

Photographic Images of North American Indians

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For much of its history, photography was viewed as an essentially mechanical process which produced a more or less straightforward transcription of physical reality. We still treasure snapshot likenesses of our loved ones, display them on our mantelpieces or keep them in our wallets, almost as if they bore a physical trace of their subjects. We habitually rely on photographs of the ball eluding the goal-keeper's outstretched fingers for a sense of what the game was like. We look at the (admittedly glossy) images of houses up for sale in estate agents' windows to see whether we might like to buy them or, if only in fantasy, live in them. We still conventionally think of photographs from far distant places as bringing us news of the world 'as it is'. Even a theorist as concerned with 'decipherment' as Roland Barthes wrote in his essay *The Photographic Message* (1961) that the photograph was what he called an "analogon" of reality, "a message without a code"; he thought that unlike a drawing, say, a photograph itself (that is, prior to its use in a newspaper or some other context) was 'objective'.¹⁾ For Barthes - and for most of us - the apparent closeness of photography to material reality is precisely what makes it so seductive.

At the same time, despite photography's reputation as a means of recording the visible world, its much vaunted 'realism', we know in our hearts that it *can* lie. We frequently say that such and such a photograph is a 'poor likeness', even 'it *isn't* her' (or 'him' or, especially, 'me'). We know that many images - in advertising, in fashion, for instance, or in estate agents' windows - are staged or manipulated. Those of us from rich countries sometimes appreciate that camera likenesses of peoples from continents on the other side of the world reveal them as very different to us, but not so different one from another; a reader of the *National Geographic* magazine, for example, on viewing photographs of half naked people from Borneo, might be forgiven for thinking that he or she had already seen them in the previous issue, when in fact *those* people were

from the Brazilian rain forests. Photography is, of course, a system of *representation*, with its own codes, and its products are as inflected by other aspects of the surrounding culture, including ideological considerations, as those of drawing or painting.²⁾

Photographs of North American Indians are no exception. Indeed, because the American West is such a mythologized region - subject of its own multi-media genre, the Western, with its complex pattern of plots, visual signs, aural associations, and so on - it is as much an imaginary space as an actual location, as much a fictional arena as an historical period. Photographs of the denizens of the West - Native American, white 'Anglo', Mexican, or black - however they were first used, whatever their original status, will inevitably be seen by the modern viewer with eyes somewhat blurred by the shining light of the Western.³⁾ This is so despite the frequency with which in the Western film itself photographs were employed as if they constituted *the truth*. A good example is to be found in George Roy Hill's *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969). Although this film constitutes a somewhat revisionist view of both western outlaw legends and previous films about them, it opens with a series of sepia studio stills of the protagonists before breaking into vivid colour for the action, implying that the film proper constitutes a kind of animation of the past itself. (In movies generally the desire to get back to history as it actually was often becomes an attempt to present things as they look in old photographs.)

The earliest movie attempt that I know of to deconstruct this view of photographic images of the West is Robert Altman's *Buffalo Bill and the Indians; or, Sitting Bull's History Lesson* (1976), a highly knowing burlesque of the myth of the West in general. It even has a character pun on the Wild West Show as an effort to 'Codyfy' the West and William Cody claims in the film to have "*a better sense of history*" than Sitting Bull, holy man of the Sioux and Cheyenne force that had defeated Custer in 1876. In its portrayal of Cody, Ned Buntline, Nate Salisbury and others, the movie both sends up famous westerners and specifically debunks representations of the heroic West, notably the Wild West Show and dime novels. Photography, in its turn, does not escape censure. In assembling the cast of the Wild West Show for a group portrait, one of the characters says, "*A hundred years from now this picture will still be in existence. This is the way people will remember you*". Presumably it is such reasoning that leads Sitting Bull to demand from Cody the retention of the legal control of his own photographs; he wants to influence the

manner in which he will be represented in the future. (A wise move, in that, as only we presentday viewers could know, the historical Cody readily exploited the Sioux generally and Sitting Bull in particular.) In Altman's film, because of the sudden news that the U.S. President is about to visit the Show's encampment, the assembled cast disperses and the group portrait is never taken. However, at the very end of the film, the still image accompanying the credits is precisely the group portrait that might have been; it does, and yet does not, exist. The playfulness over this image may offer us an insight into the special position of photographs of the West. From one perspective they give such a powerful illusion of reality, seemingly the light itself of years gone by - even, as the character says, "*a hundred years*" - that they command assent. Yet, at the same time, we also *know* that we cannot always believe what we see in a photograph.⁴⁾

Let me elaborate upon this tension, sometimes with reference to specific images. (In the oral version of this contribution the images themselves were not embellishments, not just illustrations of - or, even, evidence for - what was said, but the actual *subject* of the discussion. In written form, without the feasibility of the use of a similar number of reproduced photographs, such an approach is not possible, but readers may wish to bear it in mind as an ideal.) It may have been a mere coincidence of chronology that the invention of the daguerreotype and its British rival in 1839 meant that most of the phases of white American expansion into the trans-Mississippi West would take place during the photographic era, but it was no accident that so many of the phenomena of westward movement came before the camera lens. Almost all the agencies of that expansion - federal government explorers, army surveyors and fort builders, the manufacturers of wagons and railroads, land bosses and ranchers - specifically employed photographers to record and boost their activities. Eventually, of course, professional photographers themselves, as individual entrepreneurs, began to set up shop in the new towns of the region and, finally, amateur photographers would arise. As Susan Sontag said, "*Faced with the awesome spread and alienness of a newly settled continent, people wielded cameras as a way of taking possession of the places they visited.*" It was inevitable that both the general assumptions which underwrote westward expansion and the particular concerns of the agencies or actors involved in each phase would be reflected in the resulting photographs.⁵⁾



Figure 1

Promotory Point, May 10, 1869, showing the celebrations at the meeting of the trans-continental railroad. Note that the photographer has very deliberately included the American flag. Photograph by A.J. Russell. (Courtesy Instructional Resources Corporation, Laurel, Maryland.)

Thus it was that Timothy O'Sullivan could create numerous landscapes of startling geological formations during service with the King and Wheeler surveys; that John K. Hillers could photograph 'all the best scenery' when he participated in the second descent of the Colorado with John Wesley Powell's government party; that E.A. Guernsey could portray a line of wagons climbing a makeshift timber-buttressed road; that Andrew J. Russell, employed by Union Pacific, could celebrate, like other photographers, the driving in of the golden spike when his railroad met the Central Pacific at Promontory Point, Utah (*Figure 1*); that Laton Huffman, working out of Miles City, Montana, could capture range life; that, in 1861, ten years after its initial settlement, C.A. Clark could take the earliest known photograph of Seattle from outside his newly established log cabin studio; or that Adam Clark Vroman, a Pasadena bookseller by profession, could spend his summer vacations toting his camera through the turn of the century desert Southwest. This is to reaffirm, of course, that photography was inextricably part and parcel of an economically and politically expansionist movement. The entrepreneurs, for instance, would often not only take individual portraits for newly settled town dwellers to send to their folks back home, but also pictures of their businesses, perhaps initially housed in tents, then in small stores, then in big ones on main streets complete with wood-planked sidewalks. And these same images would be shown to people in state and federal government to stress how well things were humming along. They were used, that is, as a component in boosting further expansion.

Most of the images we are concerned with are, if sometimes rather loosely, landscapes, and landscape, from its origins as a genre, as John Berger and others have affirmed, has been connected to the very acquisition and ownership of land itself. In landscapes conceived in this light, what position could Native Americans hold? One of Currier and Ives' popular allegorical prints actually about white westward expansion and land acquisition, *Across the Continent (or Westward the Course of Empire Takes its Way)* of 1868, places its Indian figures quite straight forwardly. While a settlement, complete with school house, rises on the left and a train prepares to make its way to the horizon on undeviating steel rails, the horses of two mounted Indians balk at the train smoke which blows in their faces and threatens to obscure them altogether. In the case of photography, the connection between land ownership and landscape was usually less direct than this allegorical representation, but essentially just as intimate. In various railroad publications of views of



Figure 2

Sleeping Mohave Guides, 1871. Photograph by Timothy O'Sullivan. (Courtesy Library of Congress, Washington, DC.)

Indians, for example, especially of Southwest Pueblo Indians - who are typically represented as craftworkers concerned to offer their products to whites, rather than as people primarily engaged in their own physical and cultural survival - the need to promote tourist as well as business travel, the "*opening up of the West*", as the metaphor goes, meant that even Indian life, not just Indian artefacts, had to seem available for consumption.⁶⁾

Indians did not, of course, 'wield cameras' - at least not until relatively recently - and so were almost as powerless to keep control of the images made of them as they were of the land they had inherited. W.H. Illingworth, who was appointed to General Custer's command, actually photographed a specific incursion when, in an ironic adoption of an Indian's eye-view, he depicted the extended line of troops and wagons of Custer's expeditionary force entering the Black Hills in 1874 (one of the events which triggered the Battle of the Little Big Horn two years later). Indians, despite the earlier specific allocation to a particular tribe of the land in question, are also notably absent in the images Andrew A. Forbes made of the so-called opening up of the Cherokee Strip in April 1889. Even when Indians are present in such photographs this total context must be borne in mind. Consider O'Sullivan's *Sleeping Mohave Guides* (c. 1871), in which expedition geologist G.K. Gilbert sits pensively in the middleground while two Mojaves lie somnolent on the sandy floor of the desert below him (*Figure 2*). It is tempting to read this photograph as commentary on the degree to which Indians were totally at one with their ostensibly hostile environment. But it also speaks graphically of Gilbert's dominance of *his* surroundings, including the Indians. That is, the careful viewer may intuit what was so often the situation: the Indians depicted were merely incidental to the 'real' action and are, literally, marginalized. Whatever the degree to which they comprised the subject of such pictures, they were *always* other, at best the object of a stare.

As cameras were used so bluntly to record everything, we have images, for instance, of the defeated Geronimo and his men sitting on the railroad embankment beside the train which transported them into exile in Florida, far from their own Southwestern border country. Geronimo as his followers were captives, prisoners, and - as photographed by the army lensman - are viewed as objects for our curiosity. A similar objectifying stare is at work in many Native American portraits. Will Soule, who was ostensibly employed by the army to document the construction of Fort Sill in what was to become Oklahoma, went to the



Figure 3

Villa of Brule, February 1891. Photograph by John C. Grabill. (Courtesy Library of Congress, Washington, DC.)

lengths of making an actual portrait studio - complete with artificial backdrop of a European lakeland scene - in which to take pictures of both white personnel and such Indian figures as the Kiowa leaders Santanta and Kicking Bird.⁷⁾ Cody had himself depicted with Sitting Bull in various images titled *Foes in '76*, *Friends in '85*. It is often not appreciated that much of the grave demeanour of such still Indian faces as these - even, paradoxically, their power to intimate tragedy - is attributable to the fact that they are not truly portraits but, rather, mug shots.

It should be expected that images made by self-made entrepreneurial Western photographers will be similarly shot through with ambiguities. It is known, for instance, that Huffman was able to make a living from the constant recycling of his pictures from the 1870s and 1880s - as postcards, handtinted enlargements, and so on - right up until his death in 1931. If Huffman acquired a sense of history, John C. Grabill had it from the start. Realizing that changing times would endow such pictures as *The Last Run of the Deadwood Stage* (1890) with enduring interest, he copyrighted them. His *Villa of Brule*, sometimes subtitled 'The Great Hostile Indian Camp on River Brule near Pine Ridge, South Dakota, February 1891', represents not just a large winter landscape with Indian figures, but the final free days of the Sioux (*Figure 3*). They had fled their reservation in the wake of the notorious army massacre of Big Foot's band at Wounded Knee, but soon afterwards they were rounded up by General Nelson Miles and transported back to the reservation. Wounded Knee and Miles' subsequent campaign presented for Grabill primarily an opportunity not to be missed; and his Indian images are, for us, a welcome, if disquieting, bonus. It was not until the rise of amateur photographers - like Vroman - specifically interested in Native Americans, or of professionals - such as the camera workers employed by the Bureau of American Ethnology - who would adopt them as dominant subject matter for a period, that images of a different order could emerge. But these, too, especially as exemplified by the life's work of Edward S. Curtis, have their ambiguities.

Curtis' *The North American Indian* (1907-1930) is a monumental set of twenty volumes of illustrated text and twenty portfolios of large-size photogravures devoted to over eighty different Native American peoples living west of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers who, in Curtis' prefatory formulation, "still retained some semblance of their traditional ways of life", "The work", as Curtis habitually referred to it, was funded

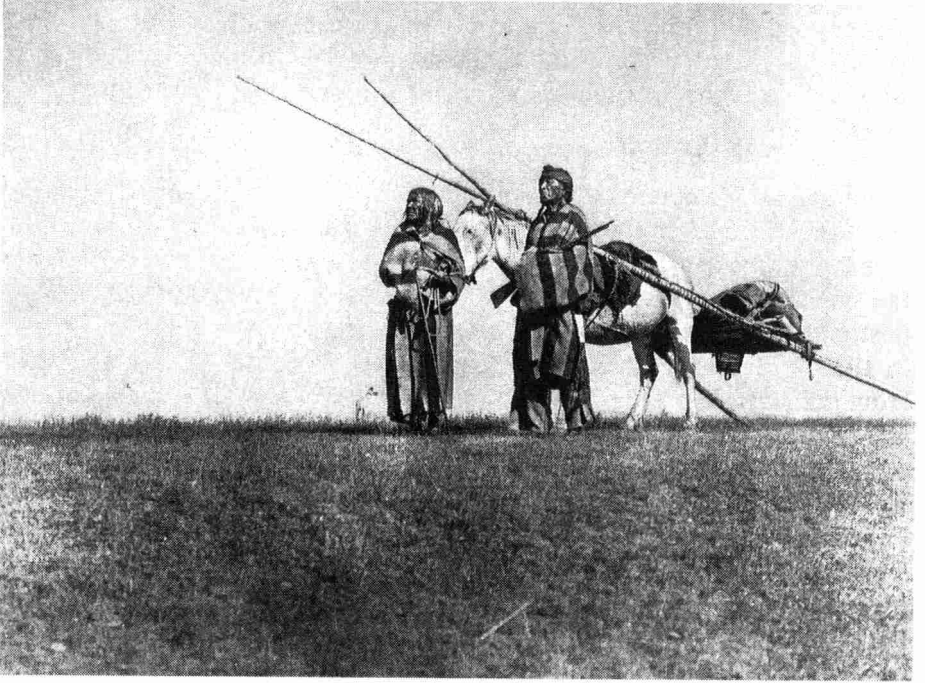


Figure 4

Blackfoot Travois, 1906. Photograph by E.S. Curtis. (Courtesy University of Exeter Library.)

by J. Pierpont Morgan, the fabulously wealthy financier, had a Foreword by President Theodore Roosevelt, and was managed by a business company, The North American Indian, Inc. To head off the pictorial aspect of the project Curtis chose his 1904 image, *The Vanishing Race*, which, insofar as any one image can be, is shot through with nuances in the concept of Indians as 'vanishing' of the sort that Brian W. Dippie has discerned in representations of Indians in general, especially at the turn of the century. According to its caption, "*the thought which this picture is meant to convey is that the Indians as a race, already shorn of their ... strength and stripped of their primitive dress, are passing into the darkness of an unknown future.*"⁸) The image depicts a line of mounted Navajos riding away from the camera - receding in perspective - to be swallowed in the deep shadows of cañon walls. One figure turns in the saddle to look back, as if in regret.

Curtis' Indians would, in the main, characteristically ride into the darkness of an unknown future. He concentrated on representing 'traditional' ways, even to the extent of issuing wigs to cover shorn hair, providing costumes, and removing signs of the mechanistic twentieth century. His Indians were almost always rooted in the landscape, caught in stasis, apparently above and beyond the passage of time, outside history (*Figure 4*). This ideological emphasis held true not only for *The North American Indian*, but also for his series of magazine articles for *Scribner's Magazine* titled 'Vanishing Indian Types', his documentary feature film *In the Land of the Head Hunters* (1914), his popular books, such as *Indian Days of the Long Ago* (1914) and, perhaps most spectacularly, his 'musical' or 'picture-opera' *The Vanishing Race*. The latter was a magic lantern performance with an orchestra, movie footage and scenery, such as a full-sized Plains tipi borrowed from the American Museum of Natural History; in November, 1911 it was put on at New York City's Carnegie Hall to great acclaim and subsequently toured the nation. And many particular constituents of this image, as circulated by the project, were considered beautiful at the time and, whatever their relationship to 'reality', have proved enduring ever since, especially as replicated in numerous Westerns⁹) (*Figure 5*).

The conditions under which photographs of the West were transmitted to a wider, largely eastern audience also contributed to the construction of 'the Indian' as a monolithic stereotypical Other. Viewing of photographic images directly was most easily done on the premises of large photographic establishments and, more particularly, in the context of general



Figure 5

Ogalala War Party, 1907. Photograph by E.S. Curtis. (Courtesy University of Exeter Library.)

expositions, great and small. The Indian photograph thus appeared with many others of the same kind. This inevitably reinforced an overwhelming tendency particular to photography as the first of the mass media: of plenitude, even overabundance. For each viewer a kind of composite vision of the West, especially of Indians, was produced. Another significant means of direct transmission of photographs was the stereoview. These were usually marketed in series, which accentuated the tendencies I have outlined, and there was an additional factor in that the captions printed on the verso of the cards were not composed by the photographer, but by someone in the stereograph company. Barthes has written persuasively about the dominance of the caption over the actual image in the determination of meaning, and this is supremely evident in the case of stereoviews. One of my favourite examples is an Underwood and Underwood production of 1905 in which two Indians appear within the same frame as a train crossing a steep cañon. It is an image which could conceivably speak of *either* the passing of traditional life styles or of the coexistence of tribal and technological forms of life, but the caption nicely limits meaning by the words "*A Wonder to the Primitive Inhabitants - Santa Fé Railroad Train Crossing Cañon Diablo, Arizona*". The caption writer, in other words, was likely not only to act as the first interpreter but also to present them according to conceptions of the West - with its necessarily 'primitive' Indians - already held.¹⁰⁾

Most people did not receive western photographs directly at all; rather, the images permeated the culture reproduced as woodcuts and other kinds of engraving in *Harper's*, *Frank Leslie's* and other illustrated journals of the time. This means that, again, there was a process of inflection of the content and meaning of the images by the preconceptions held by engravers. Also the pictures, though they would declare themselves to be "*from a photograph*" or, more accurately, "*after a photograph*", were received by the viewer in an manner barely distinguishable from any other engravings, and could thus be fitted into a pre-existing pattern of imagery and beliefs (*Figure 6*).

It is worth considering whether, or how far, it is possible to evade these pervasive and deeply-etched stereotypes. Is it possible for anyone to create 'authentic' Indian photographs? Most important of all, now that some Indians do 'wield cameras', can we say that the resulting examples of self-representation speak of anything specifically *Native American* in their content or structure? The odd image made by a Native American has appeared in photographic histories of various tribes and we can



Figure 6

Three Spokan Indians, c. 1861. This is one of the earliest known photographs of Native American people of the interior Pacific Northwest. It was taken by an unknown British Army surveyor. Images like these appeared in official reports and, as engravings, in magazines. (Courtesy Victoria and Albert Museum, London.)

certainly speak of 'self-representation' in the case of such books as John Running's *Honor Dance*, which includes images specifically made for the Navajo cause in the Big Mountain land dispute. Also, art photographs by Indians have appeared in such collections as *Women of Sweetgrass*, *Cedar and Sage*, but I think it is fair to say that the book by Victor Masayesva and Erin Younger, *Hopi Photographers*, *Hopi Images*, like the travelling exhibition on which it is based, offers one of the best opportunities to date, in the context of an informative essay by Younger on the history of white photographic activity in Hopiland, to examine a body of work by Native American photographers.¹¹⁾

The book includes eight varied pictures by Jean Fredericks, who was born in 1906, but the bulk of the recent images selected for publication are by six photographers in their 30s or 40s who are probably working at or near the height of their powers. I will mention only some of them. Owen Seumptewa offers some beautifully understated portraits: his subjects have composed themselves, perhaps sitting at the stove or labouring at some daily task, and they are framed with more than a conventional amount of space around them. I think this is not so much to record the objects around them (in the manner of a typical ethnographer), but to register a kind of correspondence between the stillness of the rooms and the stillness of the figures. Merwin Kooyahoema's photographs are richly coloured landscapes of the Hopi country (walls, the bluest skies), while Fred Kootswatewa's landscapes are more dramatic, especially in the colouration: the sky before a storm over the mesa or deep shadows over the pueblo. It is notable that when aspects of Hopi ceremonialism are depicted, the resulting photographs are nothing like those of the turn-of-the-century artists such as Vroman or Curtis. For instance, whereas Vroman's 'Snake Dance' shots mostly concentrate on the line of dancers, each with a snake in his mouth, even if it means including another busy white photographer at the other end of the line, when Freddie Honhongva presents a ceremonial performer - I'm thinking of the boy clown figure - it is emphatically not at a dramatic moment: he simply sits on a wall facing the camera as a sort of footnote or aside to the main action which goes on, unseen, behind.¹²⁾

Most interesting of all to me are Victor Masayesva's photographs accompanied by poems. In these the poems and photographs reverberate against/within one another. There is a picture of a well-stocked corn-store, to give but one example, accompanied by a poem, *Famine*:

Flies shelled and husked by the blowing sand
It was a windy year

We dug our cornplants out of the sand
And lived on watermelon seeds

There was a lot we ate that year
In the winter-time we ate our children

Both picture and poem could stand alone, but in juxtaposition they enrich each other. (And the greater the reader's knowledge of the place of corn in Hopi culture and mythology, the more the power of each is discharged.) While (like any caption) the verbal text will ultimately take precedence in the assignment of meaning, neither poem nor photograph can easily claim *the* definitive view, and the picture cannot float free, as it were, as a formal construct ...

Younger's essay includes several quotations from the photographers stressing the Hopi-ness, so to speak, of their work, one of them going so far as to assert, "*I take the kinds of photographs that other people [non-Hopis] can't take*". Essentially, we have here, with photography as the arena of debate, a version of the vexed question of how much credence is to be given to the claim of ethnicity in consideration of art works. We have seen it aired repeatedly over fiction and poetry by Indian authors. I have no dogmatic position with reference to literature anyway, but I am certain that the beginnings of such a debate with reference to photography is at least a sign of vitality. Looking thoroughly at photographs is not, as I have probably overstressed, a simple business. Images like those in *Hopi Photographers*, *Hopi Images* indicate that some of us will derive much pleasure, of an increasingly complex kind, from the contemplation of future American Indian photographs. We'll look to learn to see.

Notes

1. Barthes 1977. *Image-Music-Text*. (Trans. Stephen Heath) Fontana, London. p. 15-31.
2. For further discussion of problems of representation in this context, see Gidley, M. (ed.) 1992. *Representing Others: White Views of Indigenous Peoples*. University of Exeter Press, Exeter. The representations of Indians in literature, painting, etc. is ably discussed, among other places, in Berkhofer, R. 1979. *The White Man's Indian*. Vintage, New York.
3. For full consideration of this and other questions of genre, see Buscombe, E. (ed.) 1988. *BFI Companion to the Western*. Deutsch in association with the British Film Institute, London.
4. For a more detailed parallel discussion of such points, see Gidley, M. 1989. 'Some Ambiguities of Western Photography.' In Rob Kroes (ed.) *The American West as Seen by Europeans and Americans*. Free University Press, Amsterdam. p. 282-96.
5. Sontag 1979. *On Photography*. Penguin, Harmondsworth. p. 65. Unless otherwise specified, most of the examples in the following paragraphs were culled from: Current, K. and W.R. Current 1978. *Photography and the Old West*. Harry N. Abrams in association with the Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, New York; Naef, W.J. and J.N. Wood 1975. *Era of Exploration: The Rise of Landscape Photography in the American West, 1860-1885*. New York Graphic Society for the Albright Knox Art Gallery and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Boston; and Taft, R. 1964. *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History, 1839-1889*. Dover, New York.
6. See, among other places, Berger's *Ways of Seeing*. Penguin with the BBC, 1972, Harmondsworth. p. 104-8; relevant comments on the American context may be found in several of the essays, especially Robert Clark's. I.C. Mick Gidley and Robert Lawson-Peebles (eds.) 1989. *Views of American Landscapes*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. The print, originally painted by F.F. Palmer, is reproduced, among other places, in Pratt J.L. (ed.) 1968. *Currier and Ives: Chronicles of America*. Hammond, Maplewood, N.J. p. 99. See also McLuhan, T.C. 1985. *Dream Tracks: The Railroad and the American Indian 1890-1930*. Harry N. Abrams, New York.
7. Geronimo photograph, untitled, reproduced in Schmitt Martin F. and Dee Brown 1948. *Fighting Indians of the West*. Scribner's New York. p. 329, who claim that it was taken not by an army man, but by an 'enterprising' entrepreneur. See Belous R.E. and Robert A. Weinstein 1969. *Will Soule: Indian Photographer at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, 1869-74*. Ward Richie Press, Los Angeles. In Soule's particular case there is a further area of objectification in that he made studies of unnamed Native American women, breasts bared, reclining on skins, often looking discomfited; they are suspiciously akin to clumsy cheesecake pictures, what some anthropologists have dubbed 'ethnoporn'.

8. Curtis (ed. Frederick Webb Hodge) 1907-1930. *The North American Indian*. University Press and Plimpton Press, Cambridge, MA and Norwood, CT. Information on the North American Indian project - as supplemented by research in primary documents - from Graybill Florence Curtis and Victor Boesen 1976. *Edward Sheriff Curtis: Visions of a Vanishing Race*. Thomas Crowell, New York; Holm, B. and George I. Quimby 1980. *Edward S. Curtis in the Land of the War Canoes*. University of Washington Press, Seattle; Lyman C.M. 1982. *The Vanishing Race and Other Illusions: Photographs of Indians by Edward S. Curtis*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington D.C. See Dippie 1982. *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and US Indian Policy*. Wesleyan University Press, Middletown, CT.
9. See Gidley, M. 1987. 'The Vanishing Race in Sight and Sound: Edward S. Curtis' Musicales of North American Indian Life'. In Jack Salzman (ed.) *Prospects: An Annual of American Cultural Studies*, No. 12. Cambridge University Press, New York. p. 59-87 and 'The Repeated Return of the Vanishing Indian'. In Brian Holden Reid and John White (eds.) *American Studies: Essays in Honour of Marcus Cunliffe*. Macmillan, London. p. 189-209.
10. Barthes, *op.cit.*, p. 27. The stereoview discussed here appears in a helpful study: Earle, E.W. (ed.) 1979. *Points of View: The Stereograph in America*. Visual Studies Workshop, Rochester, NY.
11. For a wide-ranging discussion of relevant issues, see Hegeman, S. June 1989. 'Native American 'Texts' and the Problem of Authenticity'. *American Quarterly*, 41. p. 265-83. Running 1985. *Honor Dance*. University of Nevada Press, Reno. *Women of Sweetgrass ...* 1985. Gallery of the American Indian Community House, New York. Masayesva and Younger 1983. *Hopi Photographs, Hopi Images*. Sun Tracks and University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
12. For Vroman, see both the book under discussion and Webb. W. and Robert A. Weinstein 1973. *Dwellers at the Source: Southwestern Indian Photographs of A.C. Vroman, 1895-1904*. Grossman, New York.