The Navajos in the American Historical Imagination, 1868–1900

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American contact with the Navajos occurred sporadically before 1846, but a surprising amount of reporting was done after that date, particularly by military personnel, who often wrote scholarly reports for scientific compilations, based on expeditions into Navajo country. Often the military men—both officers and enlisted men—expressed great respect for the dominant, aggressive Navajos, who seemed highly susceptible to civilization and were even akin to white people, a cut above their Mexican neighbors. Americans were wary, though, and had an admiring but ambiguous attitude toward The People.

This respectful attitude began to change as the Navajos continued to raid the New Mexican villages, and warfare broke out between the Navajos and their enemies—the Pueblos, the Hispanics, other Indians, and finally the Anglo-Americans. The Anglo-Americans, who believed that the Navajos violated the principles of law and order, sought to bring them into a civil, peaceful society. The Anglo-Americans, however, could not pacify the Navajos, or at least the *ladrones* or bad men of the tribe, and thus forcibly removed them from their own turf to the Bosque Redondo in eastern New Mexico.[1]

This experiment in changing Navajo lifestyle proved a failure, and in 1868 the Navajos returned to their homeland. And it was here that the Anglo-Americans came into closer contact with the Navajos, who lived both on and off their reservation in the late nineteenth century. Now that relative peace had come on the frontiers that separated the two peoples, the military had little need for a presence in Navajo country and, hence, wrote fewer accounts than in the previous period. For a time the Navajos were

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little noticed in the American mind. But increasing settlement by Hispanics and Anglos on the periphery of Navajoland, facilitated by the construction of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad, and increasing concerns about Indian welfare by the eastern establishment, made the Navajos, among other Indians, more prominent in the American imagination. Withal, the Americans continued to view the Navajos ambiguously, admiring and respecting them, criticizing their "uncivilized" ways, and indeed not getting very accurate information from the various commentators who viewed the Navajo ethos for the American public. Getting inside the Indian (i.e., Navajo) psyche and communicating it to the common man and woman were not easy for the American pundit.

In the American Southwest, other aboriginals came to the attention of the American public, particularly the prehistoric peoples (Anasazi, Mogollon, and Hohokam) and the various Pueblos living along the Rio Grande River and westward from Albuquerque as far as the Hopi villages in northeastern Arizona. These Indians, both past and present, evoked a different image from that of the Navajos in the American mind. Both the cliff dwellers and the current villagers excited wonder, mystery, and riddle. They were exotic, and they demonstrated social harmony and spirituality. They were agrarian, which resonated with the American public's reaction to the industrial revolution, which was proceeding inexorably through American civilization. In contrast, the Navajos in the American historical imagination in that post-Bosque Redondo period hardly called up this single-minded, romantic reputation.

The Navajos Recede in the Anglo-American Imagination, 1868–83

In the first period, the Navajos were barely visible as far as Americans were concerned. Very few observations appear in the popular press. No longer do we have descriptions by the military, which had been so important before 1863. This was the time of President Ulysses S. Grant's Peace Policy, and there was some governmental activity with the Navajos. Navajo agents, appointed at the behest of the Presbyterian Church, reported to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and Peace emissaries visited the reservation. Missionaries and teachers, also of the Presbyterian Church, preached and taught, but the work of the agents, missionaries, and educators was a failure, in one way or another, in the immediate post-Bosque Redondo period. Even the traders, who were small in numbers, played a limited role, handicapped as they were by a lack of transportation facilities, except at the agency at Fort Defiance.[2] To a considerable degree, the

Navajos receded into the background of the American consciousness. A few lone adventurers of the old explorer type observed the Navajos but gave inadequate descriptions of them.

After the return of the Dine from Fort Sumner (Bosque Redondo), Major John Wesley Powell accompanied the Mormon explorer Jacob Hamblin from Utah across northern Arizona to Fort Defiance, where Hamblin negotiated the Mormon-Navajo treaty of 1870 to end Navajo depredations. Powell recorded his observations in *Scribner's Monthly* in 1875 and again in his book *Canyons of the Colorado* in 1895. Even though his later publication fell into the second or later period, many of the facts and illustrations were the same for both. In their journey across northern Arizona, Powell and Hamblin were joined for the evening meal by several Navajos between Moencopi and Oraibi. Powell depicted the Navajos as dangerous raiders, and one night he conducted a forced march for fear of a Navajo attack. He contended that the Navajos had decimated Pueblo towns, raided Mormon towns, made enemies of all their neighbors, and forced the Cosninos (today the Havasupai Indians) and the Wallapais into nomadism. (We should add that they were pushed westward, toward the canyons that empty into the Grand Canyon, where they became sedentary, and that are the center of their reservations today.) Powell described in much greater detail Hopi customs and, strangely, in the chapter on the Zuni, included a large number of Navajo illustrations, which leave the reader wondering why more text on the Navajos is not present.[3]

One year after Powell's visit (1871), J. H. Beadle journeyed to Fort Defiance; he described his impressions in two books on his adventures, in 1873 and 1877. Beadle's vignettes showed an easygoing, industrious, witty Navajo people, physically attractive, especially the women, hard workers, excellent weavers, capable of being civilized, and comparable to the Caucasian race. For Beadle, they were the original Romans of New Mexico. Agents at Fort Defiance hoped that Beadle would bring them news of a congressional appropriation; otherwise the Navajos would starve. Beadle felt Navajo violence to be thoroughly justified if their suffering were not relieved. He did report violence: Agent James Miller was killed up on the San Juan River, probably by the Utes. Beadle mistakenly reported that the school of Charity Gaston Menaul, at Fort Defiance, was a success. But we know that she had a very irregular attendance of mostly mentally or physically impaired students. He also mistakenly declared the Navajos descendants of the Aztecs, with Athabascan blood, but observers had dropped the Aztec connection several years before. Beadle also described Navajo religion, explaining why Navajos did not eat fish or turkey or kill snakes. Chinday (*chindii*) was the devil; a goddess he called Whylohay

was a favorite Navajo deity, Changing Woman. The name Chinday was a fairly accurate rendition of the evil spirit, but Whylohay is a name of indeterminate origin.

Beadle, who was offered a fifteen-year-old girl for sixty dollars or his horse, disapproved of the bride price for wives. He noted the dead taboo: the avoidance of dead bodies to prevent sickness or contamination by ghosts. He described Navajo eating habits, hogans, and venereal diseases, and he recorded some of the language. He was convinced that the Grant administration's Peace Policy would succeed and that the Navajos could easily be civilized.[4]

When the Mormons decided to expand southward from Utah in the 1870s, they attempted to settle on the Little Colorado River in Arizona, and their expeditions had to come through Navajo country. Their leader, James S. Brown, related a story to young Mormon readers about an encounter with the Navajos at the little outpost of Moencopi. As his party prepared for bed in their wagons, Chief Coma and about fifteen Navajo warriors arrived, defiantly snapping their bowstrings. Coma apparently intended to make a demand. However, Brown avoided a confrontation, and the Navajos spent the night with the Mormon party, their arrows quivered and bows unstrung.

The next morning Chief Coma confessed to Brown that young Navajos had stolen Mormon stock down on the Little Colorado, but Brown assured him that the matter would be resolved according to the Gospel, and the chief should have no fear of visiting Mormon communities. Then, Brown averred, Coma switched his story and said that it was the Mormons who had stolen Navajo stock. Perplexed by Coma's new story, Brown did what he could to smooth over the controversy. He later learned that some Mormon boys had indeed killed Navajo stock, and William Keam had assisted in securing reparation from Lot Smith's camp (near present-day Winslow). To Brown's mind, the shrewd Coma had sought a double indemnification, first from Smith's and then from another Mormon herd. This example of "Navajo cunning" was probably not an uncomplimentary way to depict the Navajos.

Another Mormon author wrote a story about "Navajo pluck." It concerned the murders of three Navajos who were members of a trading party in Utah. A survivor of the party escaped to Navajoland to urge tribal members to retaliate on the Mormon frontier communities. Jacob Hamblin and other Mormon missionaries were traveling among the Navajos at that time, and their lives were seriously threatened. But Mormon elders convinced a Navajo delegation to Utah that the Mormons had nothing to do

with the murder, and the Saints avoided conflict. The point of the article was that Navajos would defend their rights at the slightest provocation.[5]

Thus, in the post-Bosque Redondo period, the few Americans who observed the Navajos saw them as fierce, aggressive, cunning, plucky, akin to white people, who nevertheless disapproved of such practices as the bride price.

The Navajos Revive in the Anglo-American Historical Imagination, 1883-1900

The second period, from 1883 to 1900—when Navajos came into the Anglo-American consciousness on a much larger scale—was distinguished by several unconnected factors. The Peace Policy passed out of existence, but its major objectives continued with the rise of the influential humanitarian movement, particularly as exhibited by the role of the Indian Rights Association. The second factor that impacted on the Navajos, and thus on the Anglo-American consciousness of them, was the construction, from 1880 to 1883, of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad from Albuquerque across New Mexico and Arizona to the Colorado River. Certainly the railroad improved accessibility between the Navajos and Anglo-Americans from the 1880s onward.

The American public learned much from the several journals published by the humanitarians, and Navajo stories even crept into literary journals. We find images also in the reports of the governors of New Mexico and Arizona, often arising out of the land conflict between the Navajos and Anglo- and Hispanic Americans. Traders began to open their posts on the reservation and ship rugs and jewelry to the market; budding anthropologists began their labors among the southwestern Indians; and photographers added their images to the printed word. Thus humanitarians, literati, political leaders, traders, intellectuals, and photographers turned their attention to the Navajos, assisted by the improved transportation facilities provided by the railroad. The Navajos became much more familiar to the Anglo-Americans in the 1880s and 1890s.

The Humanitarians

Navajo agents reported annually to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and one of them described the Navajos in a popular magazine. Denis Matthew Riordan served at Fort Defiance from 1882 to 1883, and unlike the previous observers, who were just passing through, he had an intimate knowledge of the Navajos. But he communicated his impressions in a peculiar way—

through his brother, Michael J. Riordan. The information in the article in the *Overland Monthly* in 1890 could have come from no other source than Denis, yet Michael's name was affixed to the piece. (The Riordan family conducted a prominent lumbering business in Flagstaff after Denis's stint as agent at Fort Defiance.)

The Navajos, asserted Denis, were as important as the Sioux and the Cherokees, yet not nearly so well known because they were a peaceful people. They were left unstudied, in contrast to the Zunis, who were popularized by Frank Hamilton Cushing. The Navajo scenery was magnificent, but its physical resources were not. Navajo men were noble; Navajo women were unattractive. But the women owned property and could easily divorce. Denis described the diet, hogans, pervasive religion, and superb weaving. Of two matters the Riordans were absolutely certain: Governmental policy, which Denis had administered, was detrimental, and governmental schools were so useless that they should be abolished.[6]

As agent, Denis Riordan adopted a strict attitude toward the Navajos while he lived on the reservation; he disciplined them on several occasions. But he may be identified with the humanitarian movement in Indian affairs in the case of his defense of Begwoetten (Biwoo' Adin or B'ugoettin). Riordan, an Irish Catholic, and William R. Johnston, a fundamentalist Protestant missionary, represented an accommodationist view of Indians, while George Hochderffer represented a more skeptical view. An early resident of Flagstaff, Hochderffer was irritated by Begwoetten, who entered his home at any time, touched his babies, and asked for food. Hochderffer's wife was so alarmed by the intrusion that the Hochderffers finally abandoned their home and moved to a ranch north of town. Hochderffer also believed that Begwoetten raided stock herds. When Begwoetten besieged a rancher down on the Little Colorado River, a near altercation occurred, which resulted in the court's haling the Indian before it, but the charges were dismissed. Begwoetten was then imprisoned on a trumped-up charge, but Riordan got him released. Then, when the Navajo went hunting, a charge of assault with a deadly weapon was filed against him. Finally, several deaths did occur at Canyon Padre in a skirmish between cowboys, deputies, and Begwoetten's party. Riordan sidetracked a request to call out the National Guard, which Hochderffer preferred, and instead got the Navajo to promise to come to a jury trial in Flagstaff. Begwoetten promised Riordan and Johnston that he would attend it, but he did not arrive in town until just minutes before the trial, thereby creating considerable suspense and doubts as to whether his word could be trusted. The white jury acquitted the Navajo.[7]

The Hochderffer view contrasts with Riordan and Johnston's view

of Begwoetten and the Navajos, the one of alarm and distrust, the other of respect. Riordan and Johnston had differences with the Navajos, but they convinced Begwoetten that he should entrust his fate to the Anglo legal system. In the earlier siege incident the case against Begwoetten was dismissed, and in the Canyon Padre incident he was acquitted. Two Anglo courts found in his favor, which says something about his character. This is an early instance of a noncitizen Navajo processed through the American court system. It was only after the turn of the century that this became a standard practice.

The humanitarian impulse stemmed primarily from the Indian Rights Association (IRA), founded in the 1880s, and led by its founder, Herbert Welsh. Welsh, and others of his group, visited the Navajos on several occasions and so had some firsthand information about them. The IRA furthered interaction between Navajos and Anglos (as in the Navajo expedition to Chicago to see the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893), promoted Christianity (as the Peace Policy had done), encouraged education, sought better economic conditions (through furnishing farm implements and constructing irrigation works), improved health facilities (through a hospital and medicines), and influenced federal governmental policy by securing larger federal appropriations. Humanitarian though the IRA might be, it did not believe that Indian cultures should survive and was devoted to complete assimilation into American civilization.[8] The humanitarians popularized the Navajos through their various allied journals and in the annual reports of the IRA. But their emphasis on assimilation caused them to largely ignore the internal dynamics of Navajos culture.

Humanitarian views dominated Anglo-American images of the Indian. In the *Council Fire* in 1880, on the eve of the Navajo revival in the American imagination, Felix R. Brunot, who later assumed a leadership position in the IRA, told his American readers about the history of the Navajos and expressed sympathy for their plight during the wars of 1859 to 1864. Not surprisingly, he also characterized Navajo society as agricultural and pastoral. Brunot thought that the Navajo government was patriarchal without having a patriarch, although extended families were subject to local headmen. (Governmental policy was shifting away from a reliance on the chieftainship over the whole tribe and toward a recognition of local headmen at this time.) The Navajos built *acequias* (irrigation ditches) and wove blankets out of their sheep's fleece.

In thus describing the Navajos, Brunot presaged the IRA view. As he continued his account, he began to "Americanize" them. Rejecting communism, they were devoted to the acquisition of individual wealth. They respected private property and severely punished robbers, sometimes with

death. The Navajos, Brunot insisted, were the best prepared of all Indians to take the path of civilization, to adopt American virtues. Government policy so far had been a tale of folly, inhumanity, and extravagance. Brunot believed that a new government policy would benefit this most deserving of Indian tribes.[9]

Traveling for the IRA, General S. C. Armstrong, the educational reformer for Negroes and then Indians, visited the Navajos at Fort Defiance, probably in 1883, and described the squalid conditions there, condemned the federal government for not providing schools for the Navajos, and warned against Anglo, Hispanic, and Mormon encroachments on Navajo lands along the newly constructed Atlantic and Pacific Railroad. Armstrong labeled the Navajos "the richest of our Indians . . . the Jews of their race."[10]

Armstrong thus seemed impressed with Navajo entrepreneurship. But in the later 1890s great hardships dogged the Navajos, and the IRA, in cooperation with the agents Lieutenant E. H. Plummer and Constant Williams, attempted to alleviate their poverty by governmental distribution, agricultural expansion, and new irrigation projects. As a supplement to its funds, the IRA persuaded Congress to appropriate moneys for irrigation development. But the results were often disappointing. Thus the Navajos were depicted as living in poverty, perhaps starving.[11]

In the American mind of that era, religion and education were quite closely connected, and until the 1890s, when the professionalization of the teaching service took place, missionaries controlled the schools on the reservation. The missionaries wanted nothing more than to eliminate the native religion:

> Christianity is displacing the dirty tepee with the tidy home. It is planting within these homes the sacred altar of marriage. It is starting the feet of little babes by the faith of parents into the shining, eternal paths. It is clothing the idle and filthy and vicious with the air of purity, and the habits of industry. It is setting up, in all its winsomeness, on the very margin of the abominable, sickening dance and feast, the holy worship of the living and saving God.[12]

This invidious comparison of Christianity with Indian religions had only one saving grace: it did not relegate Indians to permanent inferiority. They could be respected as individuals who could achieve what the missionary thought was religious equality with the Anglo.[13] This attitude of hope and disapproval created in the missionary's mind a sense of ambiguity and frustration toward the Navajos.

Under Grant's Peace Policy, the Presbyterians were assigned to the

Navajos, but missionaries in the early 1870s failed to convert them, and during the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s few if any missionaries stayed very long on the reservation. Both Welsh and Agent C. E. Vandever lamented the lack of missionaries in 1890.[14] The humanitarians showed great interest in the work of two missionaries and one field matron in the later 1890s.

Howard Antes ("Andy" to the Navajo), situated in the Four Corners Area, published the *Navajo Evangel*, and one of his articles on Indian women was reprinted in the *Indian's Friend*. He was ambivalent about the Navajo women. While they owned property and could easily divorce their husbands, they still had to herd the stock, find the food, and provide the clothing. He considered them chattels who could be traded off by their fathers or husbands for a few ponies. Antes believed that the death taboo worked a great hardship on Navajo women, for the hogan was either pulled down or abandoned when a death occurred inside. According to Antes, the wife's and mother's instinct to build a pleasant home was thus thwarted. The failure to hold on to an adequate home and the consequent lack of civilization led to depravity, vagabondage, and viciousness. "Little wonder there are so many bad Indians," he asserted. Antes also believed that Navajo women were degraded by the belief that their souls migrated into fish—hence the refusal to eat fish. Since only about fifteen girls had ever attended government schools, Antes doubted that the women would ever "free themselves." "The religion of the whole people must be changed," he declared. Still, Antes thought them friendly, pastoral, and cheerful. If they had a vice, he said, such as the use of tobacco, alcohol, and profanity, they had learned it from the white man.[15]

Another missionary with whom the IRA established an even closer relationship than with Antes was William R. Johnston. In 1898 the IRA reported that Johnston and his wife had made a profound impression on the Hopi and Navajos at Moencopi, at that time still outside the Navajo reservation. He was, said the reporter, their spiritual comforter, brother, friend; his wife, Margaret, drew the tender Navajo mother's heart to her through her kindly ministrations. But in fact Johnston converted not one Navajo at Moencopi and very few at his later stations at Tolchaco, ten miles northwest of Leupp on the Little Colorado River, and at Indian Wells, in the south-central part of the reservation, north of Holbrook. Margaret became so disgusted with the poverty and filth that she moved away from the reservation.

Johnston influenced political developments much more than religious ones. He assisted in adding the Leupp Extension to the reservation, negotiated a peaceful resolution to the Padre Canyon incident, and protested (along with the IRA) the eviction of the Peshlaikai family and fifteen other

families from the Wupatki National Monument area in 1897. (Contemporary sources tell us that the eviction occurred in the Coconino Basin at Coconino Point. Coconino Basin is not identifiable on our maps today, and Coconino Point is located west of Cameron, atop a high mesa some distance from the Little Colorado River gorge, across which sheep could not be driven. The geographic terms used at that time are not useful today.) With the sanction of the IRA and of agent Constant Williams, Johnston armed forty Navajos against the Mormons in the Battle of Moencopi, in which the Mormons attempted to drive the Navajos from Moencopi Wash. He maintained his contact with the IRA into the 1930s.

As Philip, Johnston's son, pointed out, the Navajos were just as dogmatic as his father. In spite of Johnston's teachings, Navajo families remained polygamous; few attended either government schools or his mission school; and he soon realized that the Navajos believed that Jesus, with his long flowing robes, was a hermaphrodite.[16] Throughout his long lifetime, Johnston's devotion to "the work" proved largely futile.

In the 1890s the Navajos began to see more Americans on the reservation: the agency farmer, the missionary, and the field matron. The best-known field matron was Mary L. Eldridge, who lived in Jewett, on the San Juan River. She came to the reservation as a Methodist missionary (in the decade when the Methodists dominated the missionary field on the Navajo reservation) but later accepted the government position. All who observed her praised her effusively for her ministrations, her economic developments, and her motherly, warmhearted counsel. She appealed for funds from the IRA to build a ferry across the San Juan River and was granted $150, supplemented by $115 from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). When the Franciscan friars established the Catholic mission at St. Michaels in 1898, they soon went up to the San Juan to see how Eldridge had done it.[17]

The devout Christian, of course, must be optimistic and happy in the face of all obstacles. A Christian's mere presence among the heathen would bring a desire to adopt Christian principles. Mrs. J. D. Perkins wrote in 1881 at Fort Defiance that the Navajos were "bright, active, willing to learn, and quite industrious." So also wrote Minnie Vandever, the wife of Navajo agent C. E. Vandever. In the *Indian's Friend* she described a Miss Dodge, who left Fort Defiance for Ganado, where she hoped to befriend the Navajos, as she had attempted to do at Fort Defiance. She encouraged the Navajos to come to see her and amused them with pictures of American artifacts of culture (or of biblical scenes, perhaps). She hoped to pave the way for others. Minnie Vandever expressed a common sentiment when she said, "I think [Dodge] will accomplish great good,"

as if just being there and demonstrating the virtues of American civilization would produce a beneficent acculturation.[18] Mrs. Goodman, the wife of the superintendent of schools at Keams Canyon, described the merry, happy Moquis (Hopis), who did all the menial work, and the missionary C. P. Coe's class of old Navajos, who "were glad to be told of God and Christ." Coe himself waxed eloquent over the boys and girls in uniforms "marching so cheerfully to Sunday School."[19]

The missionaries and their allies who wrote for the in-house magazines or for the IRA reports rarely were pessimistic about their efforts or lambasted the Navajos. But occasionally they sent in reports to the Presbyterian denominational headquarters that betrayed ambiguity, frustration, even disdain. Navajos' "cunning theft" and "savage murders" were deplored in the Presbytery of Santa Fe. A woman missionary wrote to Sheldon Jackson, the great Presbyterian preacher, that the Navajos were so "thievish" that she had to keep an eye on everything. Indian women did not conform to the ideal of Anglo-Saxon womanhood. Native women were unattractive, sexually promiscuous, and unhygienic. Missionaries feared Indian savagery (although no missionaries ever were killed). They disapproved of Indian religions and, in the case of the Pueblos, the combination of Catholicism and paganism. Despite their critical judgments and their inability to understand the values of another culture, the devout believers thought that the southwestern Indians were inclined to embrace the Gospel.[20]

Herbert Welsh, the secretary of the IRA, visited the Navajo reservation on a number of occasions. After his third one-week visit in 1890 at Fort Defiance, he announced that his primary concern was to educate the Navajos. He lauded the work of Dr. Dorchester, the superintendent of Indian schools, who apparently was on an extended visit to the Navajos. He described Dorchester as a man of wide experience in Indian affairs and an important symbol in the new Indian policy that the IRA was fostering: the emancipation of Indian policy from partisan politics. His wife, who worked for the education and general welfare of the Indian girls, was a helpful assistant to her husband. The Dorchesters were an entirely new influence at the agency, Welsh averred.[21]

However, the Dorchesters made little progress; in fact, during the 1890s schools were placed under the federal civil service. The denominational schools were losing their contract status, although new denominational schools were founded at Farmington (Methodist), Fort Defiance and Rehoboth (Dutch Reformed), St. Michaels (Franciscan), and Ganado (Presbyterian).[22] But government schools were developing fast.

Welsh and Plummer, the Navajo agent, hit on the idea of taking a

group of Navajo leaders to the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893 to impress them with the vitality and dynamism of American civilization. This was not a new idea. Agent William F. M. Arny had led prominent Navajos on a controversial eastern expedition in 1874. Agent Denis Matthew Riordan, passing through Philadelphia in 1883, shortly after the establishment of the IRA, introduced Welsh to a Navajo delegation, which led to Welsh's first visit to Indian lands. Later, Welsh found IRA funds and solicited some private money for Plummer to bring eleven Navajo men, two boys, and one girl to Chicago.

Plummer and the IRA were enthusiastic about the results. School attendance increased dramatically after the return of the delegation. Navajos were amazed to see so many white people living so well and working so hard. Said one of the chiefs: "The white people are like ants, industrious, working all the time. They are thick coming and going all the time." No longer could the Navajos believe that there were only a few white people. The three schoolchildren in the Indian delegation now spoke English more frequently. Navajos compared white houses to hogans. They saw trains and firearms.[23] Plummer and Welsh thought that a revolution had occurred, but their predictions were premature.

The health of the Indians was another concern of the humanitarians. Under the sponsorship of the Women's Auxiliary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Eliza Thackera established the Good Shepherd Hospital at Fort Defiance. The project was begun in 1894, and she admitted her first patients in 1897. (She and Plummer first selected a site outside Fort Defiance, but tribal leaders rejected it because a death had occurred there.) The Indians called it the White House, because it was made of local white stone. To her busy hospital Navajos came for vaccination against smallpox, treatment of eye troubles caused by high winds, and care for influenza. The first surgical case in her hospital involved the amputation of an arm. Thackera was very anxious about this case, since Navajos did not recover easily from the effects of ether. But she prayed fervently, and the result was satisfactory.

The day before Thanksgiving, Thackera gave the stonecutters fifty cents each for the holiday and granted them the day off to be with their families. One of the Navajo men reminded her that Christmas was soon to come and asked, "If that is so much greater a day, how much money will you give us *then*?" This, Thackera told eastern audiences to whom she appealed for money, illustrated that the Navajos were a shrewd people.[24]

It can be argued that the IRA-missionary system of assimilation, of Christianization and civilization, was naive, denigrated the integrity of Navajo culture, scorned its ethos, and provided little information about

the Navajos to the American public. But in the economic and possibly the political spheres, it might be argued, the humanitarians played a more positive role.

It has already been shown that the IRA was instrumental in getting the government to build irrigation works to improve the Navajos' livelihood. This was a response to the clash they experienced with the encroaching outside world. Why, many Anglo-Americans wanted to know, did so many Navajos live off their reservation, where they monopolized water holes and paid no taxes and where their flocks ate up the grass? The Indians—and their agents—replied that the Navajo reservation, as it was then constituted, was a wasteland. No Navajo who then lived on the public domain wanted to return to poverty and hardship. To forcibly return Navajos to the reservation, where they would undoubtedly starve, was considered inhumane by the agents.

What were the solutions, then? One was to allot to each Navajo 160 acres under the several land laws of the United States, including the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887. But how could a pastoral, nomadic Navajo live on 160 acres? Another was to upgrade the stock that would support a larger Navajo population. But Navajos pointed out that the grass on the reservation was so sparse that the blooded stock would not survive on it. Another solution, proposed by Plummer, was to establish government trading posts, similar to the government factories abolished in 1822, to market all Navajo products—wool, blankets, and sheep—and to purchase supplies for them.

None of these stratagems was adopted. Instead, the BIA instituted stricter control of private traders on the reservation. Federal policy attempted to promote agriculture by constructing irrigation works, furnishing implements, and appointing agency farmers to train Navajo husbandmen. Another very important aspect of federal policy was reservation expansion; rather than drive Navajos back onto the existing reservation, it would be extended to include them. Lastly, the Navajos, on their extended reservation, would be defended from Anglo- and Hispanic American encroachment not only from ranchers but from prospectors, who sought to open up the reservation to mineral production. Behind all this may be found the influence of Herbert Welsh and the IRA.[25]

Thus, if the humanitarians and government officials opposed the preservation of Navajo culture, they did succeed in protecting and expanding Navajo economic and political sovereignty. When Flagstaff business interests opposed reservation expansion and proposed instead to open up the reservation to mineral development—this would surely have been a devastating blow to the Navajos—a presidential veto nullified their plans.[26] As a matter of fact, the government expanded the reservation on all sides (but

less in New Mexico) to include Navajos living there. This determination to protect the Navajos brought with it the possibility of armed conflict. When the sheriff of Coconino County (Flagstaff) ejected Navajos from the Little Colorado River basin, the IRA expressed its great outrage. In the Canyon Padre incident, the IRA raised money for Begwoetten's trial, as we have seen. Various business interests in the three northern counties of Arizona proposed to open up the Butte country, as it was called, and got the sheriff to impound Navajo sheep and sell them at auction in lieu of the taxes that the nonreservation Indians were not paying. The IRA joined with William R. Johnston, certain Flagstaff citizens (including the Babbitt brothers, who were the most prominent trading and ranching family in the area), and the Coconino Board of Supervisors to stop them.[27]

A change in government policy was indeed taking place in the 1890s. The IRA promoted many reforms, all but one to affect the Navajos. The association encouraged a more efficient and professional organization of the Indian Service, the gradual termination of sectarian schools, and the one major piece of reform not primarily applied to the Navajos, the allotment of homesteads to Indians, with citizenship granted at the end of the trust allotment period. (Unallotted reservation land was then to be sold and the proceeds used to purchase agricultural implements, to upgrade cattle, and to construct irrigation works.)[28] Instead of parceling out homesteads, which reduced the reservations of other Indians, the practical policy adopted for the Navajos was reservation expansion and internal economic development, based not on individual property rights but on collective tribal trust status.

Thus the humanitarians began the new era by realizing that the Navajos were unstudied, and they began to investigate their internal traits. But they also were mindful of the integration of the Navajos into the economic, social, legal, and religious life of the Americans. The Navajos were already much like the Americans, and all that was needed was the encouragement of entrepreneurship, agricultural expansion through new irrigation facilities and reservation enlargement, the increase of schooling, the extension of Western medicine, the inculcation of grace in the Gospel, and association with the whites, who, it was thought, would model superior conduct. The humanitarians tried to alleviate poverty and improve health, and they made timorous efforts to build the economic infrastructure. They were ethnocentric, not racist. They did not seek political integration. Their approach influenced peace between the two peoples.

In the 1890s, the new policies of professionalization of the Indian Service and the establishment of BIA schools to replace the religious schools maintained the peace and continued to support assimilation. But the hu-

manitarians and the professionals naively believed that assimilation into Anglo-American culture would be automatic, easy, and greatly desired by the Navajos. (The anthropological community arose to oppose the humanitarian suppression of Navajo culture, as we shall see.) But buried in the naïveté, optimism, and righteousness of the BIA, the newer Indian Service, and professional educators were sympathy for the Navajo plight and a threshold on which future generations could build.

The Political Leaders

The territorial governor's messages and reports to the New Mexico and Arizona legislatures and to Congress also reflected ambiguity about the Navajos in the American imagination. As with other commentators of the 1870s, the Navajos, unlike the Apaches, mattered little to the governors, except for a brief tirade to the Arizona legislature in 1871 by A. P. K. Safford, who condemned Navajo raiding, robbing, and murdering as far west as Prescott.[29]

The governors' reports to the federal government likewise virtually ignored the Navajo until the mid-1880s. Even then, the occasional references of the 1880s often recorded peace, although sometimes clashes with the whites were noted. Governor Lionel A. Sheldon of New Mexico in 1884 thought the Navajos would not go on the warpath because they had too much property at stake; furthermore, they had no effective tribal organization to mount a campaign. Governor Frederick A. Tritle of Arizona in 1885 also noted their great wealth, as did many Anglo-Americans in the later 1880s and 1890s, although he thought a slight provocation could ignite a war again. Tritle did not believe assimilation possible; he asserted that the Navajos could never be civilized and would retain their barbarous customs and indifference to Christianity. Were all white energies to be devoted to civilizing Navajos for fifty years, he declared, only about a dozen of them could be recognized as assimilated—a very somber observation but, in fact, not far off the mark. Two years later, his successor, C. Meyer Zulick, returned to the theme of prosperous, intelligent, enterprising, manufacturing Navajos. If there was friction, he asserted, it could be overlooked.[30]

To a considerable extent, the governors reflected the attitudes of the humanitarians and missionaries in that they emphasized the existence of peaceful relations, the need for irrigation to overcome poverty, and the progress of the Navajos toward civilization. When several serious confrontations occurred, the newspapers were blamed for sensationalizing them. Often the governors took the side of the Navajos in dealing with mineral prospectors, who persisted in invading the reservation. The governors did

dutifully send citizen petitions to Washington, DC, from Anglo-Americans who opposed reservation expansion and who, for instance, wished to protect their grazing grounds north of Flagstaff. The petitioners rationalized that the Navajos were wealthy, land-rich, powerful, and nontaxpaying herders who lived on off-reservation lands. But the prayers of the white people did not carry much weight. The governors, relying on the reports of agents at Fort Defiance, blew hot and cold on the success of the schools, but at least school facilities were increasing. They noted that only three or four missions of uncertain success existed on the reservation at the turn of the century.[31]

Thus the local governors took only a slightly less humane view of the Navajos than the national humanitarians. The Anglo-Americans had no need to fear the Indians, declared Governor Miguel A. Otero of New Mexico in 1897; they were active, clean, and honest. Governors often relied on Navajo agents for their reports. Both Otero and Governor Nathan O. Murphy of Arizona, for instance, drew on Constant Williams for the following statistics to illustrate Navajo progress toward civilization: population, 20,000-plus; number who dressed (some partially) as citizens, 1,000; number who could read English, 250; number who could use English in conversation, 500; number of houses built in the previous year, 20 or 75 (here they disagreed); number who lived in houses, 150. Even with these figures, it is apparent that the Navajos had not adopted white ways on a large scale. Although Murphy identified two male and three female missionaries, Navajos had not joined churches, and none had been married or divorced by clergymen or magistrates. Murphy optimistically declared that 99 percent of the Navajos labored in civilized pursuits; none hunted, fished, or gathered roots. Both governors seemed to contradict themselves when they congratulated Navajos on supporting themselves without government rations or annuities but noted that they received on subsistence probably federal housing and irrigation works (so there was a subsidy). Murphy also congratulated the Navajos for submitting to trial in the Anglo courts in the Begwoetten affair.[32]

In 1900 Murphy praised the Navajos for upholding the peace, for making progress toward civilization, and for amicably settling the Tuba City controversy. When S. M. McCowan, the superintendent of the Phoenix Indian School, wrote a section of the governor's report on the Navajos, he depicted them as a populous, powerful, and conservative people whose young men occasionally joined roving bands to raid Anglo-American stock (although they were not as wild and mean as the Apaches; probably McCowan was being complimentary to the Navajos). But he also claimed that they were suspicious and defiant, laughed at the white man's laws, scorned

his customs, and wanted to be left alone. Only schooling could open them to enlightened thought.[33]

So the Navajos could be praised and condemned in the same document. Agent George W. Hayzlett expressed the ambiguity of progress and stalemate in his reports to Governor Otero in 1901 and 1902: school facilities had increased, but more were needed; the government was probably going to require school attendance, but the Navajos might not like the idea; off-reservation wage employment had gone up, but the Navajos did not earn much money (the vagaries and caprices of the capitalist system); there were twenty miles of irrigation ditches, but production, because of drought, was way down; support personnel at the agency were increasing, but housing, dispensaries, and hospitals were lacking. Hayzlett also patronized the Navajos. He endeavored to teach them a daily lesson in good labor habits, making a living, and acquiring wealth. The commissioner of Indian affairs ordered him to cut men's hair. Three hundred Navajo men complied with his order; one objected and had to be placed in the guardhouse. Also, the commissioner evidently prohibited face painting. Here Hayzlett claimed less success; some Navajos did still paint their faces. But over half of the tribe had adopted citizens' (i.e., Anglo-American) dress. "The change has been almost magic," reported Hayzlett.[34]

So, the political leaders who commented on the Navajos emphasized the factors of peace, wealth, education, and their personal virtues. However, Governor Tritle thought that they would never assimilate, and Superintendent McCowan declared that they opposed the white man's ways. These were voices in the wilderness. Finally one must perhaps conclude that, ironically, the humanitarians and government administrators, with all their love and high regard for the Indians, began to interfere with the Navajo lifestyle so as to promote assimilation.

The Literati

Navajos began to be described in belles lettres in the 1880s and 1890s. Charles Lummis, who tramped across the continent from Cincinnati to Los Angeles along the railroad tracks, included the Navajos in books and letters. Lummis put forth the *Poco Tiempo* thesis, the Southwest as the home of "pretty soon," the land of enchantment, of repose and timelessness: "Sun, Silence and Adobe—that is New Mexico in three words." Perhaps Lummis was fascinated with picturesqueness, or oddness, rather than being a true romantic, as Willa Cather was in a later generation. But his great concern were the Pueblo Indians, not the Navajos. Actually, the opinionated Lummis described the Navajos (and Apaches) briefly, referred to the Navajo medicine man as a magician, and thought the Navajos dirty,

thievish, treacherous, and revoltingly licentious, but he did greatly admire the Navajo blanket.[35]

Literary reminiscences, in addition to tourist accounts, also were published. F. Stanton Van Fleet described a special party of Navajos, Moquis (Hopis), and Anglo-Americans who trekked from Fort Defiance to Walpi on the First Mesa in an immense Arizona blizzard. One of the purposes of the conference at Walpi was to conciliate the differences between Hopi and Navajo, a plan we now know did not succeed.[36]

The animosity that often plagued Hopi-Navajo relationships was featured in a literary piece—with seven photographs, the first pictures to appear in a popular magazine—that contrasted Navajo fear of snakes with Hopi acceptance of them, Navajo expertise in weaving with Hopi pottery capability, and Navajo use of the horse with Hopi use of the donkey. The article in the *Illustrated American* (1896) declared that missionary work flagged primarily because unscrupulous whites thwarted it. The author observed that Hopi and Navajo men treated women better than men in other tribes, but these women betrayed a world of pathos in their eyes as they noted the cheerful manner of white women and the courtesy of white men toward their wives.[37]

Navajos attracted at least one well-known author of that day. Hamlin Garland, a literary scion around the turn of the century and an adviser to President Theodore Roosevelt on Indian matters, actually visited the Navajos in 1895, depicting them in an ambivalent, unpenetrating, romantic way in his articles for eastern journals. He described the muscular men and the shy and honest women, neither savage nor noble, having both faults and virtues. He further insisted that Navajos respected white people. Garland attempted to avoid stereotypes and portrayed ambiguity, even if his characterization was a romantic one.[38]

Will C. Barnes, who later compiled the famous *Arizona Place Names* in 1935, wrote a story about a young lady who flirted with a Navajo, only to be saved from an uncertain fate by a dashing cowboy.[39] Mary E. Thompson of Sacaton, Arizona, told of her journey by buckboard from Gallup to the Shiprock sandstone formation through a desolate and hostile country, and of the legend she learned from the Navajos that they had once lived "across the black waters" and sailed the sea to the western coast, where they were pillaged and driven inland to come upon their ship, which the gods had raised out of the water and planted in the desert of northwestern New Mexico.

(I have been unable to verify Thompson's legend. Richard Van Valkenburgh, in his directory of Navajo sacred places, noted that the Shiprock is found in the Navajo ceremonials Beadway and Enemyway and in the

Naayee'ee rite for dispelling evil monsters. The Holy Twins killed the monsters. Gladys Reichard recorded a similar story, identifying one of the monsters as Cliff Monster, who was transformed into Shiprock and whose blood turned into lava when overcome by Monster Slayer, one of the Hero Twins. She identified the rock as Winged Rock, however, which resembled a poised eagle and hardly fits Thompson's legendary description.)[40]

The Navajos even merited a poem in *Cosmopolitan* in 1894. "The Navajo," by Ernest McGaffey, in eight-line rhymed stanzas, told of a gaudy Navajo snake charmer (quite impossible for a Navajo—he could have meant a Hopi) who was bitten by a rattler and died.[41]

Anglo-American youths also read Navajo stories. In "Nerve," Chief Manuelito coolly and courageously stared down a crazed Texas steer that was about to gore his son. Another story described a wagon train trip to newly founded Prescott, Arizona, involving skirmishes with the Navajos and a rescue from the Indians by a youngster and his dog. A more sympathetic story about the Indians was about homesick and lonely Navajo lads who escaped from school at Grand Junction, Colorado, and recounted their heroic odyssey to Fort Wingate, during which they saved a crippled American boy.[42]

Thus the literary accounts of the Navajos were framed in an atmosphere of enchantment and adventure. Some of the stories were written for youth; one was about Navajo boys who assisted an Anglo boy even in their flight from compulsory schooling. One story, about a Navajo handling snakes, was cut out of whole cloth. In the American literary imagination, the Navajos were courageous, hardy, resourceful, handsome, and, for at least one major author, Garland, ordinary human beings.

The Intellectuals

Perhaps the Anglo-American observers of the Navajo studied so far were casual and unsystematic students of The People. Their characterizations were not always accurate, and they accepted the goal of assimilation, but they did provide the American mind with a view of the Navajo people and society of some merit. In the 1880s and 1890s a slightly different breed of observers came on the scene: the scholars who maintained a longtime relationship with The People, who studied Navajo culture for its own sake, and whose meticulous methods revealed the complexity and perhaps the cultural persistence (but not the transience) of Indian cultures. All of them worked under John Wesley Powell of the Bureau of American Ethnology, who, incidentally, in his great classification of Indian languages in 1891, set aside Athabascan, the generic language of the Navajo, Apache, Pacific Coast, Canadian, and Alaskan Indians, as a separate category. Although

Franz Boas had just come on the scene in the 1890s as the proponent of pure empiricism, the Powell scholars, largely self-taught fieldworkers, practiced empiricism as well and laid the groundwork for the more refined, university-trained anthropologists of the 1920s and 1930s.[43]

The new men and a woman (Frank Hamilton Cushing, John G. Bourke, Washington Matthews, and James and Matilda Coxe Stephenson) covered the same ground as the laypeople, with a more penetrating and profound result. Weaving, religion, and political and social organization were looked at with greater care and often with longer expositions. But new subjects were also explored. Physical anthropology (which in those days included the measurement of craniums), botanical classification, linguistics, dry painting, burial practices, color symbolism, fish avoidance, and music were new inputs into the American understanding. The scholars often produced a specialized literature, not for the general reader, but in fact all groups of observers tended to print for their particular audiences.

Precursors to these new scholars did exist. Edward Palmer accompanied the peace emissary Vincent Colyer to Navajo and Hopi land in 1869. He noted several facts of Navajo culture: the Navajo fear of the dead; a game of chance using sticks bouncing off a blanket; their dislike of pork, bear, turkey, and eggs; a liking for mice, prairie dogs, and a baked cake of cornmeal, flour, and water.[44] Lewis H. Eddy recounted in some detail a version of the Navajo creation myth not familiar to us today.[45]

In 1879 and 1880 the new scholars showed up at Zuni and Fort Wingate, under the auspices of Powell, to investigate the Zunis, the Navajos, and their forebears, the prehistoric Anasazis and Hohokams. Cushing concentrated on the Zunis and the prehistoric Indians; the Stevensons examined fairly diverse fields that included the Navajos; Bourke wrote about the Hopis and Apaches and collected a lot of material on the Navajos that he never published; and Matthews became the founding father of Navajo scientific studies. Cushing and Bourke formed a close personal relationship and interacted with Matthews.[46] All three stood in opposition to the Stevensons, whose scientific methods they disapproved of. Still, the Stevensons must not be discounted; Thomas Edwin Farish, in his *History of Arizona*, relied on James Stevenson's account of Navajo legend, myth, and chants.[47]

Matthews, an army officer stationed at Fort Wingate, examined topics that nonacademics might overlook. For twelve years, until his health failed in 1892, Matthews immersed himself in Navajo culture. He published studies of chants, myths, weaving, silversmithing, dry painting, cranial capacity, songs, clans, and fish avoidance ("ichthyophobia"). All of his subjects except brain size remain relevant today. Matthews believed that

tribes could not be adequately understood unless the scholar learned their languages. He thus opened up the field of Navajo linguistics. A Navajo orthography, however, was not adopted or accepted by the academic community until the 1940s, and Matthews's alphabet was superseded. These kinds of intellectual concerns were restricted to a small group of scholars. Matthews, using the pseudonym Zay Elini, did write an exhaustive popular account of the spectacular Night or Fire Dance, which he attended in Keam's Canyon in 1882. Overall, Matthews contributed to a more accurate representation of the Navajos in the Anglo-American imagination.[48]

While Matthews and the other anthropologists may have thought that American civilization was an overpowering influence, their mission was to discover the Navajo ethos—the character, tone, and guiding beliefs of the Navajo mind—and not to think in terms of the "vanishing Indian." In this sense the Navajos in the American imagination would take a new turn down the road, away from assimilation, absorption, and amalgamation.

Christian Barthelmess, an enlisted man at Fort Wingate, collaborated with Matthews. This Bavarian immigrant probably described the same Fire Dance as Elini for the Chicago German-language newspaper *Der Westen*. In 1884 Barthelmess, as a stand-in for Matthews, attended a Flintway ceremony, which he also described to his German readers. He also observed Navajo games—throwing sticks through a rolling hoop and throwing pieces of wood onto a stone in a circle—and attended a council of headmen at which Denis Riordan lectured the Navajos on the evils of horse stealing and drinking brandy. Barthelmess also assisted Matthews in transcribing the music for the Navajo "Dove Song."[49]

Two other scholars must be mentioned. Cosmos Mendeleff prepared *Navaho Houses* for the Bureau of Indian Ethnology; it was based on fieldwork among the Navajos beginning in 1885. He devoted some attention to social conditions, the impact of Anglo-American culture, and the Yebeichai dance. Agriculture was recent, he asserted; it came only after Anglo-Americans had prevented marauding by the Navajos on the Rio Grande and Pueblo villages. Hogans, he believed, were disappearing under the influence of modern conditions.[50] Alexander M. Stephen, another observer who lived with Thomas Keam on the edges of the Navajo and Hopi reservations, wrote the best short account of the Navajos for the *American Anthropologist*. A Scotsman whom Keam supported, he covered all the requisite points in short compass. Many anthropologists would not change Stephen's evaluations today. He declared that the Navajos were not so-called agency Indians, because they were self-sustaining and unsubsidized and were making material progress toward civilization.[51]

Hence, the scholars added a new dimension to the Navajo presence in

the American imagination, going beneath the surface to examine the more complex attributes of Navajo culture.

The Trader

The trader played a revolutionary role in Navajo society, not in a spiritual but in a material sense. He brought American capitalism to the Navajo frontier and transformed the physical level of Navajo being. The trader was a merchant, banker, informant of Anglo events, purveyor of government policy, and spokesman for the Navajos to the outside society. He helped create in the American imagination the idea that the Navajo was an artist and a craftsman.

The trader's influence on American perceptions of the Navajos came not with the written word but with the marketing of rugs, wool, and silver jewelry. Navajo arts and crafts reached an apex in the twentieth century, but their beginnings are clearly seen in the 1890s, and the trader was responsible for their development. Earlier the Navajos had woven blankets, but market demands, recognized by the trader, caused a change in Navajo weaving, and rugs became the staple of Navajo manufacturing. Regional styles even developed; the earliest regional style, originated by J. Lorenzo Hubbell at Ganado, was the famous Ganado Red, which can be seen even today. (Hubbell was also a contact person for serious students of the Navajos and Hopis.) Silversmithing, which had its origins forty years earlier, flourished in this decade. Not much was published about Navajo arts and crafts until shortly after the turn of the century.[52]

Thomas Keam again deserves mention here, not for founding a regional style of weaving but for his role as host to visitors to the Navajo and Hopi reservations. Anglo-Americans seeking entrée to the two tribes found him a friendly contact. Keam, after initial troubles with Navajo agents at Fort Defiance (he had sought the office of agent unsuccessfully himself, because the Presbyterian Church disapproved of his marriage to a Navajo woman), finally settled in the canyon that bears his name today. Keam not only led visitors to Hopi and Navajo cultural events but became an adviser on dealings with the Indians.[53]

The Navajos as artists, as craftsmen, and as purveyors of beauty all around them entered the American imagination via the traders, who became more numerous as the twentieth century dawned.

The Photographer

The latter half of the nineteenth century saw the great expansion of a new form of representation: the photograph. Before the 1870s photographic equipment was so bulky and unwieldy that the number of images, espe-

cially in remote Navajo and Hopi country, might be limited. But even then the photographer found his way. And after the 1880s, when the dry-plate process replaced the wet-plate or glass process, photographers flocked to the reservations. In the 1890s George Eastman's Kodak, a simple box camera using a roll of film that was sent off for developing, made the taking of visual images even easier. In 1897 there were so many photographers, both lay and professional, at the Hopi snake dance that they got in each other's way. A. C. Vroman alone had seven cameras operating at one time. No wonder the Moquis thought they were intrusive.

One might suppose that at last an accurate and realistic visual representation of native cultures had been achieved. But it was not always so. Photographic portraits—mug shots—betray banality, emotional vacuum, stasis. We can never be sure what the subjects' expressions mean. We cannot tell if they are victims or victimizers. Are they defiant or reconciled to their condition?[54]

Furthermore, James Faris has pointed out that photography is a dominant Western enterprise, representing for the compliant Navajo a complete other, alien to Navajo culture. Western photographers wanted to take pictures of everything; Navajos reluctantly allowed the intruders to snap their cameras. Not much can be learned about Navajo culture from photographs, Faris believes.[55]

Photographers often snapped a picture of the Navajos outside the reservation, such as in Washington, DC in 1874, when Navajos came for a conference with the president, or at the New Mexico Territorial Fair in 1881/82 at Albuquerque. Here many props were used, some uncharacteristic of the Navajo environment, such as the limbs of deciduous trees. With the wet-plate process, rigid poses had to be maintained for many seconds; action shots were impossible. The artificiality of the studio portraits is plain.[56]

Even after the dry-plate process and the Kodak replaced the wet plate, when candid, action-type photographs could be snapped, photographers tinkered with their subjects or later touched up reprints. The professionals whose photographic collections have survived had to sell their pictures to make a living, and they knew what would sell. And too often the Indians, who were adapting themselves to the new medium, cooperated with the "shadow catchers," as they were called.[57]

Fast cameras could undermine stereotypes, increase the range of images, and produce research documents. Now photographers could take action shots, surreptitious shots, records of material culture and of Indians at work and play, and the candid photographers of the Navajo did so. But a photographic style was developing called pictorialism, a return

to the older romanticism, in which a painterly, luminous, empathic mood was portrayed. In 1873 Timothy O'Sullivan, who photographed for the George M. Wheeler expedition, snapped a Navajo weaver and two companions, creating a bleak, dark, poverty-ridden picture—a straight picture. Sixteen years later, in 1889, that photograph was touched up for a print with all the elements of realism eliminated and a decided aura of romanticism provided. The image might still convey a tragic sense, but it avoided poverty and despair. This lack of realism manifested itself in twentieth-century Navajo photography and is represented in the work of Edward S. Curtis.[58]

The photographers of the Navajos from 1868 to 1910 are legion. In Roessel's collection, devoted solely to Navajo images, thirty photographers are represented; many other images are unattributed. Most of the photographers recorded images widely in the American West. Simeon Schwemberger at St. Michaels; Christian Barthelmess at Fort Wingate; Charles Goodman at Bluff, Utah; and J. W. Hildebrand at Fort Wingate concentrated on Navajo photographs.[59] Many, such as Ben Wittick and A. C. Vroman, took pictures of the Navajo on the way to the Hopi snake dances. A few we know more about because their collections have been preserved and books have been written about them.

Among his many endeavors, Timothy O'Sullivan photographed the Navajos in the post–Bosque Redondo period for the Lieutenant George M. Wheeler Army Corps of Engineers Expedition, which finally arrived on the reservation in 1873. O'Sullivan took the obligatory Canyon de Chelly pictures, which seemed to fascinate Anglo-Americans. These found their way into Wheeler's report, but many of O'Sullivan's shots of the Navajo people apparently were left out of the accompanying volume of plates. O'Sullivan posed his subjects and, to a great extent, showed their aboriginal lifestyle. The viewer has the sense that these are real Navajos, somewhat somber in aspect but somewhat contrived also, yet truly portrayed. O'Sullivan was careful to depict ears of corn, the native loom, necklaces, and blankets. One caption described the Navajos as fierce, intelligent, wealthy, numerous, and agricultural; once warlike and predatory, they were now making progress toward civilization. O'Sullivan and Wheeler were complimentary and patronizing, yet they sought with some success to create an honest portrayal.[60]

Ben Wittick visited the Navajo and Hopi reservations in 1878 or 1880. He established his main studio close to the Navajos, at Fort Wingate and Gallup. His photographs fall into two categories: field studies and posed photographs. He took pictures of encampments, trading posts, jewelers, weavers, police, army scouts, and chiefs. He photographed Manuelito at

the New Mexico Territorial Fair. He did not record images of Navajo ceremonies and family life, however. His costumes were mostly make-believe. His props mirrored the confusion and cultural inaccuracy regarding the Navajos. Since photographers traded, even pirated, their pictures, and business partners and associates also snapped images, there are many problems of attribution in Wittick's case, as well as with other shadow catchers. For example, A. Frank Randall and Wittick are credited with the same pictures of the Apache campaign of 1885–86. Wittick's subjects, states his biographer, embody defiance and conquest, tradition and change, and cultural integrity and acculturation.[61] Faris is more critical of Wittick, especially of his two photographs of Navajo warriors in undress.[62] But we might counter that Wittick's photography presented the Navajos in an ambivalent way. In 1903 Wittick died after being bitten by a rattlesnake that he was boxing up to send to a Hopi friend.

Christian Barthelmess began photographing the Navajos, Zunis, and Hopis from his base at Fort Wingate in 1881. This enlisted soldier was noncommercial, although he apparently did attempt to sell his photographs in the open market. Many of his shots are candid and untouched. Some of his figures are posed, but one of a log-and-earthen hogan catches a wife shyly hiding in her blanket. Because Barthelmess was not necessarily trying to make a living with his pictures, one may wonder how widely his realism circulated in the nineteenth century.[63]

A shadow catcher of the straight image was A. C. Vroman, who first visited the Hopi snake dance in 1895. On his way then and thereafter he snapped the Navajos as well. Vroman was not the painterly pictorialist, nor was he commercial, since he was already wealthy. He established a sympathetic relationship with the Hopis and Navajos, and hence his depictions can be trusted.[64]

George Wharton James, on the other hand, was too aggressive. Charles Lummis, who took a few photographs of the Navajos himself, accused him of plagiarism, and Vroman upbraided him for invading Hopi kivas.[65] But his photographs are vivid and absorbing, catching the Hopis and Navajos in candid ways. Both he and Lummis included in their many books photographs (and lithographs and drawings) that recognized the Indians' craftsmanship and did not invidiously compare it to the products of Anglo-American civilization. Lummis also edited an illustrated magazine, *Land of Sunshine*.

Not all shadow catchers made a living from Indian photography. The Bureau of American Ethnology (i.e., the Smithsonian Institution) sent photographers into the Southwest in the 1890s, ostensibly to take documentary films of the Indians. Among these anthropologists were James Mooney,

Cosmos Mendeleff, George Pepper, William Orchard, and Ales Hrdlicka. Mooney and Mendeleff were two pictorialists who placed artifacts of Navajo culture in the frame and hence emphasized arts and crafts (blankets, pottery, jewelry), architecture (the earthen or log hogan, the brush ramada), and clothing. To some extent the photographs are contrived, as the taker loads up the scene with paraphernalia. Against the backdrop of rich cultural evidence, there is a barren landscape, since the interior of the hogan was too dark for picture taking. Not even the scholarly photographers could get away from the problems of posing their subjects. However, the characters tend to be relaxed and smiling.[66]

Two other photographers, of whom full-length studies have been made, produced their images after 1900. Edward S. Curtis is remembered for his monumental plan to record the life and times of the native races on film. He roamed throughout the West and Alaska, and, like all the giants in western photography, he filmed the Navajos, among others. His "Vanishing Race" portrayed a file of Navajos on horseback riding away from the camera into darkness. Another famous image shows a group of Navajos on horseback framed against a gigantic stone formation in Canyon de Chelly. Curtis was the first to take motion pictures of Navajos and the first to record their religious ceremonies. His moving picture caught the Nightway ceremony, including the famous Yeibeichai dance. But there is much that is inauthentic in his images. Some of his pictures may have been taken by others—by the Day family and by Simeon Schwemberger, who lived near the mission at St. Michaels. He used Anglos impersonating Navajos (members of the Day family again), and Navajos who have seen some of his representations believe that the ceremonies are being performed backward.[67] Curtis, a pictorialist, romanticized the Indian with art rather than the straight image, but his photographs have authenticity and are Boasian and have historical value.

Schwemberger lived with the Navajos—and the Franciscan fathers—at St. Michaels Mission between 1902 and 1908 and photographed the Nightway ceremony in 1905 (where Curtis may have possibly gotten some of his material). He was not a professional or a commercial photographer, and his work was buried in the Reichard Collection at the Museum of Northern Arizona until recently. Perhaps he was better able to gain the confidence of the Navajos than Curtis was. His pictures are true, often showing unposed, panoramic action, and form a reliable resource for Navajo imaging in the Anglo-American mind.[68]

All the photographic giants of the West—Timothy H. O'Sullivan, William Henry Jackson, John K. Hillers, Christian Barthelmess, Sumner

Matteson, Roland Reed—got to the Navajo reservation at one time or another. Most of their photographs circulated widely, either in journals, such as the *Illustrated American*, or in the cabinet cards, which replaced the smaller *cartes de vista* and which commercial photographers sold to a public hungry for Indian images.[69]

One collection of Navajo photographs merits special mention. Robert Roessel put together the largest collection of Navajo photographs between two covers. Since coming to the reservation, he had devoted his life to the preservation and understanding of Navajo culture, particularly to the Navajo themselves. Using Title IV of the Indian Education Act, Roessel collected photographs from most of the major repositories of the Southwest and the East. Many photographers he did not identify. For instance, he included a section of unattributed photographs on the Navajo captivity at Fort Sumner (1864–68), the very first pictures taken of the Navajos, which he found in the National Archives. James Faris has identified those photographs.[70]

As one turns the pages of Roessel's book, what impressions can one think are being made on the Anglo-American imagination? They are perhaps somber ones. Early photographs are of course posed, rigid, accommodating the rigors of the wet plate. Later ones show personality, faces with smiles and expression. Both male and female figures are bejeweled and draped in blankets. But in fact there is not much happiness. The landscapes are spectacular but forbidding—barren, with unadorned earthen hogans. The Navajos have no magnificent structures to film as the Pueblos or the Anasazis do. They appear outdoors in rugged country. Several photographs are downright depressing. On pages 57 and 58 are squalid figures of thieves and of two unkempt girls. On page 216 is Manuelito and his wife Juanita; Roessel does not identify the provenance of the photo, but it was taken by Wittick at the New Mexico Territorial Fair. It is almost a cartoon—Manuelito with a top hat over a loose head scarf, Juanita with a slightly misshapen mouth. Roessel wished to present the dignity, suffering, and indomitable will of the Navajo people.[71] But perhaps even to the Navajos the image was not positive.

Perhaps the photograph is limited as a documentary source. And perhaps it is an Anglo-American imposition on the Navajo. But Navajo photography had a striking impact on the American imagination, showing somberness and dignity and demonstrating, if nothing else, the enormous gap between two cultures.

Conclusion

What did the Anglo-Americans, in their Victorian mode, see in the Navajo photograph? Did they see a barbarian and savage image? Did they see an Indian culture still isolated and aboriginal? Did they see cultural backwardness, alien to civilized values? Did they see technological incapacity?[72]

Many of them did. But we should remember that this was the age of Darwinian evolution, which discarded the doctrine of polygenesis of separate races, leading to the idea of racialism, in favor of monogenesis, according to which all mankind, Indians as well as Anglos, came from the same seed and were evolving toward the same destiny: higher civilization. Through education and example, the Navajos would be lifted up to a higher assimilated form. Even Christians accepted this evolutionary view.

In addition, the scholars led by Franz Boas began to present an anthropological understanding of Indians. Washington Matthews and his cohorts sought to understand the Navajos on their own terms. Boas emphasized empirical research and the inductive method, which did lead to very cautious observations. This effort to get inside the culture through the massing of social data showed a great respect for the Indians.[73] The assimilationists, evolutionists, and empiricists shared a common goal of esteem for the Indian.

But there were negatives. American attitudes were paternalistic, even the views that came from the objective, inductive examiners. Americans believed that the Indians could not stay where they were, that they must advance toward civilization. They disliked the poverty and distrusted the unfamiliar conceptions of family, home, and livelihood. They sensed that the Indians were a vanishing race. Americans failed to understand the ethos of a different culture, which had different views of right and wrong, good and bad.

In the later nineteenth century, the Navajo image in the American mind probably contrasted with the image presented by the scholarly investigators of the Anasazis and Hohokams and of the Pueblo peoples. It has been argued that these southwesterners were accepted by the American public and represented the exotic, bucolic, and timeless in a rapidly industrializing, urbanizing America. Americans drew out of their understanding of these peoples of the Southwest traits that were endangered in their own rapidly changing civilization—traits of domesticity, social harmony, labor, and spirituality. In the Pueblo communities, families labored together, in all their communal relationships, to produce the pollen and meal necessary for survival, in an atmosphere expressive of wonder and mystery for the

Holy Beings. Even the landscape was humanized as enchanted, mysterious, permanent.[74]

But it would be difficult to fit the Navajos into this romantic mold. The Navajo practice of polygyny and informal marriage arrangements did not reinforce domesticity, nor was belief in the family enhanced by the drab and dirty hogan. Navajo clothing, or the lack of it, did not appeal to American fashion. Although whites learned something of Navajo religion, they did not accept it as truly spiritual in the face of the Christian missionary impulse.

Perhaps a limited number of Navajo cultural traits resonated with the American public. Navajos were seen as laborers, such as silversmiths and weavers but not as farmers, the most favored Anglo-American occupation of that time. And Navajo individualism manifested itself to a society consumed with the notion of frontier democracy.

However, instead of a clear impact on white society, Navajos held a place of ambiguity in the American imagination. (Perhaps even Americans were becoming ambivalent about their own society. The splendid woodland and wilderness were giving way to a bleaker urban-industrial landscape in the late nineteenth century.) As Ray Allen Billington and Robert F. Berkhofer have pointed out in their more general studies, the contradictory images featured both good and bad Indians. But overall, whites perceived Indian cultures as deficient and lacking in moral purpose. For these two authors, and potentially for the Navajos as well, the wilderness would be conquered and the Indians assimilated.[75]

Throughout the nineteenth century, the Navajos were relatively isolated, left to carry on in their own way. After the incarceration at the Bosque Redondo, they did not suffer the same invasions and humiliations as other Indians. Instead of reservation reduction, their land area was expanded. They avoided the allotment policy of individual homesteads, which was actually a means to vitiate other Indian cultures. They were often listened to with a sympathetic ear. Instead of vanishing, they increased in population. Their culture was saved from the full consequences of assimilation, and they were unintentionally given the opportunity to respond to contact with another social order—the Anglo-American social order—in their own way.

Notes

1 See William H. Lyon, "The Navajos in the American Historical Imagination, 1807–1870," *Ethnohistory* 43 (1996): 188–233. I am again indebted to the Ari-

zona Historical Foundation at the Hayden Library, Arizona State University, for furnishing me with copies of articles in the popular magazines of the nineteenth century.

2 For accounts of this period, see Norman J. Bender, *"New Hope for the Indians": The Grant Peace Policy and the Navajos in the 1870s* (Albuquerque, NM, 1989); Robert H. Keller Jr., *American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy, 1869–1882* (Lincoln, NE, 1983); Robert H. Keller, "Shrewd, Able, and Dangerous Men: Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed Indian Agents in the Southwest, 1870–1882," *Journal of Arizona History* 26 (1985): 243–58; Michael J. Warner, "The Fertile Ground: The Beginnings of Protestant Missionary Work with the Navajos, 1852–1890," in *The Changing Ways of Southwestern Indians*, ed. Albert Schroeder (Glorieta, NM, 1973); Michael C. Coleman, *Protestant Missionary Attitudes toward American Indians* (Jackson, MS, 1985); William Haas Moore, *Chiefs, Agents, and Soldiers, Conflict on the Navajo Frontier, 1868–1882* (Albuquerque, NM, 1994); William H. Keleher, *Turmoil in New Mexico* (Albuquerque, NM, 1982), 473–78; Robert M. Utley, "The Reservation Trader in Navajo History," *El Palacio* 68 (1961): 5–27.

3 Major J. W. Powell, "The Ancient Province of Tusayan," *Scribner's Monthly* 11 (December 1875): 193–213; J. W. Powell, *The Exploration of the Colorado River and Its Canyons* (New York, 1961, a reprint of *Canyons of the Colorado*, 1895), 327–50, 351–78. Powell was not always accurate or meticulous. See Wallace Stegner's introduction in a later edition (New York, 1985). For the treaty see Robert S. McPherson, *The Northern Navajo Frontier, 1860–1900* (Albuquerque, NM, 1988), 31; C. Gregory Crampton and David E. Miller, eds., "Journal of Two Campaigns by the Utah Territorial Militia against the Navajo Indians, 1869," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 29 (1961): 148–76; Pearson H. Corbett, *Jacob Hamblin, The Peacemaker* (Salt Lake City, UT, 1952), 299–308.

4 J. H. Beadle, *The Undeveloped West; or, Five Years in the Territories* (Philadelphia, 1873), 511–68; J. H. Beadle, *Western Wilds, and the Men Who Redeem Them* (Detroit, MI, 1877), 249–61, 272–77. For a description of Gaston Menaul's school see Warner, "The Fertile Ground," 189–203; and Moore, *Chiefs, Agents, and Soldiers*, 80–81. I did not find the name "Whylohay" or its approximation in the Navajo pantheon in Gladys Reichard, *Navaho Religion* (New York, 1950).

5 James S. Brown, "Navajo Cunning," *Juvenile Instructor* 12 (15 October 1877): 231–32; R. W. Young, "A Navajo's Pluck," *Contributor* 1 (September 1880): 281–83. The incident, described by Young, is briefly recounted in McPherson, *The Northern Navajo Frontier*, 31.

6 M. J. Riordan, "The Navajo Indians," *Overland Monthly*, n.s., 16 (October 1890): 373–80. An earlier agent has merited a biography: Lawrence R. Murphy, *Frontier Crusader—William F. M. Arny* (Tucson, AZ, 1972).

7 Phillip [*sic*] Johnston, "The Battle of Canyon Padre from the Navajos' Point of View," *Plateau* 14 (1942): 9–12; George Hochderffer, *Flagstaff Whoa! The Autobiography of a Western Pioneer* (Flagstaff, AZ, 1965), 64, 91, 95–97, 99–100; Alexandra Roberts, "Navajo Ethno-History and Archeology," in Bruce Anderson, *The Wupatki Archeological Inventory Survey Project: Final Report* (Santa Fe, NM, 1990), 6: 12–13. There is some disagreement among the above three authors about these events, and I am not sure I have put them together accurately. Begwoetten, or B'ugoettin, was also involved in an altercation with the Apaches in 1878. The headman and his party pursued the marauding Apaches,

but the southern Indians eluded the pursuers. Later, B'ugoettin Begay (a son) discovered the Apaches in a cave in Canyon Diablo and killed them all. See Moore, *Chiefs, Agents and Soldiers*, 198.

8 William T. Hagan, *The Indian Rights Association: The Herbert Welsh Years* (Tucson, AZ, 1985), 29–34, 68, 116, 172–76, 217–18. For further background information, see Alban W. Hoopes, "The IRA and the Navajo, 1890–1895," *New Mexico Historical Review* 21 (1946): 22–46.

9 Felix R. Brunot, "The Story of the Navajoes," *Council Fire* 3 (July 1880): 101–2. The shift from chiefs as authority figures to headmen is described in Moore, *Chiefs, Agents, and Soldiers*, 43, 44, 84, 253–73; and in Robert W. Young, *Political History of the Navajo Tribe* (Tsaile, AZ, 1978), 41–45.

10 General S. C. Armstrong, "The Navajos: A Crisis in the History of an Indian Tribe," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 13 September 1883, quoted in Robert Young, *The Role of the Navajo in the Southwestern Drama* (Gallup, NM, 1968), 50–51; Hagan, *Indian Rights Association*, 32.

11 Much of this information appeared in the *Indian's Friend*, the monthly Presbyterian journal of the Women's National Indian Association. See E. H. Plummer, "Letter from Lt. Plummer," *Indian's Friend* 6 (June 1894): 2; "Work of Lt. E. H. Plummer," *Indian's Friend* 6 (April 1894): 4–5; "The Navajos Again," *Indian's Friend* 7 (January 1895): 4; untitled article, *Indian's Friend* 7 (March 1895): 4; and "The Navajos," *Indian's Friend* 7 (May 1895): 5. See also [E. H. Plummer], "The Navajos," *Indian Advocate* 3 (February 1894): 3; "The Navajo Indians," *Annual Report of the Indian Rights Association* (hereafter *ARIRA*) 12 (1893): 14–18; "Navajo Irrigation Works," *ARIRA* 13 (1894): 35–38; "The Hungry Navajos," ARIRA 13 (1894): 32–34; "The Navajos," ARIRA 13 (1894): 63; "Navajo Forbearance," *ARIRA* 16 (1898): 37–38; and Alfred Hardy, "The Navajos," *Proceedings of the Lake Mohonk Conference* 13 (1895): 23–24. From 1883 to 1917 the IRA sponsored annual conferences on Indian policy and problems at Albert Smiley's lodge at Lake Mohonk in upstate New York. See Hagan, *Indian Rights Association*, 34.

12 *Indian's Friend* 2 (August 1890): 3.

13 This idea of ethnocentrism rather than racism in white attitudes toward the Indian is found in Michael Coleman, "Not Race but Grace: Presbyterian Missionaries and American Indians," *Journal of American History* 67 (1980): 41–60.

14 Hagan, *Indian Rights Association*, 172–76; Michael J. Warner, "Protestant Missionary Activity among the Navajo, 1890–1912," *New Mexico Historical Review* 45 (1970): 214. See also Warner, "The Fertile Ground," 189–203.

15 "Navajo Women," *Indian's Friend* 6 (June 1894): 9; "Mr. Herbert Welsh . . . ," *Indian's Friend* 6 (August 1894): 8–9; "Navajo Characteristics," *Indian Advocate* 5 (December 1895): 3. Antes is also featured in *Indian's Friend* 6 (May 1895): 5. Antes got into trouble with Agent W. H. Shelton of Shiprock, who represents the transition from missionary control to secular control on the reservation. Antes opposed some of Shelton's policies and brought to the attention of the IRA and the Congress Shelton's lack of due process in the Byallilie Affair, causing the agent much embarrassment. Finally in 1909, Antes was driven off the reservation and off his farm. His departure was a sorrowful affair for him and his wife. Walter Dyk, *A Navajo Autobiography* [Old Mexican] (New York, 1947; rpt., 1980), 84, 95, 133, 143, 161–65; J. Leo Correll, *Bai-a-lil-le, Medicine Man—or Witch?* (Window Rock, AZ, 1970), 38–46.

16 "Navajo Forbearance," *ARIRA* 38; Bernice Eastman Johnston, *Two Ways in the Desert* (Pasadena, CA, 1972), 15–23, 83–84 (Moencopi), 72, 118, 233, 242, 266, 301 (relation to IRA), 96–107, 118 (Padre Canyon), 72–73 (Coconino County eviction), 153–57, 177–80 (visit to President Theodore Roosevelt regarding the Leupp Extension), 80–83 (Battle of Moencopi), 219–20, 233, 298 (Margaret's views). The son Philip Johnston conceived the idea of the Navajo code talkers during World War II; see *Two Ways*, 315–20. Philip Johnston, "The Story of Tolchaco (a Mission for the Navajos, 1900–1918)," *Museum Notes* (Museum of Northern Arizona) 9 (August 1936): 9–12; Phillip [*sic*] Johnston, "The Battle at Canyon Padre from the Navajo's Point of View," *Plateau* 14 (1942): 57–63; Warner, "Protestant Missionary Activity," 221. For the Begwoetten Affair and the eviction of 1897, see Roberts, "Navajo Ethno-History and Archeology," 6–13.

17 "Navajo Forbearance," *ARIRA* 38; Hardy, "The Navajos," 24; Warner, "Protestant Missionary Activity," 215–16; Hagan, *Indian Rights Association*, 176; Robert L. Wilken, *Anselm Weber, O.F.M., Missionary to the Navaho, 1898–1921* (Milwaukee, WI, 1955), 59–60.

18 Mark T. Banker, *Presbyterian Missions and Cultural Interaction in the Far Southwest* (Champaign, IL, 1993), 28; Minnie Vandever, "An Arizona Letter," *Indian's Friend* 3 (September 1890): 2.

19 Short articles in *Indian's Friend* 6 (April 1894): 2–3. For statements about the famous H. R. Voth, the missionary at Oraibi, see the February and April 1894 issues of *Indian's Friend*.

20 Banker, *Presbyterian Missions*, 25–28.

21 [Herbert Welsh], "The Navajo Indians," *Indian's Friend* 12 (August 1890): 3. During President Grover Cleveland's second term (1893–97), Welsh was more concerned with the Navajo tribe than with any other. Hagan, *Indian Rights Association*, 172–76.

22 Robert W. Young, *The Navajo Yearbook* (Window Rock, AZ, 1961), 8, 10, 43, 48–49, 597–603; Warner, "Protestant Missionary Activity," 214–26. For accounts of national policy in education, see Frederick Hoxie, "Redefining Indian Education: Thomas J. Morgan's Program in Disarray," *Arizona and the West* 24 (1982): 5–18; and Francis Paul Prucha, S.J., *The Churches and the Schools, 1888–1912* (Lincoln, NE, 1979), 24–40, 79–81, 84–85, 135–48.

23 Lawrence R. Murphy, *Frontier Crusader—William F. M. Arny* (Tucson, AZ, 1972), 226–31; Hagan, *Indian Rights Association*, 29–32; "A Plan for the Advancement of Education among the Navajos," *ARIRA* 11 (1892): 17–19; "The Navajo Indians," *ARIRA* 12 (1893): 14–16; "The Navajo Indians," *Indian Advocate* 3 (August 1893): 5; "The Navajos," *Indian Advocate* 3 (March 1894): 5; "A Chief's Impressions of the Chicago Fair," *Indian's Friend* 7 (October 1894): 5–6; Hagan, *Indian Rights Association*, 172–76.

24 Warner, "Protestant Missionary Activity," 216–17; "Miss Thackera's Hospital for the Navajos," *Indian's Friend* 10 (March 1898): 7–8; "Missionary Intelligence," *Spirit of Missions* 64 (August 1899): 407; Eliza Thackera, "Arizona," *Spirit of Missions* 64 (June 1899): 278; John Mills Kendrick, "Seventeenth Annual Report of the Missionary Bishop of New Mexico and Arizona," *Spirit of Missions* 62 (September 1897): 490–92; "Nineteenth Annual Report," *Spirit of Missions* 64 (December 1899): 633–35.

25 Frank McNitt, *The Indian Traders* (Norman, OK, 1962), chap. 3 (on trade regu-

lations); Clifford E. Trafzer, "The Day Family: Agents of Civilization on the Arizona Indian Frontier" (unpublished master's thesis, Northern Arizona University, 1971), chaps. 3 and 4 (on stringent regulations applied to the Day family); David M. Brugge, *A History of the Chaco Navajos* (Albuquerque, NM, 1979), 193 (on restrictions on the license of Winslow Wetherill). "Navajo Indian Reservation," H. Exec. Doc. 263, 9 June 1886 (49th Cong., 1st sess.), serial 2401 (concerning artesian wells and dams); Arizona Legislature Memorial, S. Misc. Doc. 63, 3 February 1887 (49th Cong., 2d sess.) (asking that Navajos be confined to their reservation); Letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior . . . for an appropriation to aid negotiations with the Navajo Indians, S. Exec. Doc. 52, 11 February 1891 (51st Cong., 2d sess.), serial 2818 (regarding the Navajos' giving up reservation area in Carrizo Mountains in favor of gold prospecting and in which Welsh proposes that the Navajos consent to any boundary changes); "The Navajo Indians," *ARIRA* 12 (1893): 14–18, for Plummer's government factory proposal; "Navajo Indian Reservation, Information Relating to the Opening of the Navajo Indian Reservation," H. Exec. Doc. 1, 25 January 1893 (52d Cong., 2d sess.), serial 3105 (a number of letters requesting the opening up of area near the mouth of the San Juan River and north of Hopi Reservation for gold and coal mining); Presidential Message [Benjamin Harrison] on . . . Navajo Indian Country, S. Exec. Doc. 68, 14 February 1893 (52d Cong., 2d sess.), serial 3056 (about the Army Topographical Survey to identify water sources); Letter of J. G. Carlisle, Secretary of the Treasury, S. Exec. Doc. 170, 2 August 1894 (53d Cong., 2d sess.), serial 3163 (asking Congress for relief for the Navajo Indians); "Navajo Indians in New Mexico: An Estimate for Relief," H. Exec. Doc. 192, 11 January 1895 (53d Cong., 3d sess.), serial 3323 (about relief and irrigation); Letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior [George Chandler] . . . relative to . . . the Navajo Indians, S. Exec. Doc. 156, 27 July 1892 (52d Cong., 1st sess.), serial 2901 (concerning reservation expansion in the Tuba City area); "Agreement with Navajo Indians," H. Exec. Doc. 310, 17 February 1897 (54th Cong., 2d sess.), serial 3534 (about reservation expansion, including a recommendation from Welsh for an extension); Enlargement of Navajo Indian Reservation in Arizona: Message from the President of the United States [William McKinley], S. Exec. Doc. 68, 10 January 1900 (56th Cong., 1st sess.), serial 3850 (concerning Tuba City and the opposition of Flagstaff citizens); Mineral Claims, Navaho Indian Reservation, S. Doc. 216, 1 March 1901 (56th Cong., 2d sess.), serial 4043 (concerning prospecting on the reservation); Presidential [McKinley] Veto of Settlers on Navajo Reservation Bill, H. Doc. 657, 4 May 1900 (56th Cong., 1st sess.), serial 3997 (disapproval of prospectors' rights on the reservation); Adjustment of Rights of Settlers on the Navajo Indian Reservation, S. Rept. 2042, 23 June 1902 (57th Cong., 1st sess.) (in which the Senate attempts to open the reservation to U.S. mining laws).

26 See the reference listed in n. 25 regarding McKinley's veto on 4 May 1900.

27 "The Navajo Outrage," *ARIRA* 15 (1897): 34–35; "Navajo Forbearance," 34–35; Johnston, *Two Ways*, 72, 80–83, 118; Roberts, "Navajo Ethno-History and Archeology," 6: 12–13; Hagan, *Indian Rights Association*, 217–18.

28 "Secretary Smith for Reform," *Indian Advocate* 5 (December 1895): 3.

29 I have surveyed but found nothing of note in the summaries of the governors' messages to the Arizona legislature from 1864 to 1901, in George H. Kelly,

Legislative History: Arizona, 1864–1912 (Phoenix, AZ, 1926); for Safford's outrage see Thomas Edwin Farish, *History of Arizona*, vol. 8 (Phoenix, AZ, 1918), 153, and confirming evidence in vol. 3 (1916), 289, 294, 342.

30 I have surveyed all the reports of the governors of Arizona and New Mexico to the BIA from 1878 to 1902 but will cite only the ones that mention Navajos. Report of the Governor of New Mexico [for 1884], Lionel A. Sheldon (48th Cong., 2d sess.), serial 2287, 572; Report of the Governor of Arizona [for 1885], F. A. Tritle (49th Cong., 1st sess.), serial 2379, 904; Report of the Governor of Arizona [for 1887], C. Meyer Zulick (50th Cong., 1st sess.), serial 2541, 759; Report of the Governor of New Mexico [1885], Edmund G. Ross (50th Cong., 1st sess.), serial 2541, 882; ibid. [for 1888] (50th Cong., 2d sess.), serial 2638, 847–48. One Arizona newspaper reported the Navajos as rich: Manuelito was worth more than $300,000, most of it in sheep. Unfortunately, he was a drunkard. *Arizona Weekly Journal*, Prescott, 29 June 1883. Great Navajo wealth was an argument used to reduce the size of the reservation.

31 The reports of the governors of Arizona appeared in the following congressional documents: 1889, H. Exec. Doc. 1 (51st Cong., 1st sess.), serial 2726, 263; 1890, H. Exec. Doc. 1 (51st Cong., 2d sess.), serial 2841, 489–90; 1891, H. Exec. Doc. 1 (52d Cong., 1st sess.), serial 2935, 312–13; 1892, H. Exec. Doc. 1 (52d Cong., 2d sess.), serial 3089, 356–59; 1894, H. Exec. Doc. 1 (53d Cong., 3d sess.), serial 3307, 373–74; 1895, H. Exec. Doc. 5 (54th Cong., 1st sess.), serial 3383, 395; 1896, H. Exec. Doc. 5 (54th Cong., 2d sess.), serial 3490, 250–52; 1898, H. Exec. Doc. 5 (55th Cong., 1st sess.), serial 3758, 333–36; 1901, H. Exec. Doc. 5 (57th Cong., 1st sess.), serial 4293, 219–20. Petitions from Arizona citizens wanting to limit Navajo growth or occupancy on what was then the public domain are in 14th Arizona Legislature Memorial, 1887, S. Misc. Doc. 63 (49th Cong., 2d sess.), serial 2451. The following petitions are cited in n. 25: S. Exec. Doc. 156 (regarding white stockmen versus Navajos at Tuba City in 1892) and S. Exec. Doc. 68 (regarding Flagstaff citizens opposing reservation expansion in 1900).

The following reports of the governors of New Mexico appeared in the following congressional documents: 1889, H. Exec. Doc. 1 (51st Cong., 1st sess.), serial 2726, 463; 1890, H. Exec. Doc. 1 (51st Cong., 2d sess.), serial 2842, 625–26; 1891, H. Exec. Doc. 1 (52d Cong., 1st sess.), serial 2935, 352; 1892, H. Exec. Doc. 1 (52d Cong., 2d sess.), serial 3089, 372; 1893, H. Exec. Doc. 1 (53d Cong., 2d sess.), serial 3211, 375–87; 1894, H. Exec. Doc. 1 (53d Cong., 3d sess.), serial 3307, 414; 1895, H. Exec. Doc. 5 (54th Cong., 1st sess.), serial 3383, 470, 473; 1896, H. Exec. Doc. 5 (54th Cong., 2d sess.), serial 3490, 369; 1899, H. Exec. Doc. 5 (56th Cong., 1st sess.), serial 3918, 438. See also nn. 32–34.

Father Anselm Weber was still combating the theory that Navajos controlled too much land for their population in 1914. Anselm Weber, *The Navajo Indians: A Statement of Facts* (St. Michaels, AZ, [1914]).

32 Report of the Governor of Arizona, 1900, H. Exec. Doc. 5 (56th Cong., 2d sess.), serial 4104, 122–23; Reports of the Governor of New Mexico, 1897, H. Doc. 5 (55th Cong., 2d sess.), serial 3642, 434, 516; 1898, H. Doc. 5 (55th Cong., 3d sess.), serial 3758, 557–58. Most of Constant Williams's figures are suspect. In 1909 agents Samuel Stacher and Peter Paquette, reporting for the two eastern, most "civilized" sections of the Navajo Reservation, found that the forked-stick hogan was still commonly in use, even Anglo-type houses

had dirt floors, and very few Navajos spoke English. Earlier, thirty wagons had been presented to the Navajo, which probably did not change the mode of transportation very much. See Brugge, *Chaco Navajos*, 115, 118–20, 230. Brugge's book contains an exhaustive summary of the Navajo agents' reports, another fine source for the Navajo image in the American imagination. An account of Navajo-Anglo clashes in the Holbrook area is found in Larry D. Ball, "Commodore Perry Owens: The Man behind the Legend," *Journal of Arizona History* 33 (1992): 27–56.

33 Report of the Governor of Arizona, 1899, H. Doc. 5 (56th Cong., 1st sess.), serial 3918, 87–92. McCowan was a determined, ambitious, culturally insensitive superintendent of the Phoenix Indian School from 1897 to 1902. See Robert A. Trennert Jr., *The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891–1935* (Norman, OK, 1988), 57–84.

34 Reports of the Governor of New Mexico, 1901, H. Doc. 5 (56th Cong., 2d sess.), serial 4104, 352–54; 1902, H. Doc. 5 (57th Cong., 1st sess.), serial 4461, 437–39.

35 Charles F. Lummis, *Some Strange Corners of Our Country* (1891; rpt. Tucson, AZ, 1989), revised as *Mesa, Cañon, and Pueblo* (New York, 1925), 168–82, 316–28; Charles F. Lummis, *A Tramp across the Continent* (1892; rpt. New York, 1902), 212; Charles F. Lummis, *Letters from the Southwest* [1884–85], ed. James W. Byrkit (Tucson, AZ, 1989), xxxix, 227–35; Charles F. Lummis, *The Land of Poco Tiempo* (1893; rpt. New York, Scribner's Sons, 1925), 3–5; Curtis M. Hinsley, "The Promise of the Southwest," in *The Southwest in the American Imagination: The Writings of Sylvester Baxter, 1881–1889*, ed. Curtis M. Hinsley and David R. Wilcox (Tucson, AZ, 1996), 186–87, 197.

Willa Cather idealized the southwestern landscape. In the story "The Enchanted Bluff" she presented a dreamy, escapist meditation on a cliff dweller's site, which was somehow relevant to the young boys of Nebraska. "Tom Outland's Story," a segment of her novel *The Professor's House*, rhapsodized about ruins on Blue Mesa. A somewhat similar romantic atmosphere was created for the Hispanics in her novel *Death Comes to the Archbishop* (Hinsley and Wilcox, *Southwest in the American Imagination*, 182–83, 194–96). Lummis was not quite this imaginary, but he was a romantic.

36 F. Stanton Van Fleet, "Caught in an Arizona Blizzard," *Great Divide* 9 (April 1893): 36–37. Between 1880 and 1910 the name of the Indian tribe changed from Moqui to Hopi, because the former name was often mispronounced and therefore had bad connotations to the Hopi, whereas Hopi had a more positive meaning. See Katharine Bartlett, excerpt in *Cañon Journal* (spring–summer 1995): 34.

37 "Moquis and Navajos," *Illustrated American* 19 (21 March 1896): 372–73.

38 Lonnie E. Underhill and Daniel Littlefield, "Hamlin Garland and the Navajos," *Journal of Arizona History* 13 (1972): 275–85. The sketch Underhill and Littlefield reprinted may have been unpublished; they are not clear on this matter. Garland did publish "Joe the Navajo Teamster," *Youth's Companion* 71 (18 November 1897): 579–80; and "Big Moggasen," a fictional piece for *The Independent* 52 (1 November 1900): 2622–24. Both Garland and Lummis were members of President Theodore Roosevelt's "cowboy cabinet," an advisory group on Indian affairs. See Donald L. Parman, *Indians and the American West in the Twentieth Century* (Bloomington, IN, 1994), 12.

39 Will C. Barnes, "The Navajo's Turquois Ring," *Argonaut* 44 (2 January 1899):

4–5. See also Andrew Wallace, "A Dedication to the Memory of Will Croft Barnes, 1858–1936," *Arizona and the West* 2 (1960): 203–4; Paul J. Scheips, "Will Croft Barnes, Soldier and Citizen of Arizona," *Arizona and the West* 2 (1960): 205–12.

40 Mary E. Thompson, "The Legend of Ship Rock," *Arizona Graphic* 1 (16 December 1899): 4. In viewing Shiprock, Thompson was reminded of Chinese junks that she had seen, thus implying a Chinese origin for the Indians. She was, however, wrong when she characterized the nearby ruins in Chaco Canyon as Aztec. For a more modern characterization of Shiprock see Richard Van Valkenburgh, *Navajo Indians III: Navajo Sacred Places* (New York, 1974), 152–59; and Reichard, *Navaho Religion*, 22, 420–21.

41 Ernest McGaffey, "The Navajo," *Cosmopolitan* 16 (March 1894): 541. One wonders where McGaffey got his information and inspiration for his poetic tale of Navajos and snakes, about which Navajos have a taboo.

42 R. B. Townshend, "Nerve," *Youth's Companion* 65 (22 September 1892); Charles A. Curtis, "Captured by the Navajos," *Harper's Young People* 15 (23 December 1893): 130–43; James Otis, "Across the Range," *Harper's Young People* 15 (31 March 1894): 370–84.

43 Powell's classification can be found in the "Indian, North American" subsection "Language" of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1961). For the development of professional or academic anthropology and the Boasian syndrome, see George W. Stocking Jr., "Ideas and Institutions in American Anthropology: Thoughts toward a History of the Interwar Years," in *Selected Papers from the American Anthropologist, 1921–1945*, ed. George W. Stocking Jr. (Washington, DC, 1976), 1–53. Boasian methodology is discussed in Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York, 1978), 62–69; and Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Middletown, CT, 1982), 231–36.

44 Edward Palmer, "Notes on Indian Manners and Customs," *American Naturalist* 12 (May 1878): 308–13.

45 Lewis H. Eddy, "A Navajo Myth," *Arizona Magazine* 2 (August 1893): 83–87.

46 For a brief survey of Cushing, see Curtis M. Hinsley Jr., *Savages and Scientists: The Smithsonian Institution and the Development of American Anthropology, 1846–1910* (Washington, DC, 1981), 192–207. For Bourke, who is of greater importance to the Navajo, although he published nothing, see Lansing B. Bloom, "Bourke on the Southwest," *New Mexico Historical Review* 11 (1936): 77–91; *New Mexico Historical Review* 11 (1936): 217–44; William Gardner Bell, *John Gregory Bourke: A Soldier-Scientist on the Frontier* (Washington, DC, 1978); Joseph C. Porter, *Paper Medicine Man: John Gregory Bourke and His American West* (Norman, OK, 1986).

47 Thomas Edwin Farish, *History of Arizona* (Phoenix, AZ, 1918), 7: 45–92. For a bibliography of the two Stevensons, see Alfonso Ortiz, ed., *Southwest*, vol. 9 of *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, DC, 1979), 669; Alfonso Ortiz, ed., *Southwest*, vol. 10 of *Handbook of North American Indians*, ed. William C. Sturtevant (Washington, DC, 1983), 829. Farish also relied on Frederick Webb Hodge, Aleš Hrdlička, Matthews, and William E. Curtis.

48 The best biography by far of Matthews is Robert Marshall Poor, "Washington Matthews: An Intellectual Biography" (unpublished master's thesis, University of Nevada, Reno, 1975). This thesis contains a complete bibliography of

Matthews's works. Ten reels of microfilm of his papers are available at the Wheelwright Museum in Santa Fe: Katherine Spencer Halpern, Mary E. Holt, and Susan Brown McGreevy, *Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Washington Matthews Papers* (Albuquerque, NM, 1985). See also Halpern, Holt, and McGreevy, "Washington Matthews: Army Surgeon and Field Anthropologist in the American West, 1843–1905" (unpublished paper in possession of the authors, Wheelwright Museum, Santa Fe, NM). See also Halpern and McGreevy, *Washington Matthews: Studies of Navajo Culture, 1880–1894* (Albuquerque, NM, 1996). In his later years, Matthews was a physical wreck. See James Mooney, "In Memoriam: Washington Matthews," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 7 (July–September 1905): 514–20; Margaret Schevill Link, "From the Desk of Washington Matthews," *Journal of American Folklore* 73 (1960): 317–25; and Zay Elini, "A Night with the Navajos," *Forest and Stream* 23 (6 November 1884): 281–83.

49 Maurice Frink, *Photographer on an Army Mule* (Norman, OK, 1965), 27–72.

50 Cosmos Mindeleff, *Navaho Houses*, in J. W. Powell, *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1895–1896*, pt. 2 (Washington, DC, 1898), 475–517.

51 A. M. Stephen, "The Navajo," *American Anthropologist*, o.s., 6 (October 1893): 345–62.

52 The first description of Navajo weaving I have seen, which gave a complimentary and accurate description of weaving techniques and also sought to characterize the Navajos as a people, is J. J. Peatfield, "A Navajo Blanket," *California Illustrated Magazine* 6 (August 1893): 377–87. The article was accompanied by generous illustrations. It ended, apparently, with a fictional love story about the weaver.

For a general assessment of the trader, see Robert M. Utley, "The Reservation Trader in Navajo History," *El Palacio* 68 (1961): 5–27; Frank McNitt, *The Indian Traders* (Norman, OK, 1962), passim (for Hubbell see chaps. 15–16); for traders' special efforts at marketing Navajo arts and crafts, see John Kevin Fellin, "The Role of C. N. Cotton in the Development of Northwestern New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* 55 (1980): 151–56.

For the first publications after the turn of the century, see Uriah S. Hollister, *The Navajo and His Blanket* (1903; rpt. Glorieta, NM, 1972); George Wharton James, *Indian Basketry, and How to Make Indian and Other Baskets*, 3d ed. (1903; rpt. Glorieta, NM, 1972); George Wharton James, *Indian Blankets and Their Makers* (1914; rpt. Glorieta, NM, 1970). See also George Wharton James, *The Indians of the Painted Desert* (no title page, 1903).

53 Richard Van Valkenburgh, "Tom Keam, Friend of the Moqui," *Desert Magazine* 9 (July 1946): 9–12; Lynn R. Bailey, "Thomas Varker Keam: Tusayan Trader," *Arizoniana* 2 (1961): 15–19; Stuart Culin, "Thomas Varker Keam," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 7 (1905): 171–72; Laura Graves, "Thomas Varker Keam" (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Northern Arizona University, 1992); McNitt, *Indian Traders*, chaps. 9–13.

54 Michael Kimmelman, "Hypnotized by Mug Shots: Windows or Mirrors?" *New York Times*, 27 August 1997, B1, B7.

55 James C. Faris, *Navajo and Photography: A Critical History of the Representation of an American People* (Albuquerque, NM, 1996), 3–51. I believe that Faris is too pessimistic concerning photography as a cultural representation.

56 My generalizations are based on Nancy Hathaway, *Native American Portraits, 1862–1918* (San Francisco, 1990), 1–3; Alfred L. Bush and Lee Clark Mitchell, *The Photograph and the American Indian* (Princeton, NJ, 1994), xvi–xxvi; Patricia Janis Broder, *Shadows on Glass: The Indian World of Ben Wittick* (Savage, MD, 1990), 57.

57 Hathaway, *Native American Portraits*, 3–11; Bush and Mitchell, *The Photograph and the Indian*, xvi–xxvi.

58 Hathaway, *Native American Portraits*, 11–12; Bush and Mitchell, *The Photograph and the Indian*, xix–xxiv; Martha Sandweiss, "View and Reviews: Western Art and Western History," in *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past*, ed. William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin (New York, 1992), 185–90. Sandweiss points out how photographs of the American West were doctored for the public. Laura Gilpin, who emphasized the aesthetic and considered form, light, and composition, is the best pictorialist representative of Navajo photography in the twentieth century. See Gilpin, *The Enduring Navajo* (Austin, TX, 1968); and Martha Sandweiss, *Laura Gilpin: An Enduring Grace* (Fort Worth, TX, 1986). For an evaluation of an exhibition at the New York Public Library titled "Four Hundred Years of Native-American Portraits," see Charles Hagen, "Portraits of the American Indian as Depicted by Outsiders," *New York Times*, 1 January 1993, B7.

59 Robert A. Roessel Jr., *Pictorial History of the Navajo from 1860 to 1910* (Rough Rock, Navajo Nation, AZ, 1980); Faris, *Navajo and Photography*, 78–87.

60 [George M.] Wheeler, *Geographical Explorations and Surveys West of the Hundredth Meridian, 1873* (n.p., n.d.), pl. 10, 11, 12; George M. Wheeler, *Wheeler's Photographic Survey of the American West, 1871–1873: With Fifty Landscape Photographs by Timothy O'Sullivan and William Bell* (New York, 1983), pl. 7, 10, 15, 16; Beaumont Newhall and Nancy Newhall, *T. H. O'Sullivan, Photographer* (Rochester, NY, 1966), pl. 26, 27, 28; James D. Horan, *Timothy O'Sullivan: America's Forgotten Photographer* (Garden City, NY, 1966), 254–56, 282–83, 292–96, 308–9. Faris (in *Navajo and Photography*, 70–74) says that O'Sullivan's photographs, taken after the return, show an unhappy, depressed, despairing, even frightened people, many of whom are disheveled and unkempt.

61 Broder, *Shadows on Glass*, 116–41.

62 Faris, *Navajo and Photography*, 82–85, 149. George H. Pepper took a similar photograph of Bowlero wearing only a breechclout; Faris terms it grotesque and humiliating (77, 85).

63 Frink, *Photographer on an Army Mule*, 45, passim (photographic reproductions are unpaginated).

64 William Webb and Robert A. Weinstein, *Dwellers at the Source: Southwestern Indian Photographs of A. C. Vroman, 1895–1904* (Albuquerque, NM, 1973).

65 Paula Richardson Fleming and Judith Lynn Luskey, *Grand Endeavors of American Indian Photography* (Washington, DC, 1993), 36–39, 60–67; Faris, *Navajo and Photography*, 77–78. See also James's two books cited in n. 52 as an example of his use of photography and his technique as a photographer. Rather than cite appropriate works by Lummis, I refer the reader to Daniela P. Moneta, *Chas.* [sic] *F. Lummis: The Centennial Exhibition Commemorating His Tramp across the Continent* (Los Angeles, 1985), esp. the chapter "Lummis as a Photographer" by Patrick T. Houlihan and Carolee Campbell (21–35).

66 James Mooney's photographs of the Navajos are found in Roessel, *Pictorial*

History of the Navajo, 95, 96, 97, 105, 188, 192, 205, 206, 207, 208, 229, 230, 231. For a biography of Mooney, see L. G. Moses, *The Indian Man: A Biography of James Mooney* (Urbana, IL, 1984). Mendeleff has two pictures in Roessel's collection (98, 121), but see his study of Navajo housing in which photographs are used (n. 50 above). Hrdlička, as well as Wittick and Pepper, were interested in physical typologies, as in the breechclout, profile, and en face views. Faris, *Navajo and Photography*, 77.

67 Fleming and Luskey, *Grand Endeavors*, 107–17; Florence Curtis Graybill and Victor Boesen, *Edward Sheriff Curtis: Visions of a Vanishing Race* (New York, 1976); Dippie, *The Vanishing Indian*, 208–9; James C. Faris, "The Navajo Photography of Edward S. Curtis," *History of Photography* 17 (1993): 377–87; James C. Faris, *The Nightway: A History and a History of Documentation of a Navajo Ceremonial* (Albuquerque, NM, 1990); Faris, *Navajo and Photography*, 107–21.

68 Father Simeon Schwemberger Photo Album, Reichard Collection (22–28), Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff; Paul V. Long, *Big Eyes: The Southwestern Photographs of Simeon Schwemberger, 1902–1908* (Albuquerque, NM, 1992).

69 My list of photographers is taken from the various books previously cited. Jackson, O'Sullivan, and Curtis are treated in William H. Goetzmann and William N. Goetzmann, *The West of the Imagination* (New York, 1986), 178–82, 196–203, 228–34. However, the Goetzmanns refer only to the Navajo work of O'Sullivan and Curtis. They contend that O'Sullivan's camera did not lie. They say that Curtis, on the other hand, was guilty of inaccuracy and theatricality, views that are in line with this essay. In addition, see Newhall and Newhall, *T. H. O'Sullivan, Photographer*; Gar Packard and Maggy Packard, *Southwest 1880 with Ben Wittick, Pioneer Photographer of Indian and Frontier Life* (Santa Fe, NM, 1970). I also cite *The Illustrated American* in n. 37, the *Arizona Graphic* in n. 40, and the *California Illustrated Magazine* in n. 53. For the cabinet cards see Hathaway, *Native American Portraits*, 44–45.

70 Roessel, *Pictorial History*, 35–67. His selections of undetermined origin may be checked in Faris, *Navajo and Photography*, 53–59, 314–18 n. 1, and in the several books I have cited on this subject.

71 For the provenance of the Manuelito-Juanita picture see Broder, *Shadows on Glass*, 43–44.

72 See Bush and Mitchell, *The Photograph and the Indian*, xvi–xvii; and Hathaway, *Native American Portraits*, 1.

73 Berkhofer, *White Man's Indian*, 23–31; see also his "White Conceptions of Indians," in *History of Indian-White Relations*, ed. Wilcomb E. Washburn, vol. 4 of *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, DC, 1988); Dippie, *The Vanishing American*, 98–269; Ray Allen Billington, *Land of Savagery, Land of Promise: The European Image of the American Frontier in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1981), 105–49.

74 Hinsley, "The Promise of the Southwest," 181–206.

75 Billington, *Land of Savagery*, 79–104; Berkhofer, *White Man's Indian*, 23–31.