "Blue mass" or the blue pill was a precipitate of mercury used for many conditions in the nineteenth century. For an understanding of the Navajo perspective on wind as the source of all life, see James K. McNeley, *Holy Wind in Navajo Philosophy*.[81] The description begins with an account of the Blackening Rite, which was used here as an excerpt from the Enemyway to test whether that was the ceremony needed for a cure, a logical first choice for illness thought to have been the result of contact with a non-Navajo people such as the Havasupais ("Kohonimos") or Paiutes ("Pah-Utes").

Navajo Methods of Curing Ague[82]

Keams Canon, Ariz., 16 September 1886

MY DEAR DOCTOR—You may remember having met here a Navajo friend of ours, one of their silversmiths, whom we familiarly call "John the Jeweler." He went over to the Kohonimo Canon and stayed there four days. The day

after leaving the canon he was taken with ague, and every day for twenty subsequent days he had a chill followed by fever and delirium. The strangeness of the disease had an extraordinary depressing effect on him, and during these twenty days he was in a state of utter collapse. He is a medicine man, a minor priest of considerable repute, and numbers of his friends came to see him. But none of them knew aught about, or had ever seen such a disease. The priests and the patient were inclined to attribute it to "a bad smell" emanating from the Kohonimos; but as there was also a band of wandering Pah-Utes there during the time of the patient's visit, they were still uncertain. Possibly the "bad smell" may have originated with the Pah-Utes. The friends concluded in this emergency to call in the best mediciners of the region. The sequence of the different mediciners in this case may be taken as typical in similar cases, that is, where the patient is suffering from some uncommon or unknown disease, or one considered specially dangerous.

It is to be understood that each of these mediciners is also a priest, in the sense of being a recognized medium of communication between men and the gods, by virtue of the rites and song-prayers pertaining to the priesthood or fraternity. Each priesthood or fraternity has its own exclusive beliefs, rites, fetishes and song-prayers. Each priest, or commonly two associates of the same fraternity, while they are practicing upon a patient, cannot be assisted in their own particular rites by a priest of a different fraternity. But in the chorus of song-prayers and in the dances; in preparing fetiches and sand-picture altars, and in the erection of singing-house and sweat-houses, it is expected that all male visitors will give willing assistance. These ceremonies are always liable to interruption—numerous classes of accidents arising either from chance or design; or the happening of some bad omen may cause an abrupt abandonment. But the fee of the mediciner is invariably settled upon before the treatment begins, and must be unconditionally paid no matter at how early a stage an accident may have compelled the priest to desist. Nor is it reckoned whether, after the close of the treatment, the patient may be better or worse. In other words, payment of the mediciner's fee is considered a religious duty, because it is well understood that the gods never listen until a gift is proffered them. The exaction of the fee in these degenerate days is now, I fear, prompted by a more sordid motive. But there are still very evident traces among both Moki and Navajo that in earlier days the "medicine fee" was merely indicated by the gift of an emblem from patient to priest—a feather, a shell, a pinch of pollen, a whiff of smoke. A substantial fee is now usually produced and appraised before any of the ceremonies are entered upon.

The following memoranda must be taken as but a brief summary of the ceremonies. I am in this to give you but the gist of the *curatio*. I have ignored a multitude of minor rites, etc., which, although interesting as studies, would be tiresome to recapitulate in this instance.

The first priest to officiate was Oj-kái-yós-na (Osh-ki-yos-hah) [*Hashké Yil Náábah?*]. *Theory*—The rites and song-prayers of this priest are directed immediately to the Yè [*Yè' ii*] who dwells at the mouth of the pit through which all people came up to this world, and through which the spirits of the dead return to the lower worlds. This pit, Ne-chro-yose-cha-chee, is in the concave summit of that mountain in the north called Tjolĭ-i (Cho-le-he) [*Ch'ool'i'i*, Gobernador Knob], described by Dr. Matthews in his "Part of the Navajo's Mythology," p. 6. Between the patient and the mouth of that pit, this priest makes a fire with certain woods, and beside this fire the priest sings prayers to the Yè who "sits on this side" [of] the mouth of the pit. He beseeches the Yè not to call the patient to descend the ladder leading to the regions of the dead. He rubs the ashes and pulverized charcoal of his medicine fire all over the body of the patient—first having rubbed him with a mixture obtained by melting the fat of the bison, mountain sheep, elk, deer and a small portion of the fat of the domestic sheep. The patient is rubbed with this fatty mixture so that the coals and ashes of the medicine fire may adhere closely to the skin. The priest sings at the fire, and after having rubbed the patient with coal and ashes sings the same songs beside him. In other words this priest stands between the patient and death. His rites lasted two days and nights and his fee was one horse, say $50.

The next physician summoned was Kuma bi-ge (bi-geh) [*Goma' a Bíye'*]. *Theory*—Good medicine smell—the inhalation of fumes from burning herbs. In the sick man's hut the mediciner makes a small medicine fire. A little, hollow mound of clay is made, and within the hollow three stones are set. On these are laid splinters of piñon and cedar which are then set afire. When they have burned to embers the priest shakes his rattle and sings to the Yès of his (the priest's) father. (See Kuma further on.) He then lays upon the embers five herbs. The patient is then laid naked upon the sand—close to the fire-place—and a blanket is spread over the fire-place and patient, who thus lies there inhaling the fumes of the herbs, while the mediciner sits beside him—outside the blanket, of course—shaking his rattle and continuing his song. The dry herbs were also bruised fine in the mediciner's hands, and after being mixed with water in a bowl were rubbed over the entire body of the patient. This treatment is performed at sunrise and sun-

set, and should last four days, with songs and dances and other ceremonies at night. But in this instance at the close of the second day an embarrassing circumstance occurred—the patient's wife was taken ill. This at once put a stop to all further treatment by this priest. Fee, one horse, say $50.

After the wife got well Et-sĭdĭ bĭ-kĭs (be-ges) [*Atsidii Bik' is*] was summoned. *Theory*—Inherent virtue of the winds. The mediciner signs to the "Leader" of the four winds, viz.: White (east), Blue (south), Black (north), Yellow (west). Before the people emerged from the lower world, these winds were taken up the pit at Tjolĭ-i (Cho-le-he) by the "Leader" and their directions were assigned them by him. He caused them to blow upon the muddy surface which was still new and damp until the world became dry enough for habitation. The winds expelled the evil influence of the bad Yés and the new world became beautiful. So it is to this "Leader" that Et-sĭdĭ bĭ-kĭs sings, asking him to bring all these winds together and expel the evil influence that threatens the patient. The ceremonies last four days and nights and consist of song-prayers, the exhibition of fetishes, shaking the rattle, blowing the whistle and swinging the Tsĭn-bo-os-ni [*tsinidi'ni*, bull roarer]. This is the same performance as swinging the Thunder Baho with the Mokis. Fee, a large horse, or say $60.

The next one called was Hostin bĭ-kân [*Hastiin Bi'íígháán*]. *Theory*—Administering the herb roots, both raw and infusions. These are of the same number—five—as those used in the medicine fire, but they are entirely different plants. The raw root of the *Datura meteloides* was given the patient at sunrise, noon and sunset. Each dose was something less than half an ounce of the recently dug root. This is chewed and swallowed. Closely following each of these doses he was given a piece of the stalk of golden alexander, about six inches long and as thick as the thumb. This he chewed, swallowing the saliva, but not the fiber. Between the songs during the day and night, infusions were given the patient to drink in quantities never to exceed a half a pint at once. These were separate infusions from the roots of herbs known to the Navajos as Azé Klo-hĭ [*'azee' dlohe* or *azee' tl'ohi*] (laughing medicine or medicine hay *Arenaria aculeata*), Azé bĭ-ni (bad talk, dreaded medicine), To-jo-zhe-tso (Great Chief of all medicines) [Evilway medicines?]. These three herbs were jealously guarded, [*sic*] thus I have had no opportunity to examine them. This old fellow's ceremonies lasted only a day and a night. His fee was one horse, say $50.

The last and most potent of the priestly mediciners called to complete the cycle of exorcism, was Kumà [*Goma'a*]. Perhaps you may remember

him. He is the chief of the gens [clans] to which the patient belongs, and lives about thirty miles southwest from here. *Theory*—Sweathouse decorated upon outside with rainbow in colored sands. Singing-house (built for this special occasion); sand pictures—altars—upon the floor of the singing-house. Dances of the four, and of the twelve participants, etc. A series of elaborate ceremonies very similar to those which Dr. Matthews observed at Fort Defiance three years ago and which will be described in an elaborate report to the Bureau of Ethnology by Dr. Matthews and Mr. Stevenson.[83] Kumà's prayers were directed to Hos-djeh-hog-wan [*Haashch'éé'ooghaan*] (the Killer) [Growling, Calling or House God are more common translations] and Hos-dje-yeltĭ [*Haashch'éélti*] (the Talker) [Talking God] guardian deities of the Tjolĭ-i (Chi-le-he). But all these prayers are more immediately addressed to the Yès who dwell in the "Half-White-House," asking their mediation, that the "Killer" might withhold his hand, that the "Talker" might withhold the word—of death. I am under the impression that the ceremonies Dr. Matthews observed were addressed to the Yès of the "Half-Red-House," but the motive is very similar.

Apropos of these Yès. I suppose you know there is a mythic region in the North. It extends from Nadir to Zenith and has no horizon. It is a land of vertical strata of various colored sandstone, each stratum reaching from the below to the above. At the junction of each stratification is the house of a Yè—half in one stratum, half in the other.

Kumà's ceremonies lasted five days and nights. Every morning at sunrise the patient was placed in the sweathouse for about twenty minutes—that is about ten minutes in each. Nothing of special significance was done during the day, but from sunset until dawn the maskers danced before the singing-house, the priests sang their prayers, made the prescribed sand pictures and placed the proper fetiches upon these pictures. For a fee Kumà received a fine horse and colt worth at least $100.

Aside from all these fees, sheep were killed to provide mutton, and other provisions were purchased to feed the priests and their associates, the dancers; and the numerous gathering of idlers and spectators that flocked around when any of these religious ceremonies are in progress. In these expenses, however, the patient is usually assisted by some of his relatives.

In these ceremonies, with the alternating days, three weeks went by—every day an attack of ague. At the end of that time the patient said he was "looking down the descending ladder." His friends then covered him up on a saddle and brought him here muffled up in a blanket—just like a bag of

bones—and we had him dumped in the wool room. This was four days ago. We had no calomel, so we gave him a generous dose of blue mass—about 30 grains. The following morning we administered a liberal dose of castor oil, and then we gave him about 30 grains of quinine in four doses daily. Two days ago his ague left him and he is now almost well.

This morning he and his friends returned home, and just as he was leaving he told me he was feeling so well he thought by to-morrow [*sic*] he could resume the performance of duties, which in an Indian's mind stand for the acme of physical and mental vigor.

Appendix 3

Stephen's account of the "Comedy" from the Mountainway ceremony was deemed too bawdy in 1887 to be initially published in Washington Matthews's "The Mountain Chant." Presented here is the full text of Stephen's original account, a convincing translation of Navajo ritual humor from one of his notebooks.[84]

Tsin-a-ga-hi [*Tsinaghaahi*] tells me he represented the Hunter's wife in the Comedy occurring in the Hosh-Kawn celebrated yesterday at Kai-itso-dez-nily-bi-to.

Many ages ago we had no corn and the squirrels, the rabbits and the moles at the Hosh-Kawn. The women then as now alone gathered it and during that harvest of sweets the men did nothing but lie close by the women in day time as well as night. It is now a season of persistent cohabitation. We still preserve the custom—it is well to do so. It is religious and plentiful crops may follow. The poor Hunter shows our young people how poor we all were in old times. When the priests dig the hole in the ground and set the Hosh Kawn growing, they sing—

I. Come up that I may see you—our old mother gave us roots to eat.
II. Come up smooth bud that I may see you.
III. Come out blossoms that I may see you.
IV. Come out fruit (yo-osh-ke') that I may eat you.

(Vagrant Hunter then makes grotesque pantomime around the fire—imitates call of bird and pretends to be hunting for it.)

Discovering the Hosh-Kawn and pricking his fingers finds the fruit sweet, he retires from circle and returns leading his wife who carried seed basket on her back.—

H. Come girl I have found something good. This is what I have long been looking for—are you not glad I have found it.

W. Yes I am very glad my sweet.

H. It tastes just like you. (He gives her some to eat.)

W. This is sweet but not so sweet as you.

They dally and when about to cohabit he discovers a scarf in her bosom. Pulling it out he demands—Where did you get this?

W. My Aunt lost it at the spring and when I went for water I found it.

H. (Furiously) I don't believe you. You have been cohabiting with someone.

W. No, surely my Aunt lost it.

H. (Still in a jealous fury, tries to smoke, but presently throws away cigarette saying)—I go off and will never more see you.

W. Don't leave me, don't leave me, you are a fool.

H. Yes, but I will be one no longer—now I go away.

W. Well, go off, I don't care. (Pouting she stoops and gathers some ashes and blowing them from her fingers says—Thus I blow away all my care for you. I will follow you no longer.

(He goes beyond circle—presently she starts up and follows. Returning to view of audience again, she appears dragging him.)

H. You were not strong enough to blow me away. I am so sweet.

(They again dally awhile & cohabit)

H. I don't like you to be cohabiting with others while I am hunting. I find you food, and I find you sweet things, but you are bad.

W. Do not leave me. I will never touch another man again. (They eat some of the Hosh Kawn.)

H. How sweet is this fruit. Let us see which is sweetest—this fruit or the sexual act.

(They each take a piece of Hosh Kawn in their mouths and perform that act, after which she spits the piece of fruit out and says—) Hosh Kawn is sweet—but not half so sweet as the thing we have just now been doing.

Notes

1. Earl H. Morris, "Mummy Cave," *Natural History* 42 (September 1938): 137; and Alexander M. Stephen, Hopi Notebooks, Notebook 1, MS 1563, American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania [hereafter APS]. The narrative of the Sullivan-Stephen explorations in Canyon de Chelly from 31 August–2 September 1885 and the line drawings are in Stephen's hand; sketches in a softer pencil are by Sullivan. Jeremiah Sullivan (1851–1916) lived in the Hopi First Mesa village of Sichomovi, where he practiced medicine and participated in Hopi social and ceremonial life from February 1881–June 1888. Although Sullivan had some medical training, he was not an M.D., nor did Stephen have an M.A. Sullivan's humor was noted by many who met him. He is a central figure in Louis A. Hieb, "Acts of Possession: Ethnologists among the Hopi, 1879–1894" (forthcoming).
2. Elsie Clews Parsons, ed., *Hopi Journal of A. M. Stephen* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936).
3. Alexander M. Stephen, "The Navajo," in *Selected Papers from the American Anthropologist, 1882–1920*, ed. Fredericka De Laguna (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1960), 457–74. The selections were edited by De Laguna "for the Publications Committee of the American Anthropological Association." Stephen's "The Navajo" is the earliest example of an "ethnographic sketch" given in the collection. De Laguna notes Stephen's long residence among the Navajos and, in contrast to other investigators of the period, his "fluent command of the language."
4. Don D. Fowler, *A Laboratory of Anthropology: Science and Romanticism in the American Southwest, 1846–1930*, A University of Arizona Southwest Center Book (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 138.
5. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 27.
6. J. Walter Fewkes, "Oraibi in 1890," *American Anthropologist* 24 (July–September 1922): 269; Cosmos Mindeleff, "Navaho Houses," in *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1895–1896*, J. W. Powell (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1898), 476. The thirty notebooks that Parsons used to prepare the *Hopi Journal of A. M. Stephen* are located in her Field Notebooks, 1883–1894, Elsie Clews Parsons Collection, Columbia University Libraries, New York [hereafter ECP, CUL]. Four other notebooks containing Stephen's Navajo and miscellaneous memoranda are found in MS 1563, APS.
7. Stephen to Mary Hemenway, 28 September 1893, Hemenway Expedition Records, Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts [hereafter PM].
8. Stephen's date of birth is listed in Scottish records cited in the International Genealogical Index, http://www.familysearch.org/Eng/Search/frameset_search.asp?PAGE=igi/search_IGI.asp&clear_form=true. One of the misfortunes surrounding Stephen's authorship is that, in 1905, Stewart Culin referred to "that remarkable genius [as] Alexander *Macgregor* Stephen" (emphasis added). Thomas V. Keam, apparently after examining Stephen's papers, told Washington Matthews that his name was "Alexander Middleton Stephen." Keam to Matthews, 8 August

1896, and Keam to Matthews, 27 January 1897, r. 10, microfilm, Washington Matthews Papers (Santa Fe: Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, 1984) [hereafter WMP]. See also Stewart Culin, "Thomas Varker Keam," *American Anthropologist* 7 (January–March 1905): 172.

9. Mary Ellen Blair and Laurence Blair, *The Legacy of a Master Potter: Nampeyo and Her Descendants* (Tucson, Ariz.: Treasure Chest, 1999), 29. Laurence Blair had planned a work on Stephen's life and career, but died before he had a chance to write the work. Mary Ellen Blair generously shared some significant documents from their research.
10. In spite of extensive correspondence with various institutions in Scotland, including the University of Edinburgh, I have developed no evidence that Stephen was ever enrolled in a Scottish university. Nothing in Dellenbaugh's diaries or correspondence from 1884 to 1885 substantiates his later recollection. Dellenbaugh to Elsie Clews Parsons, 31 July 1926, Frederick Samuel Dellenbaugh Papers, Special Collections, University of Arizona Library [hereafter UAZL].
11. Parsons, ed., *Hopi Journal*, xx.
12. Stephen to Fewkes, 15 June 1893, A. M. Stephen Correspondence to J. W. Fewkes, 1891–1894, MS 4408, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. [hereafter NAA, SI].
13. John G. Bourke, *The Snake Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884), 80; and Edwin Van Valkenburg Sutherland, "The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke: Their Anthropological and Folklore Content" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1964), 516.
14. H. C. Rizer, "Editorial Correspondence," *Eureka (Kans.) Herald*, 2 November 1882, p. 1. The letter was sent from "Kearn's Post," 6 October 1882. In spite of his clear, well-formed handwriting, Keam is often miscopied or misspelled "Kearn."
15. Henry Reed, [untitled article], *Holbrook (Ariz.) Times*, 17 March 1884, p. 3. This was the first and only issue of this newspaper.
16. William B. Secrest, "The Saga of John Moss," *True West*, July–August 1975, pp. 8–12, 53–54.
17. A. L. Pearson to Carl Hayden, 14 May 1940, Thomas Keam file, Carl Hayden Biographical Files, Arizona Historical Society, Tempe, Arizona.
18. A. M. Stephen, "Deposition in support of Thomas Keam in response to allegations made by Philip Zoller, August 17, 1882," r. 257, Reports of the Field Jurisdiction of the Office of Indian Affairs, 1873–1900, Microcopy 1070, Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, Record Group 48, National Archives, Washington, D.C. [hereafter NA].
19. Stevenson to Comr. Ind. Affrs. Ezra A. Hayt, 21 November 1879, S237, r. 25, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–1880, Microcopy 234, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, NA; and Keam to Lockwood, 14 November 1879, K972, r. 25, M234, RG 75, NA. Hayt was commissioner of Indian affairs from 1877–1881.
20. Bourke, *Snake Dance*, 82–83.
21. Laura Graves, *Thomas Varker Keam: Indian Trader* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998). Graves's authoritative work on Keam is especially useful for

understanding the development of his relationship to the Navajos from the late 1860s until 1879. Of Keam, Frederick Dellenbaugh said: "His word was almost law throughout the Navajo tribe. In fact Stephen and Tom McElmell owed their lives once to this wide power of Keam's. They surreptitiously were prospecting up in the Navajo country and were caught by some Navajos who threatened to kill them but when Stephen remarked that he lived with Keam they immediately said that made a difference and permitted them to go." Dellenbaugh to Elsie Clews Parsons, 31 July 1926, Dellenbaugh Papers, Special Collections, UAZL.

22. Stephen to J. Walter Fewkes, 30 June 1891, Stephen Correspondence to Fewkes, MS 4408, NAA, SI.
23. Stephen seemed to distance himself from Keam's "gophering" and "scraping" into ancestral Pueblo graves and, indeed, almost to disparage the excavations. On the other hand, from intellectual curiosity or from assisting the sale of the artifacts, Stephen began developing a pottery catalog in 1882. See J. Stanley Brown, collector, "Hopi Names for Pottery and Pottery Design," November 1882, MS 1141, NAA, SI. Stephen completed "Pottery of Tusayan: Catalogue of the Keam Collection" to accompany a collection sent to the National Museum in Washington, D.C., on approval, for consideration or use in the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition held in New Orleans from 1884–1885. See A. M. Stephen, "Pottery of Tusayan: Catalogue of the Keam Collection," MS 3282, NAA, SI, which contains a typed copy of portions of the original manuscript with illustrations added by William H. Holmes. Typed versions of this catalog were prepared in 1892 as "Catalogue of the Keam's Canon [*sic*] Collection of Relics of the Ancient Builders of the Southwestern Table Lands." Copies accompanied pottery collections purchased for Harvard University and for The Field Museum in Chicago, and are located in the Peabody Museum Library at Harvard University and in the Newberry Library in Chicago. For a fuller discussion of Keam's collections and Stephen's catalogs, see Louis A. Hieb and Susan E. Diggle, "A Question of Authorship: A. M. Stephen's Catalogue of the Keam Collection [1884]," *Kiva* 69 (winter 2004): 399–421. For the 1884 manuscript, see Alex Patterson, *Hopi Pottery Symbols* (Boulder, Colo.: Johnson Books, 1994). For selections from the 1892 manuscript, see Edwin L. Wade and Lea S. McChesney, *America's Great Lost Expedition: The Thomas Keam Collection of Hopi Pottery from the Second Hemenway Expedition, 1890–1894* (Phoenix, Ariz.: Heard Museum, 1980).
24. Stephen C. McCluskey, "Evangelists, Educators, Ethnographers, and the Establishment of the Hopi Reservation," *Journal of Arizona History* 21 (winter 1980): 363–90.
25. Stephen's notebooks of his research among the Hopis in 1885–1894 were published as Elsie C. Parsons, ed., "Hopi Tales," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 42 (January–March 1929): 1–72, and Parsons, ed., *Hopi Journal of Alexander M. Stephen*. Stephen wrote just three brief articles on the Hopis including "Tribal Boundary Marks," *American Anthropologist* 2 (July 1889): 214; "Description of a Hopi *Ti-hu*," *Folk-Lorist* 1 (July 1893): 83–88; and, published posthumously, "Pigments in Ceremonials of the Hopi," *International Folk-Lore Congress of the World's Columbian Exposition* 1 (1898):

260–65. Fewkes published Stephen's accounts of several Hopi ceremonies (Stephen was credited as the second author) including "The Mam-zrau-ti: A Tusayan Ceremony," *American Anthropologist* 5 (July 1892): 217–45; "The Na-ac-nai-ya: A Tusayan Initiation Ceremony," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 5 (July–September 1892): 189–221; and "The Pa-lu-lu-kon-ti: A Tusayan Ceremony," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 6 (October–December 1893): 269–84. See also the account based on the work of Jeremiah Sullivan by A. M. Stephen and Hernando J. Messinger, "The Snake Dance," *The World* (New York), 8 September 1889, p. 9.

26. Katherine Spencer Halpern, "Washington Matthews: Army Surgeon and Field Anthropologist in the American West, 1843–1905," in *Washington Matthews: Studies of Navajo Culture, 1880–1894*, ed. Katherine Spencer Halpern and Susan Brown McGreevy (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 3–15; and Washington Matthews, "The Mountain Chant: A Navajo Ceremony," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1883–1884*, J. W. Powell (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1887), 379–467.
27. Robert W. Shufeldt, "The Evolution of House-Building among the Navajo," *Proceedings of the United States National Museum, 1892*, vol. 15 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1893), 279–82. Shufeldt does not use the word "hogan"; rather, his description is concerned with architectural form as a physical object. Unlike Stephen and Matthews, Shufeldt did not know the Navajo language. *The National Encyclopedia of American Biography*, s.v. "Robert Wilson Shufeldt."
28. James Stevenson, "Ceremonial of Hasjelti Dailjis and Mythical Sand Painting of the Navajo Indians," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1886–1887*, J. W. Powell (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1891); and Washington Matthews, *The Night Chant: A Navaho Ceremony*, Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, Anthropology, vol. 6 (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1902), xiii.
29. Cosmos Mindeleff, "Navaho Houses"; Cosmos Mindeleff, "Houses and House Dedication of the Navahos," *Scientific American*, 14 April 1900, 233–34; and A. M. Stephen, Notebooks Nos. 3 and 4, 1887–1888, ECP, CUL.
30. David M. Brugge, letter to author, 16 April 2001; and H. C. Rizer, ed., "Indian Traditions," *Eureka (Kans.) Herald*, 1 February 1883. As editor, Rizer provides a brief introduction to "Notes of An Interview Had October 20th, 1882, at Keam's Trading Post, with Some of the Sub-Chiefs and Principal Men of the Navajos," a manuscript "prepared by Mr. Stephens [*sic*]" and published "without change or alteration."
31. Henry C. Rizer, "Ga-Bi-Tcai: A Graphic Description of a Dance by that Name among the Navajoe [*sic*] Indians in New Mexico [Arizona]," *Eureka (Kans.) Herald*, 29 November 1883, p. 1.
32. Harry Walters and Hugh C. Rogers, "Anasazi and *'Anaasázi:* Two Words, Two Cultures," *Kiva* 66 (spring 2001): 317–26.
33. A. M. Stephen, 27 October 1882, Notebook No. 1, ECP, CUL; Henry C. Rizer, "Hosh-Kon: Description of a Great Navajo Festival," *The Topeka (Kans.) Daily Capital*, 14 January 1883, p. 3, reprinted the following week in the *Eureka (Kans.) Herald*, 25 January 1883, p. 1; Zay Elini [Washington Matthews], "A Night with the Navajos,"

Forest and Stream, 6 November 1884, pp. 282–83; Matthews, "The Mountain Chant"; and Washington Matthews, *The Suppressed Part of The Mountain Chant: A Navajo Ceremony* (Fort Wingate, N.Mex.: n.p., 1892). Matthews's text presupposes yet another narrative, now lost, namely Stephen's account as sent to Matthews. David Brugge indicates *Tsinaghaahi* means "nonconformist." Using Young and Morgan orthography, he also supplies *K'ai'tsoh deznili Bitoo* (spring in a grove of big willows extending out to a point) as the correct spelling of the place name. Brugge, letter to author, 16 April 2001.

34. Rizer, "Hosh-Kon: Description of a Great Navajo Festival," 1.
35. Matthews, "The Mountain Chant," 441 para. 146.
36. Washington Matthews, "The Suppressed Part of the Mountain Chant," in *Washington Matthews: Studies of Navajo Culture, 1880–1894*, ed. Katherine Spencer Halpern and Susan Brown McGreevy (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 151.
37. Mathews, "The Suppressed Part of the Mountain Chant," and "A Night with the Navajos," in *Washington Matthews*, Halpern and McGreevy, eds., 152–54, 212–20. Comparison of Stephen's first text, probably rewritten from notes, and Washington Matthews, *The Suppressed Part of the Night Chant* (Fort Wingate, 1892), suggests additional reframing and reworking by Matthews.
38. Rizer, "Ga-Bi-Tcai."
39. See n. 23 above. In correspondence with Frank Hamilton Cushing, Stephen indicated that he was trying to get "some information from our friend Jere." This "information" appears to have included much of the Hopi ethnological content in Stephen, "The Pottery of Tusayan." Stephen to Cushing, 15 December 1883, in *Cushing at Zuni: The Correspondence and Journals of Frank Hamilton Cushing, 1879–1884*, ed. Jesse Green (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), 312. See also Hieb and Diggle, "A Question of Authorship."
40. F. T. Bickford, "Prehistoric Cave-Dwellings," *The Century Magazine*, October 1890, pp. 896–911. Although Bickford's article did not appear until 1890, his travels were reported in J. W. Powell, *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1884–1885* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1888), xxviii. Writing to J. W. Fewkes, Stephen expressed an interest in seeing the article, as he "went with him [Bickford] part of the trip." See Stephen to Fewkes, 16 July 1891, Stephen, A. M., Correspondence to J. W. Fewkes, 1891–1894, MS 4408, NAA, SI.
41. Washington Matthews, "Mythic Dry-Paintings of the Navajos," *American Naturalist* 19 (October 1885): 931–39; and Nancy J. Parezo, "Matthews and the Discovery of Drypaintings," in *Washington Matthews: Studies of Navajo Culture, 1880–1894*, ed. Katherine Spencer Halpern and Susan Brown McGreevy (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 53–79.
42. Keam to Holmes, 17 November 1884, Manuscript and Pamphlet File 833, NAA, SI.
43. A. M. Stephen, "Navajo Origin Legend," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 43 (January–March 1932): 88–104. The Navajo Origin narrative, according to Guisheen Begay, was recorded by Stephen at Keam's Canyon on 5 August 1885 and was later edited by Elsie C. Parsons with additional fragments included. This collaborator appears to be the same "Gishin Begay" whose Emergence narrative was recorded by Berard

Haile. See *Emergence Myth According to the Hanelthnayhe or Upward-Reaching Rite* [told by Gishin Begay], recorded by Berard Haile, and rewritten by Mary C. Wheelwright (Santa Fe: Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, 1949); and *The Upward Moving and Emergence Way: The Gishin Biye Version* [recorded by] Berard Haile, ed. Karl W. Luckert (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981).

44. J. W. Powell, *Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1885–1886* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1891), xxix.
45. Henry C. Yarrow, "Navajo Methods of Curing Ague," *Forest and Stream*, 3 March 1887, 104–5. The shorter, more popular, and undated version by Stephen was published as "When John the Jeweler Was Sick," *American Indian Life*, ed. Elsie C. Parsons (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1922), 153–56. Parsons notes, "Manuscript contributed by Mr. Stewart Culin" (who had purchased Stephen's notebooks from Keam in 1902), and inaccurately adds, "Told at St. Michaels, Arizona, by one of the Franciscan Fathers." In fact, Stephen was the author.
46. Stevenson, "Ceremonial of Hasjelti Dailjis," 235.
47. A. M. Stephen, Notebook C, Hopi Notebooks, MS 1563, APS; and Powell, *Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1885–1886*, xxv.
48. Stevenson, "Ceremonial of Hasjelti Dailjis," 275–85.
49. Stephen to Jesse W. Fewkes, 11 October 1893, Stephen Correspondence to Fewkes, MS 4408, NAA, SI.
50. James C. Faris, *The Nightway: A History and a History of Documentation of a Navajo Ceremonial* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), 42. "James Stevenson," *Science*, 10 August 1888, 64; "Biographical Notice of James Stevenson," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, Report of the U.S. National Museum, 1889* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1891), 187–90; and *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Stevenson, James." For an interesting contemporary account of Matilda Coxe Stevenson, see "The Women's Anthropological Society of America," *Science*, 29 March 1889, 240–42.
51. Stephen to Thomas V. Keam, 28 March 1893, MS 829, Edward E. Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois, provides a fuller discussion of Morgan's and Stephen's application of Hopi cultural development.
52. G. Brown Goode to Stephen, 21 May 1887, Outgoing Correspondence, Assistant Secretary in Charge of the United States National Museum, 1879–1907, RU112, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.
53. *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, Report of the U.S. National Museum, 1888* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1889), 68. As quoted, Stephen's name is given as "W. M. Stephen."
54. Alexander M. Stephen, "The Navajo Shoemaker," *Proceedings of the U.S. National Museum, 1888* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1889), 131–36.
55. Victor Mindeleff to Powell, 25 July 1886, Letters Received, 1879–1888, Records of the Bureau of American Ethnology, NAA, SI. Handwriting analysis and other evidence indicate that all Hopi narratives recorded from 1881–1887, previously attributed to Stephen, were documented by Jeremiah Sullivan. This includes the early narratives in Parsons, ed., "Hopi Tales," 1–72, and Washington Matthews, ed., "Leg-

end of the Snake Order of the Moquis," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 1 (July–September 1888): 109–14. Matthews attributed "Legend" to Stephen.

56. Stephen, Notebook No. 3, 1887, ECP, CUL.
57. Stephen, Notebook Nos. 3 and 4, 1887–1888, ECP, CUL. Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture in Tusayan and Cibola," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1886–1887*, J. W. Powell (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1891), 3–228. See also C. Mindeleff, "Navajo Houses" and "Houses." On publication of "A Study of Pueblo Architecture," Stephen commented to J. Walter Fewkes: "I recd. copies of the last Bureau report and looking over the ground plans of these villages I think them a good deal 'out of drawing.' I am quite disappointed with them. The impression I got from the large sheets was that they were quite accurate—but surely these reduced copies are anything but that." Stephen to Fewkes, 11 October 1893, Stephen Correspondence to Fewkes, MS 4408, NAA, SI. The published village plans are the drawings prepared for the exhibition models in 1883.
58. J. W. Powell, *Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1887–1888* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1892), xxxii. The first acknowledgment of "John Stephen [*sic*]" appears in William H. Holmes, "Pottery of the Ancient Pueblos," *Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1882–1883*, J. W. Powell (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1886), 293. The papers to which Powell refers have apparently been lost. They may have been among Stephen's papers used by Cosmos Mindeleff in later publications.
59. J. W. Powell, *Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1888–1889* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1893), xvii–xviii.
60. A. M. Stephen, "Tribal Boundary Marks," *American Anthropologist* 2 (July 1889): 214. A. M. Stephen and H. J. Messenger, "The Snake Dance," *The World* (New York), 8 September 1889, p. 9. Messenger (b. 1860) was the teacher in the newly established Moqui Industrial School from 23 November 1887–1 April 1889. On 1 July 1889, he replaced Stephen as postmaster at Keam's Canyon.
61. A. M. Stephen, "Marriage among the Navajoes [*sic*]," "Navajo Dress," and "Navajo Dwellings," *Our Forest Children* 4 (July 1890): 222–23; A. M. Stephen, "Notes about the Navajoes [*sic*]," *Canadian Indian* 1 (October 1890): 15–16; and James Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1892–1893*, J. W. Powell (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1896), 810–11. Stephen's letter to Mooney was dated 22 November 1891.
62. Stephen to Matthews, 5 November 1891, and Stephen to Matthews, 4 December 1891, r. 1, WMP. Washington Matthews, "The Gentile System of the Navajo Indians," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 3 (April–June 1890): 89–110.
63. M. J. Riordan, "The Navajo Indians," *Overland Monthly*, October 1890, pp. 373–80. Michael J. Riordan (1865–1930) was the brother of Dennis M. Riordan (1848–1923); see Platt Cline, *They Came to the Mountains: The Story of Flagstaff's Beginnings* (Flagstaff: Northern Arizona University Press with Northland Press, 1976), 162–63. See also Parezo, "Matthews and the Discovery of Drypaintings," in *Washington Matthews*, ed. Halpern and McGreevy, 71 n. 3.

64. Matthews to Cushing, 11 November 1891, quoted in Joseph C. Porter, *Paper Medicine Man: John Gregory Bourke and His American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 332 n. 22.
65. Matthews to Cushing, 5 April 1892, quoted in Charles H. Lange and Carroll L. Riley, *The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier, 1889–1892*, vol. 4 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 654 n. 1113, 655 n. 1117. J. Walter Fewkes, "A Few Tusayan Pictographs," *American Anthropologist* 5 (January 1892): 9–26. The orthography of Hopi names reveals two different styles, Stephen's and Fewkes's. It is, indeed, difficult to imagine that Fewkes acquired, without Stephen's aid, the information presented in his published work. Fewkes incorrectly gave Stephen's name as "A. H. Stephen."
66. The three articles by "J. Walter Fewkes and A. M. Stephen" are "The Mam-zrau-ti: A Tusayan Ceremony," *American Anthropologist* 5 (July 1892): 217–45; "The Na-ac-nai-ya: A Tusayan Initiation Ceremony," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 5 (July–September 1892): 189–221; and "The Pa-lu-lu-kon-ti: A Tusayan Ceremony," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 6 (October–November 1893): 269–82. Fewkes notes that he was "assisted by A. M. Stephen and J. G. Owens" in publishing "The Snake Ceremonies of Walpi," *A Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology* 4 (1894): 3–126, but he almost grudgingly credits them: "While the agreeable work of writing this memoir has fallen upon the editor of this journal [Fewkes], the help rendered by Mr. A. M. Stephen has been so great that his name is placed at the head of this article with that of the author" (p. 4). Both John G. Owens (1865–1893) and Stephen died before their work was published. The following year, when Fewkes published "The Tusayan New Fire Ceremony," *Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History* 26 (February 1895): 422–58, he added, "I have written out my notes, and the observations made by Mr. Stephen." Stephen appears to have had his field notebooks with him at the time of his death. Predictably, most of Fewkes's subsequent publications demonstrated a lack of well-informed ethnology. With Mary Hemenway's death in March 1894, Fewkes's funding came to an end. His shift toward archaeological investigations reflected the source and interest of his next sponsor, the BE.
67. Stephen to Fewkes, 15 June 1893, Stephen Correspondence to Fewkes, MS 4408, NAA, SI.
68. Stephen to Fewkes, 24 December 1891, Stephen, Correspondence to Fewkes, MS 4408, NAA, SI.
69. Stewart Culin, "Report on a Collecting Expedition among the Indians of Arizona and California, 6–10/1905," p. 10, Culin Expedition Journal, 1905, Culin Archival Collection Brooklyn Museum, New York. Erika Bsumek brought this information to my attention. Frederick Dellenbaugh, who knew Stephen "very well," wrote to Parsons, "Stephen . . . was not married to a Navajo . . . or to any one else and he had no intention of marrying." Parsons responded that Stephen's journals "contain no references to any wife. It was Culin who told me he was married to a Navajo. . . . I am sorry I was so unquestioning about Culin's statement." Dellenbaugh to Parsons, 31 July 1926, and Parsons to Dellenbaugh, 18 August 1926, Dellenbaugh Papers, Special Collections, UAZL.

70. Stephen, "The Navajo"; and Stephen to Fewkes, 11 January 1894, Stephen Correspondence to Fewkes, MS 4408, NAA, SI.
71. A. M. Stephen, "The Po-boc-tu among the Hopi," *The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal* 16 (July 1894): 212–14. Stephen to Fewkes, 28 February 1894; Stephen to Fewkes, 8 March 1894; Stephen to Fewkes, 15 March 1894; and Stephen to Fewkes, 28 March 1894, Stephen Correspondence to Fewkes, MS 4408, NAA, SI.
72. Keam to Fewkes, 12 April 1894, Stephen Correspondence to Fewkes, MS 4408, NAA, SI. In a note added to the letter he received from Keam, Fewkes wrote, "Mr. Stephen left the mesa on Sunday and died on the 17th at Keams Canyon.—J.W.F." It appears that Keam erected the tombstone and gave the correct date of Stephen's death as 18 April 1894.
73. Stewart Culin, Culin Expedition Journal, 1903, p. 127, Culin Archival Collection Brooklyn Museum, New York. Erika Bsumek brought this information to my attention.
74. Stephen to Fewkes, 14 February 1894, Stephen Correspondence to Fewkes, MS 4408, NAA, SI.
75. Stephen to Hemenway, 28 September 1893, Hemenway Expedition Records, PM.
76. Stephen to Fewkes, 23 November 1893, Stephen Correspondence to Fewkes, MS 4408, NAA, SI.
77. Stephen to Fewkes, 29 March 1894, Stephen Correspondence to Fewkes, MS 4408, NAA, SI.
78. Stephen, "The Po-boc-tu," 214. The article was written to Matthews as a letter. Matthews also published a brief note from Stephen that accompanied his article/letter: "I think that with one more year up here I will have sufficient data for a comprehensive monograph, but an interruption now would really be a disruption of my scheme of work and would just about ruin me."
79. For a thorough, if controversial, examination of *Begochídí* in Navajo thought, see Jerrold E. Levy, *In the Beginning: The Navajo Genesis* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998), 101–9.
80. H. C. Rizer, "Indian Traditions," *The Eureka (Kans.) Herald*, 1 February 1883.
81. James K. McNeley, *Holy Wind in Navajo Philosophy* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1981).
82. Henry C. Yarrow, "Navajo Methods of Curing Ague," *Forest and Stream*, 3 March 1887, 104–5. According to David M. Brugge, *Goma'a* was an important Navajo leader living near Comar Spring and *Hastiin Bi'íghǫ́ǫ́n*, Mr. Backbone, was a prominent Navajo in the West who led a band that escaped the Fort Sumner exile of 1864–1868. Brugge, letter to author, 16 April 2001.
83. In this passage, Stephen is anticipating the publication of Washington Matthews, "The Mountain Chant: A Navajo Ceremony," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1883–1884*, J. W. Powell (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1887), 379–467. However, there is no basis for his assumption that this could be a collaborative effort between Matthews and James Stevenson.
84. Alexander M. Stephen, Notebook No. 1, 27 October 1882, in Field Notebooks, 1883–1894, ECP, CUL.