

research, but his unexpected death in 1960 ended that plan. Fortunately, she did contribute the sketch of Southern Paiute/Chemehuevi culture to the *Great Basin* volume of the *Handbook of North American Indians* that supplemented her earlier articles on her Southern Paiute/Chemehuevi work. Her professional vita is lengthy, including her Great Basin ethnographic work, Mexican archaeology and ethnology, and other studies elsewhere. Although she did not take the usual academic route, she remained professionally employed throughout her lifetime. She made her own way, very successfully, in a time when the situation for women in the field was far different than it is today.

NOTES

¹The anthropology and geography departments under Kroeber and Sauer were particularly close, with students in each benefitting from courses in the other, as well as from jointly taught seminars (see also Kerns 2003).

²A. L. Kroeber to A. V. Kidder, January 9, 1929; Laboratory of Anthropology Archives, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe [hereafter LAA]. He also states that he was in favor of an all-male crew that first year.

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JULIAN STEWARD IN THE FIELD: ON THE ROAD TO CULTURAL ECOLOGY

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I never met Julian Steward, but over a span of many years I did come to know him through his own words and through the personal memories of other people. He died in Urbana, Illinois, in 1972, at the age of seventy, just months before I entered the doctoral program in anthropology at the University of Illinois. During the next few years I encountered faculty members and a student or two who had met him—but very few who had known him. He had spent his last ten years living a reclusive life, avoiding the university and only rarely meeting with students at his house. His position as a research professor, without routine teaching duties, allowed that self-chosen isolation even before he retired. So did the help of his wife—but more on that below.



Julian and Jane Steward, eastern California, 1935.
Courtesy of Deep Springs College.

In the halls of the anthropology department, Steward retained a shadowy presence after his death. Older students mentioned him in a respectful way, passing on graduate-student lore about a man they regarded as a prominent theorist, a luminary. They had heard that he was cordial enough to graduate students, if not a willing teacher and advisor for many. Few were aware of Steward's importance as one of the founding

figures in Great Basin anthropology. His editorship of the *Handbook of South American Indians* and his connections with Latin American and Caribbean anthropology remained more salient at that point to the department's program. Even fewer students, if any, knew about his controversial work as an expert witness in the Indian Claims Commission trials (Pinkoski 2008; Ronaasen et al. 1999).

A year or so after Steward died, I happened to meet his widow in the hallway of the anthropology department. For years, Jane Steward had visited campus regularly to collect his mail, do errands, and (not least) visit with colleagues and others at the university whom she regarded as their friends. She was not only a wife but also something of a goodwill ambassador.

More years had passed when, as a new faculty member at another university, I was asked to teach a graduate seminar that included readings on cultural ecology. I wanted to tell the students something about Steward's life, in an effort to illuminate his distinctive ideas, but my search of published sources turned up only a *festschrift* essay and obituaries. Even after reading those, he still seemed a shadowy figure. I finally decided to contact Jane Steward and some of his former students, including Sidney W. Mintz and Robert F. Murphy, who had worked with him at Columbia University in the late 1940s.

To understand the ideas of theorists and other creative thinkers, it is common to search for intellectual influences: from their teachers, for example, or even from fellow students. (Sid Mintz emphasized the latter when he spoke to me, citing his intellectual ties with other Columbia students.) Steward's fellow students at the University of California, Berkeley, in the 1920s included Isabel T. Kelly, Ralph L. Beals, Theodora K. Kroeber, and William Duncan Strong, but he largely disavowed the influence of his peers or teachers. Privately, he always claimed to be a "maverick," and the sole architect of the theoretical perspective he came to call cultural ecology.

Steward's well-known teachers at Berkeley were anthropologists Alfred L. Kroeber and Robert H. Lowie, and geographer Carl O. Sauer. Lowie, his dissertation advisor, was something of a friend. Kroeber was not so much his intellectual mentor as a patron who provided professional support. As Jane Steward put it, paraphrasing her husband's words, which alluded to

patrilineal kinship systems, "Lowie was his mother's brother, and Kroeber, his father's brother." The warm feelings between Lowie and her husband contrasted with the formality of his relationship with Kroeber. His relations with Sauer were chilly.

If Steward was reluctant to credit other people with influencing his ideas, he did give some credit to a school and place in eastern California: an unusual boarding school located on a working ranch in Deep Springs Valley (see Newell 2015), near the western edge of the Great Basin. Steward arrived in 1918 at the age of sixteen. His three years there provided an immersive experience of Great Basin landscapes, and his first contact with Native people—along with a college preparatory education (Kerns 1999). In 1927, he returned briefly to the area to do ethnographic research with Owens Valley Paiutes. Eight years later, after a short stint as a faculty member and archaeologist at the University of Utah (see Janetski 1999), he returned again to the Great Basin for fieldwork. It resulted in a landmark monograph, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Steward 1938), which is still in print.

Steward was unemployed at the time he began his ambitious research project. The country was then entering the fifth year of the Great Depression. But he had some crucial advantages, even in those hard times: financial support from Kroeber, familiarity with Great Basin landscapes, and contacts with Owens Valley Paiutes. He also had a sense of confidence about his professional prospects, which led him to turn down non-academic employment in favor of fieldwork, and to wait for an offer he judged better. By 1935, Steward had already held two full-time academic positions—at the University of Michigan and the University of Utah—for five years. Despite the scandal that led him to leave the University of Utah, he had reason to think that his academic career had not ended. The hiring practices of the time gave him priority (Kerns 2003).

In contrast, Isabel Kelly, who also carried out fieldwork in the Great Basin during the 1930s, eventually made a career outside the United States and academe (Fowler and Van Kemper 2008, and this issue). In the early 1940s, at Kroeber's urging, Steward hired Kelly as a staff member in Mexico for the Institute of Social Anthropology, a program he directed at the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology. "She may

have a tiny remnant of her last Guggenheim [fellowship] left,” Kroeber had told him, “but essentially she must be at loose ends.” When I later read Steward and Kelly’s correspondence, I was struck by her wry, off-center sense of humor, which often left me laughing out loud. I thought her humor must have helped her cope with years of financial insecurity. I also found that she was one of a very few women Steward corresponded with, but that he almost never cited her work on Southern Paiutes—or the work of other women on anything (Kerns 2003:232–233, 330 n.12).

But back to 1935 and his Great Basin fieldwork. At the outset, Steward had yet another advantage: the assistance of his young new wife, who came from a prominent family in Salt Lake City. Her grandfather was among the first settlers to reach the Great Basin. Jane had slight knowledge of anthropology, but she brought enthusiasm and energy and some family support and contacts to her husband’s research project. She was convinced of the scientific importance of his fieldwork, and embraced her part in it—especially during the first and more exhausting phase.

When I talked to Jane fifty years later, her memories of fieldwork were vivid if limited. Later I read the field journal, much of it written in her hand, and found letters to her family that also documented the daily realities of their fieldwork. The rapidity, intensity, and immense range of that field survey could not have been sustained without her presence and support. She had a disarmingly friendly manner, as I witnessed and others recalled, and the ability to break through social barriers quickly. Her husband did not share those qualities. Robert Murphy, who knew Steward well, remembered him as quiet and often withdrawn—except in intellectual discussions with a few trusted men, his students and colleagues.

In two spells of fieldwork in 1935 and 1936, Julian and Jane Steward covered the length and breadth of the Great Basin. In eastern California, Steward questioned acquaintances from Deep Springs Valley: Tom Stone and Mary Harry, who had worked at the school as a ranch hand and laundress, respectively. Using person-to-person referrals, he located dozens more Indian elders to interview as he and his wife drove across the Great Basin. In a departure from the usual practice of the time, he did not name them in print, identifying them only by initials: TS, MH, and so on.

Steward was searching for ethnographic evidence of the patrilineal band, a foundational concept in his thinking about cultural ecology. He learned from the many Indian elders he interviewed about how they—or their parents and grandparents—had lived on wild lands: the plants they gathered, the animals they hunted, their tools and techniques, the people with whom they lived and worked. These elements—resources, technology, and the organization of work—were central to Steward’s cultural ecology. But to his great disappointment, what elders told him did not provide evidence of the patrilineal band. *Basin-Plateau* became a different book than the one he had envisioned when he set out on his quest (Kerns 2010).

Steward had such a strong sense of being a self-made man and original thinker that it was difficult for him to see how others had helped and taught and guided him. The presence of his wife in fieldwork is not detectable in *Basin-Plateau*. (This is no doubt due also to conventions of the profession and ethnographic writing at the time. Claude Lévi-Strauss reveals the presence of his wife in just one jarring sentence in *Tristes Tropiques*.) Steward likewise said nearly nothing in print about his relations with the anonymous elders, the so-called informants. That term, long conventional in anthropology, simplifies the relationship between ethnographers and the people who act as their teachers in the field. Or call them cultural guides.

Who, then, were these people who served as Steward’s teachers or guides in the Great Basin? By reading the field journal in tandem with *Basin-Plateau*, I found that I could match some names with initials. Later, I searched old records, and identified dozens more elders by name; often by life circumstances; and sometimes by face, in photographs taken by Steward or others. There were a few women, but most were men. They included Owens Valley Paiutes, Northern Paiutes, Southern Paiutes, Western Shoshones and Gosiutes, Northern and Northwestern Shoshones, and Bannocks. Some lived on reservations; others, off reservation in remote valleys or on the outskirts of towns. All were survivors of an ecological crisis, American settlement of their homelands. But that did not engage the interest of a theorist in search of the patrilineal band. And his wife did not then see a connection between her family’s success as settlers and the visible hardships of the elders’ lives.

I want to end here simply by giving credit to a few of the resilient men and women who were patient, perceptive teachers and cultural guides: George Hanson, Indian Ranch, California; Tom Stone and Mary Harry, Big Pine, California; John Shakespeare, Cow Camp, Nevada; Albert Howell, Ash Meadows, Nevada; Barney Hicks, Railroad Valley, Nevada; Jennie Washburn, Ely, Nevada; Bill Gibson, Elko, Nevada; Johnnie Pronto, Duck Valley Reservation, Idaho; Grouse Creek Jack and Silver Ballard, Fort Hall Reservation, Idaho; Ray Diamond and Seth Eagle, Washakie, Utah; and George Moody, Skull Valley, Utah. There were many, many more.

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