REFLECTIONS: PAPERS ON SOUTHWESTERN CULTURE HISTORY

IN HONOR OF

C H A R L E S H. L A N G E

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Cover Photo: Navajo sarape of about 1860. In the mid-19th century, such sarapes sold for about fifty or sixty dollars. (UCM 26620).

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HISTORY OF PROHIBITION OF PHOTOGRAPHY OF SOUTHWESTERN INDIAN CEREMONIES

LUKE LYON

The 1839 announcement of the invention of photography roughly coincided with the beginnings of the trans-Mississippi expansion of American culture (Taft 1938). Photography in the Southwest lagged behind this expansion, and not until after the Civil War were there significant numbers of photographs made in the area. Following completion of the railroads through the Southwest in the early 1880s, many photographers became intrigued with the area's startling geological features and diverse Indian groups. Indian ceremonies became one of the attractions that drew photographers. In the 1890's the Hopi Snake ceremony at Walpi was considered to be one of the major photographic opportunities of the Southwest.

Photographs of ritual relay racers were taken at Taos Pueblo in 1871; a movie of a southwestern Indian dance was filmed in 1898 when movie film was first available commercially. From 1870 to about 1910 there were few formal tribal restrictions on photography of Indian ceremonies. However, by the 1920s, 50 years after the Taos photographs were made, many Southwestern tribal groups prohibited photography of their ceremonies.

There are 50 tribal groups in the South west--an Indian cultural area that includes the states of New Mexico, Arizona, part of Colorado, and in Mexico, Chihuahua, Sonora and part of Sinaloa[1]. Today, there are over 400 ceremonies performed annually in the area. Of the 34 tribal groups performing ceremonies, 21 prohibit photography of all or most of their ceremonies. The general public can photograph some ceremonies of 13 tribal groups, usually upon payment of a fee. There are over a dozen ceremonials, tribal fairs, powwows, arts and crafts shows at which photography of Indian dances is permitted.

The history of photography of southwestern Indian ceremonies was obtained from: photograph collections held by 25 institutions, published and archival documents, private interviews and observations of ceremonies from 1970 to the present. Bar charts in Figures 1 to 7 show when and where photography of ceremonial subjects was permitted or was prohibited. Justification for or against photography of southwestern Indian ceremonies is revealed in the different attitudes and value systems of non-Indians and Indians.

Photography of Hopi religious ceremonies is not permitted. Restrictions of photography of the Hopi Snake Dance at Walpi started in 1913-1915; prohibition of photography of all Hopi ceremonies became almost completely effective in the late 1920s.

The Snake dances of the Hopi villages in north-central Arizona have fascinated large numbers of non-Indians for at least 100 years (Bourke 1881, 1884). The Snake ceremony is just a part of the year-round Hopi religious cycle that includes their Bean, Flute and masked kachina ceremonies. This ceremony culminates late on an August afternoon with the Antelope society holding and the Snake society dancing with

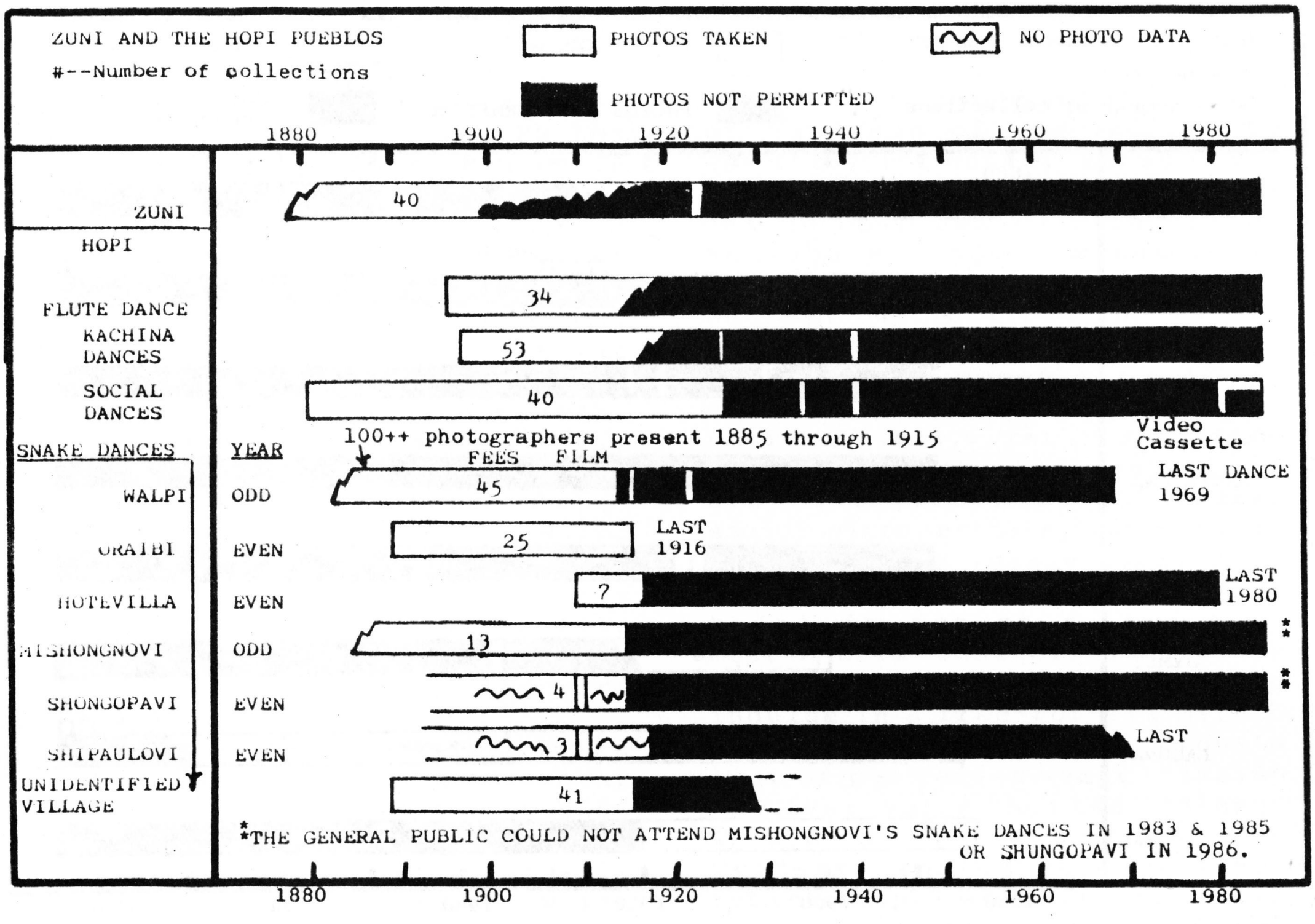

Figure 1. Bar chart showing when photography was allowed at Zuni and Hopi pueblos.

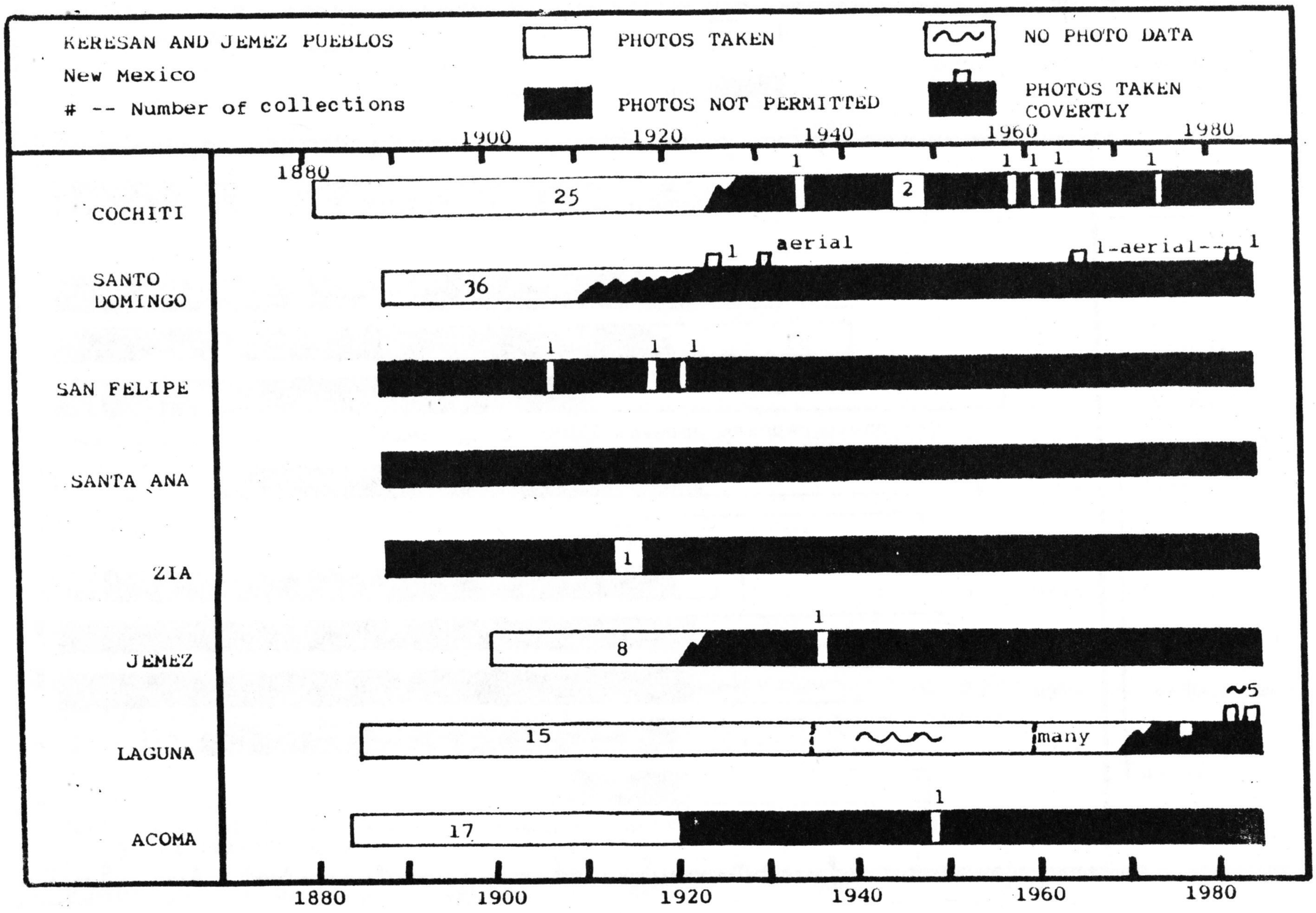

Figure 2. Bar chart showing when photography was allowed at Keresan and Jemez pueblos.

snakes in the village plaza--a ceremony whose main purpose is rain making and promotion of garden crops. Six Hopi villages performed Snake dances ca.1910-1911: Shungopavi, Shipaulovi, Oraibi and Hotevilla in even-numbered years; Walpi and Mishongnovi in odd-numbered years.

Hopi Snake dances were photographed in 1885. Photographs of Walpi Snake dances in the 1890s show the presence of many photographers on house tops and on the plaza within a few feet of the dancers and snakes.[2] Photographer Ben Wittick comments about the 1899 Walpi dance, "There were visitors from San Francisco, Chicago, New York, New Orleans, Los Angeles, etc., and anybody with a Kodak!" (Wittick 1899). Wittick photographed the ceremony at Walpi from the mid 1880s until his death in 1903 of a rattlesnake bite. He was planning to take a rattlesnake to his Walpi friends for their Snake Dance (Packard 1970:46).

Of the 1901 Walpi Snake Dance, G. Wharton James wrote, "It was decided that the photographers present must be kept within a certain line...It will not be long before one can write a learned and accurate paper from the standpoint of the scientific ethnology on the change in religious ceremonies owing to the camera," (James 1902; Lyman 1982:119-124; Longo 1980). One of Thomas A. Edison's motion picture crews filmed the 1901 Walpi Snake ceremony.[3]

In the early 1900s as the number of visitors and photographers coming to the Walpi Snake dances increased, the resident Indian agent Supt. Leo Crane became more and more upset and said, "Each tourist packs one of those devices sold by Mr. Eastman...I proposed to increase the tribe's revenue by taxing each visitor a dollar for the camera privilege...the clan thought it good business, and asked me to arrange it...One dollar! Yet there were many who sought to evade and forced unpleasantness," (Crane 1925:251-255). In August of odd-numbered years, Crane dreaded the arrival of hundreds of non-Indians to see the Walpi dance. These visitors, from as far away as Canada and Europe, had to struggle by horseback, wagon or early-day cars over 80+ miles of desert between the railroad and Walpi. Crane's annual reports are filled with pithy comments on these visitors, "This dance is a national show...the reservation is particularly interesting to archaeologists, ethnologists, sociologists, artists, photographers, and practically every sort of 'ogy' and 'ologist' for whom there is reason to exist... most of them considering the place as a playground and wishing to indulge in a free-for-all method of entertainment...." Crane's list of pet peeves were: "INDIAN TRADERS: worse than the Indians. TOURISTS: worse than the Indian Traders; including interested but undisciplined 'friends,' curio hunters, actresses, authors, moving-picture fiends, and just plain wandering open-mouthed TOURISTS. Last but not least--THE SNAKE DANCE." Crane said much of the work load at Keams Canyon Agency dealt with traders, tourists, the Snake Dance and "1,678,923 1/2 reports to the Indian office," (Crane 1912-1919).

Events leading to the first official restrictions of photography of a specific southwestern Indian ceremony centered around the August 21, 1913, Walpi Snake Dance. A few days before the ceremony Cato Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington,

D.C., sent Supt. Leo Crane a letter and telegram stating, "Taking pictures (of the) Snake Dance should be permitted for historical purposes only and not for commercial use," (Crane 1913). Permits to attend the ceremony were issued by Crane to 500 to 800 non-Indian visitors, and he tried to control photography. The number of visitors was increased by Arizona Governor W.P. Hunt's party, including ex-President Theodore Roosevelt and two of his sons, plus attendant photographers from Phoenix. Perhaps the apprehensions of Crane and Sells over the presence of Hunt and Roosevelt led to restrictive orders on photography.

When Crane arrived at the Walpi dance plaza late in the afternoon of August 21, 1913, he was surprised to find two sets of photographers set up to make movie films: the Kolb brothers from their nearby Grand Canyon studio and also Victor Miller of Pathe's Weekly. Crane allowed these photographers to make films after he had extracted a promise that an agreement would later be signed that the films would be used only for private or historical purposes. The Kolb brothers signed the agreement after the ceremony. Miller did not show up for the signing party and attempted to get off the reservation with his film. Crane gave pursuit. Imagine a night-time chase of ca.1910 cars over the wagon tracks of the Hopi-Navajo reservation. Miller was slowed by a flat tire. Also his local driver probably did not relish a night crossing of Jeddito Wash, since the Hopi Snake Dance was famous for inducing powerful thunderstorms that in minutes filled washes with rushing water. Crane caught Miller an hour after midnight. Miller was arrested, taken to an agency headquarters and held until the next day. He was released along with his equipment, but his film was confiscated and sent unopened to Washington (Crane 1913). Later Crane observed, "Because of this untoward happening, and the wild cries of wounded vanity heard in Washington, the Commissioner became annoyed. He issued a crushing order that no photographs, still, animated, or out of focus, should be permitted thereafter," (Crane 1925:251-255). The Kolb film is at the University of Northern Arizona.[4] A Library of Congress film, showing Teddy Roosevelt at the 1913 Walpi Snake Dance, probably can be attributed to Victor Miller, the Pathe's Weekly photographer.[5] The checkered and quixotic history of the Miller film is a tale yet to be completely traced: a film confiscated during a midnight chase on the Hopi-Navajo reservation in 1913, sent undeveloped to Washington and identified in the archives of the Library of Congress in 1986.

Confirmation of these events and ensuing restrictions on photography was made by Thelma B. Towle, an Arizona writer, through interviews she had in 1957 with photographers who had been present at one or another of the Walpi ceremonies of 1913, 1915 and 1917 (Towle 1957). Towle thought Hopi objections to photography became stronger after introduction of movie cameras because this increased the chance for commercialization of the ceremony.

The number of photograph collections found of Hopi Snake dances, dating from 1885 through 1914, was 131; 7 collections were found for the 1915-1923 period but dates for two are

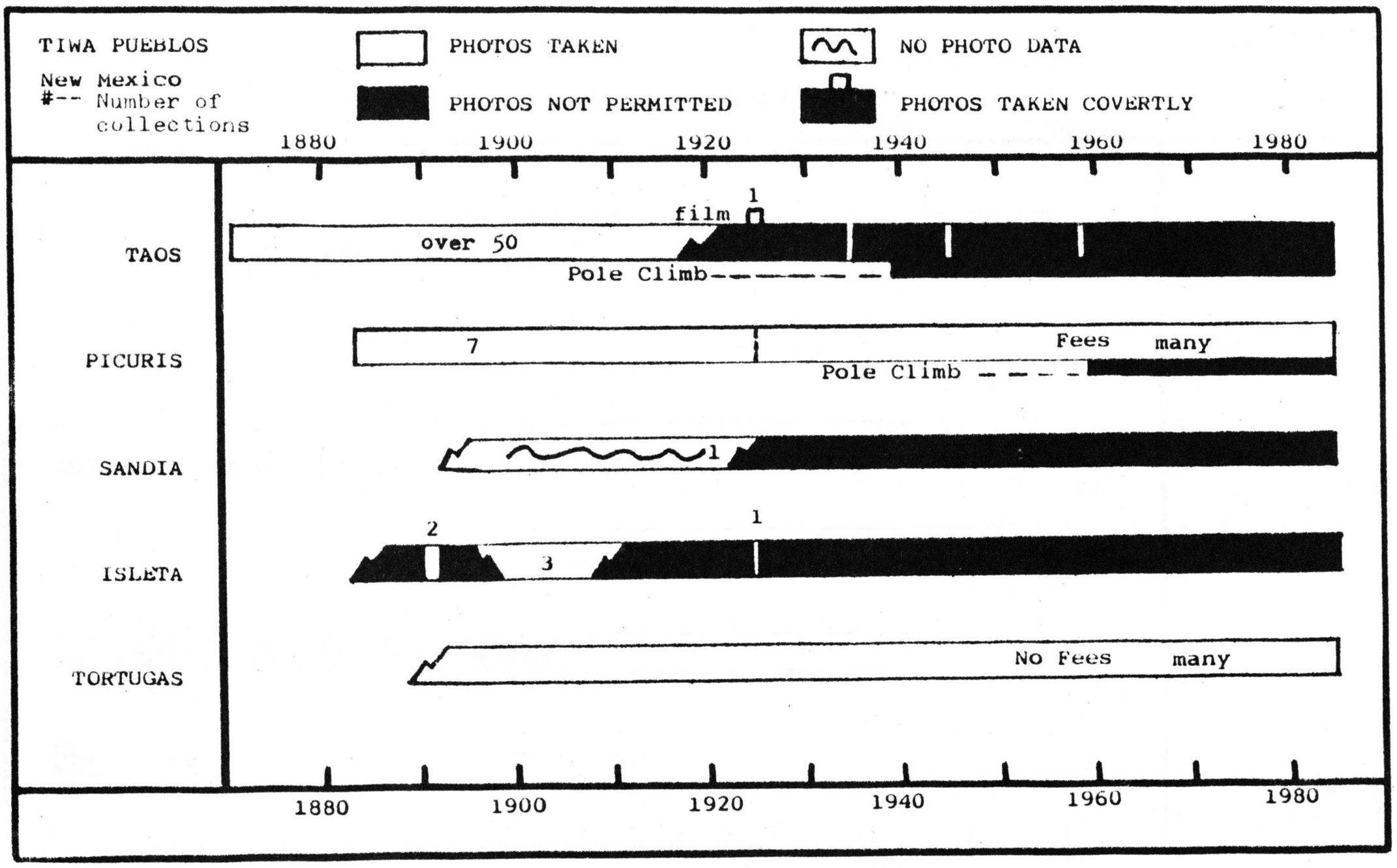

Figure 3. Bar chart showing when photography was allowed at the Tiwa pueblos.

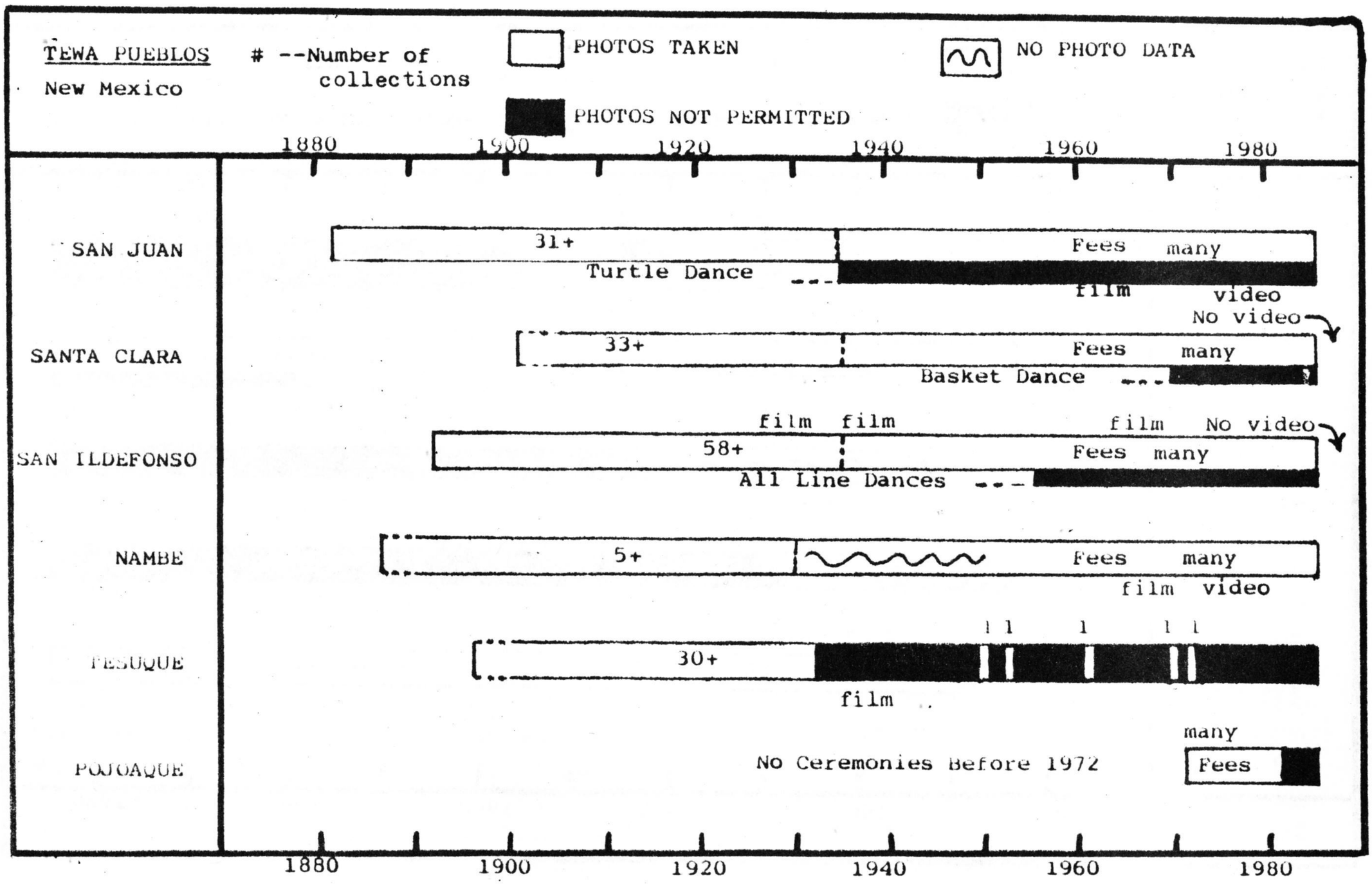

Figure 4. Bar chart showing when photography was allowed at the Tewa pueblos.

questionable; no Snake Dance photographs were found dated later than 1923. From 1885 through 1923, hundreds of photographers must have recorded the Hopi Snake dances.

The numbers of photographers interested in documenting the complete Hopi ceremonial cycle were never as great as those who photographed only the Snake Dance. Joseph Mora lived at Hopi and recorded the full Hopi ceremonial cycle by paintings and photographs in 1904-1906 (Mora 1979). Kate Cory also lived at Hopi and photographed most of the Hopi ceremonial cycle from 1905 to 1912 (Wright, Gaede and Gaede 1986). The last major photographic effort of the complete annual cycle of ceremonies was by Emry Kopta who lived at Hopi 1912-1922.[6] A Kopta photograph of the Walpi Snake Dance ca.1921-1923 shows observers with cameras. Photography of some Hopi ceremonies into the 1920s perhaps can be partially explained by a change in the administration of the reservation--Supt. Crane was transferred to New Mexico in 1919, and his prohibition policies may not have been enforced rigorously after he left.

Strange as it may seem, several photographs[7] exist of a demonstration Hopi Snake Dance performed on the Capitol Plaza in Washington, D.C., May 15, 1926, before Vice President Dawes and 5000 other citizens. Its purpose was to show that Hopi ceremonies were not inhuman or cruel, as had been contended by organizations who wanted to prevent the annual performances. Arizona's Senator Cameron said the dance was not as bad as the Charleston (Billingsley 1971:109, 123; New York Times and the Washington Post for May 16, 1926).

Perhaps the last, if not the only, available movie film of a Hopi masked Kachina Dance was made by Clifford Paul in 1926.[8]

The initial 1913-1915 restrictions of photography at Hopi must be attributed to officials of the Bureau of Indian Affairs--they even charged camera fees. This action was effective in reducing the number of photographers at Hopi ceremonies. However, some photography of Hopi ceremonies continued until the mid 1920s, mostly by photographer-friends of the Hopi. At rare intervals from that time to the present, a few photographs of Hopi social dances have been made.[9]

At present, photography of general Hopi scenes and of some social dances is permitted on special occasions with tribal and individual village permission. Photography of Hopi religious ceremonies is prohibited and is controlled primarily on a village basis with help from tribal police. A pamphlet distributed at the August 24-25, 1984, Shungopavi Snake Dance admonished visitors, "Because of the sacred character of the dance, picture taking, recording of songs and sketching of any part of the dance will not be permitted and will be strictly enforced. Any attempt of the above will not only cause you embarrassment but may also cause your camera, tape recorder, or sketching materials to be confiscated."

Individual villages also control attendance at certain ceremonies. The general public was barred from the 1985 Mishongnovi and the 1986 Shungopavi Snake dances, the only two villages still performing this dance.[10]

ZUNI PUEBLO

Photography of Zuni religious ceremonies has been banned since the mid 1920s. The number of Zuni ceremony photographs is considerably fewer than those available for Hopi ceremonies. The most active period of photography at Zuni was from 1879 to 1900.

John Hillers photographed a Harvest Dance and Zuni Koyemshi ritual clowns at Zuni ca. 1880. The Taber Co. of San Francisco, working for the 1886 Hemenway Expedition, photographed a Zuni War Dance and made one shot of the Shalako kachinas leaving the village.[11]

Apparently the Zuni objected to photography of their famous Shalako ceremony as early as the late 1890s. Ben Wittick noted of the 1897 Shalako ceremony, "...(I) go to bed mad, but consoled that if I didn't get photos, others didn't...up for breakfast...six Shalakos are gathered...I quickly walk behind the crowd and drop six plates uncaught...Tried to get (another) good view, but the Zunis discovered me and interposed --got a couple of attempts."[12]

The 1923 Shalako ceremony was filmed by Owen Cattell and his brother from the Museum of the American Indian in New York City. A visiting anthropologist noted that "Zuni and Isletan youths posted themselves before the camera and ruined most of Mr. Cattell's film," (Stephen 1936:12). Another witness said, "The Cattell brothers thought they had it all fixed to take some moving pictures--a thing that Douglas Fairbanks had attempted to do three years ago and failed....The Cattells took a few of them, and then set their camera in a conspicuous place... The Priest of the Bow jumped in front of the camera," (Zuni Hearings 1924). However, one of the existing 1923 Cattell films of Zuni has a 9- minute sequence of the outdoor portion of the masked Shalako kachina ceremony--the Cattells were more successful than either the anthropologist or the Priests of the Bow realized.[13]

No photographs have been found of ceremonies conducted inside Zuni houses, i.e., the winter kachina dances and portions of the Shalako ceremony.

Few photographs have been made of Zuni ceremonies since the mid 1920s. However, mural paintings by Zuni artist Alex Seowtewa on the walls of the old Zuni Mission Church show complete and accurate details of life-sized Zuni kachinas (Lyon 1977); also see the kachina paintings by Duane Dishta (Wright and Dishta 1985).

Small dance groups formed at Zuni perform social-type dances at ceremonials, county fairs and the New Mexico State Fair--photography and audio-video recording of these dances occurs.

JEMEZ AND THE KERESAN PUEBLOS

All eight of these Pueblos prohibit photography in the 1980s, but the dates of initial prohibition vary.

The people of Santo Domingo Pueblo, noted for their spectacular Corn Dance, objected in various ways to photography of the dance in the early 1900s. Sometimes the Indians cast "showers of pebbles at Kodak fiends."[14] Jesse Nusbaum said, "Photographs prohibited and cameras busted by Indian guards... Had Frank Butts of Santa Fe who was carrying opened umbrella shield me and camera from the view of Indians, then quickly raise and lower it when I was

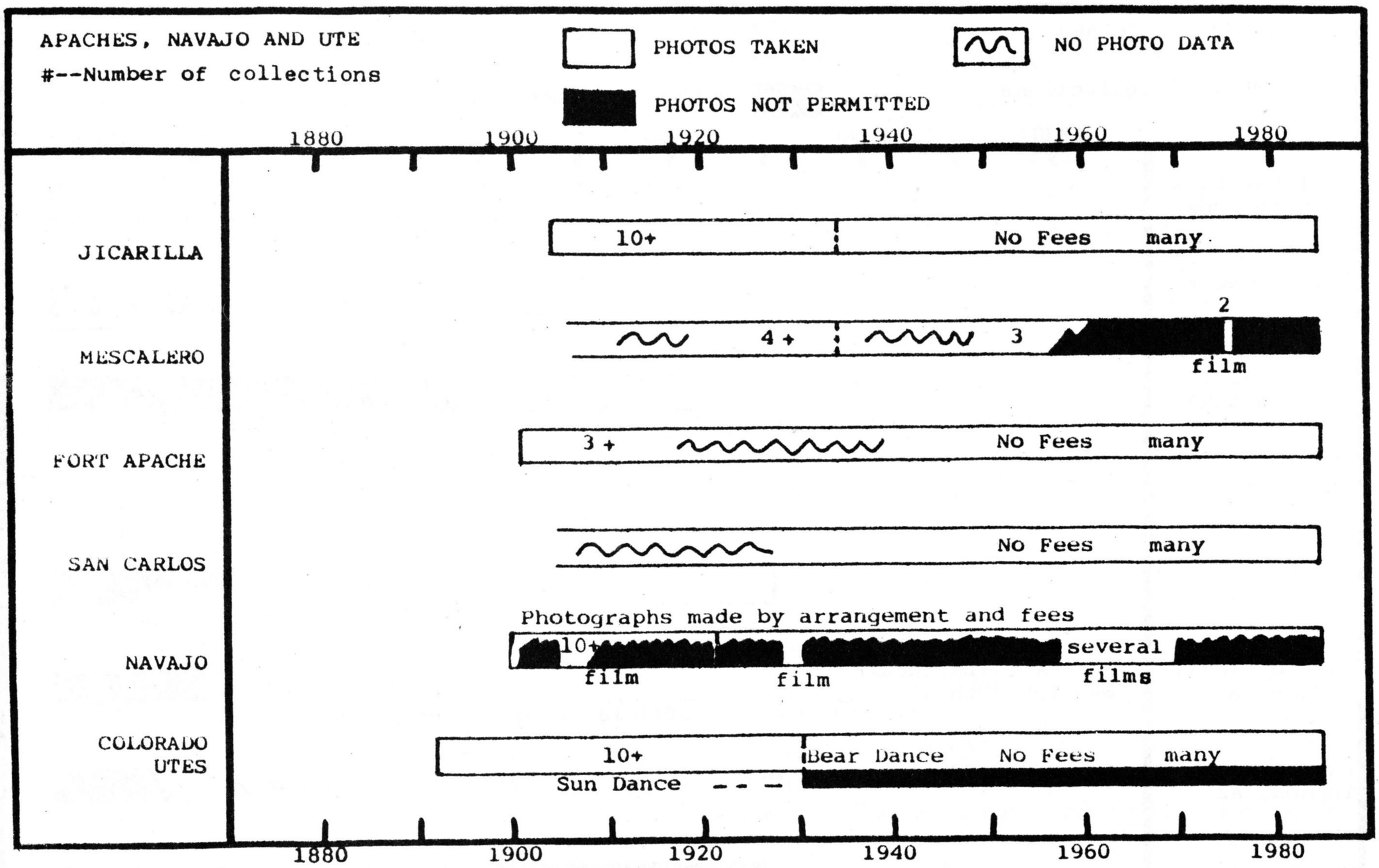

Figure 5. Bar chart showing when photography was allowed at Apache, Navajo and Ute ceremonies.

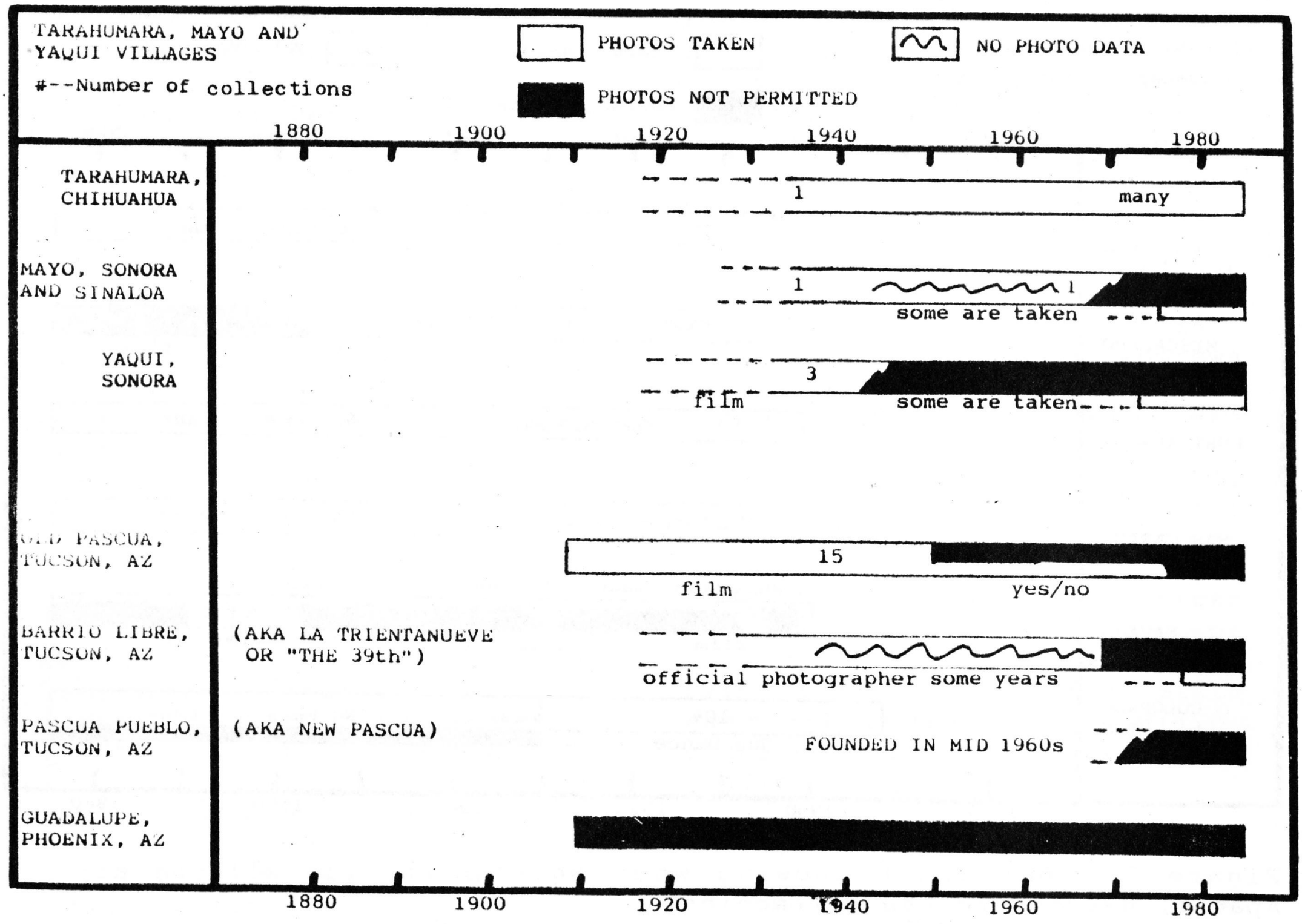

Figure 6. Bar chart showing when photography was allowed at Tarahumara, Mayo, and Yaqui villages.

ready to take a picture." Santo Domingo's Koshare ritual clowns almost started a riot in 1921 when they found a man with a camera. By 1924 huge notices were posted at the edge of the village saying no photographing is permitted. Several Kodaks were broken in 1933.

Santo Domingo's attitude toward photography was supported by archaeologist Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, "It would not be unreasonable to expect the Indians to smash cameras...Suppose, while you are at worship in your church on some great festival day, a crowd of boisterous Indians were to drive up...(and) set up cameras snapping photographs right and left..." (Santa Fe New Mexican, Aug. 3, 1918).

There are over 30 collections of photographs of the events associated with the August 4 Santo Domingo Corn Dance, dating from the 1880s to the 1920s. As yet few if any photographs of the many other ceremonies performed at Santo Domingo have been found.

The most recent and celebrated aerial photographs of a Santo Domingo ceremony were published in the Santa Fe New Mexican on January 24 and 29, 1984. Accusations, lawsuits, apologies, apologies not accepted, negotiations all ended a year later, with the Santa Fe New Mexican abjectly apologizing to Santo Domingo and setting up a summer job program for Indians, providing free advertising for village events, and assigning a member of the newspaper staff to learn about Indians (Albuquerque Journal, and Santa Fe New Mexican, Feb. 1, 1985). These photographs show that a ceremony was in progress, but few details can be recognized.

Very few photographs exist of San Felipe, Santa Ana or Zia ceremonial material, suggesting they did not permit photography. Although Cochiti, Acoma and Jemez have prohibited photography since the 1920s, several photographs of their ceremonies were taken before that time, mostly of their Corn Dance. Laguna after several years of vacillation finally prohibited photography in the 1980s of their September 19 feast day ceremonies at Old Laguna--photography of ceremonies in the out-lying villages of Laguna may take place from time to time.

TIWA PUEBLOS

Taos Pueblo has banned photography of most of its ceremonies since about 1920, although a few photographs were taken from time to time until about 1960. Taos Indians ca. 1910 threw dust at photographers.[15] Some of the earliest photographs of a southwestern ceremony were those taken of Taos ritual relay racers on Sept. 30, 1871.[16] A large number of photographs of early Taos ceremonies are at Kit Carson Memorial Foundation, Taos.

Isleta prohibited photography of ceremonies in 1889 (Lummis 1889). A Mary Pickford movie was made at Isleta in 1912, and a few seconds of the film are devoted to a dance.[17] Isletans may have always objected to photography. Picuris Pueblo permits photography of some of its ceremonies but prohibits photography of its Pole Climb. Very few photographs exist of Sandia Pueblo ceremonies, and photography has been banned since the 1920s.

Tortugas village, on the southern edge of Las Cruces, NM, has tenuous ties with the Tiwa--its ancestry can be traced to Indians who retreated southward

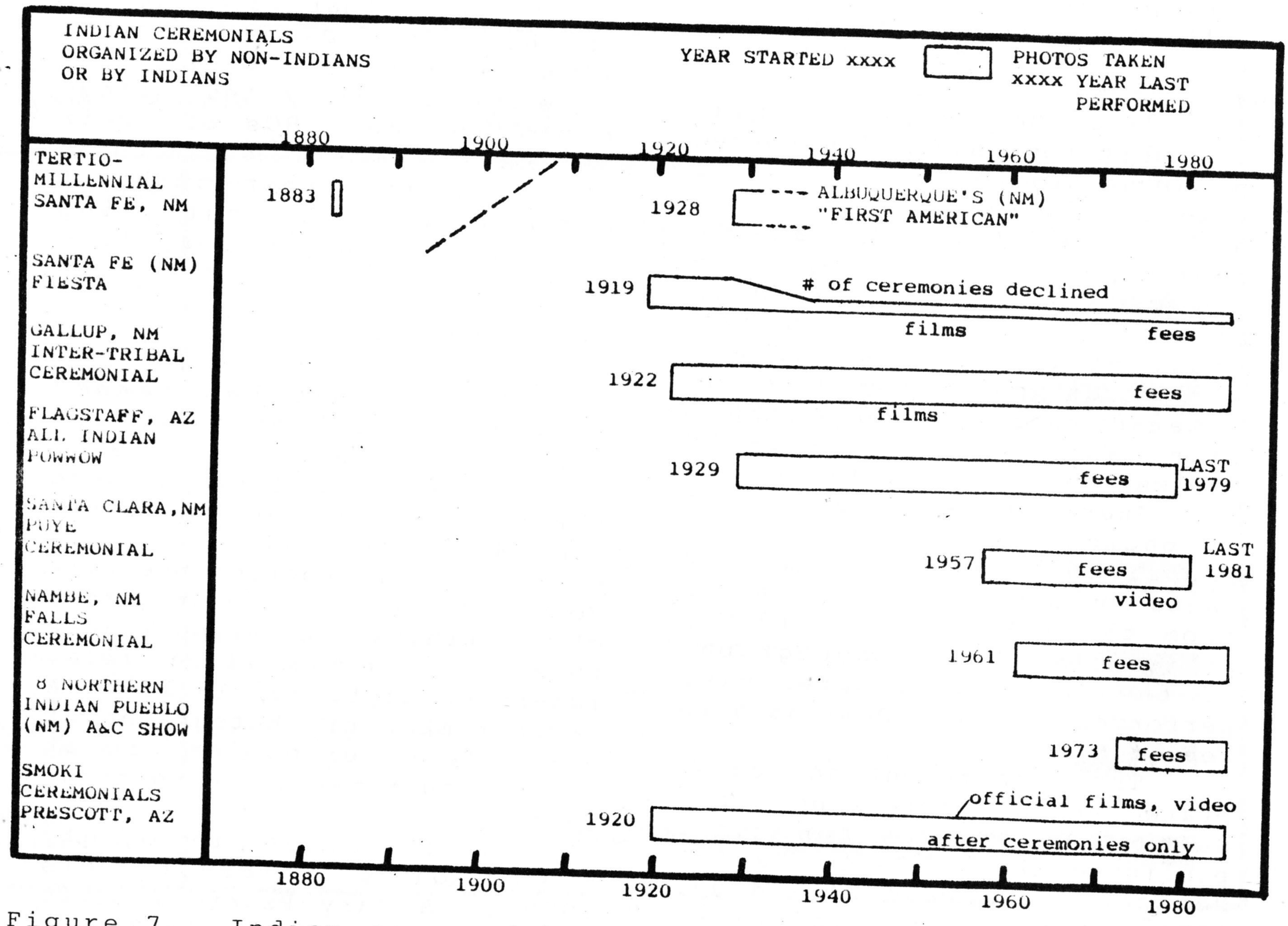

Figure 7. Indian ceremonials organized by non-Indians and by Indians.

with the Spaniards after the 1680 Pueblo revolt (Lyon 1976). Tortugans are extremely proud of their celebrations on December 10 to 12 in honor of Our Lady of Guadalupe. They host a feast for all comers and the ceremonies have been completely open for photography. Recently there have been some comments that photography in coming years may have to be controlled. Collections at New Mexico State University, Rio Grande Historical Collections have early photographs of Tortugas ceremonies.

TEWA PUEBLOS

Four of six Tewa villages have always allowed photography of most of their ceremonies. The villages of San Juan, Nambe, Santa Clara and San Ildefonso permit photography and charge fees for camera permits. These fees have increased in the last 15 years from $2 to the present fee of $5-$10 per ceremony. Both San Ildefonso and Santa Clara have recently banned audio-video recording, and permits now state that photographs are for personal use only. This current ban on audio-video recording probably is an attempt to prevent commercialization of the recording, especially the audio portion, as the songs are considered to be sensitive religious material. Photography is not permitted for their most sacred ceremonies, e.g., Turtle Dance at San Juan, Basket Dance at San Ildefonso.[18]

Tesuque has restricted photography for many years, but from time to time a few photographers were given permission to film or photograph. Pojoaque Pueblo resumed its dance ceremonies in 1972 after a hiatus of 100 years; they banned photography in the 1980s.

There is no straightforward answer to why four Tewa villages permit photography of many of their ceremonies. Edward Dozier, an anthropologist of Santa Clara ancestry said, "Pueblo Indians are beginning to discover that fees charged for taking photographs...are a convenient way to bring revenue into the pueblo," (Dozier 1970:185). Fred Harvey Indian Detour tourist groups often visited Tewa villages in the 1920s, and segments of dances were performed for them by arrangement and probably for a fee. Starting in 1919, Tewas performed several of their dances at the Santa Fe Fiesta with pay of $7 to $10 per dancer. We can only speculate that these performances were a welcome source of income and led to a certain amount of tolerance to the presence of tourists and to photography (Sweet 1981:97ff; 1985:50).

APACHES, UTE AND NAVAJO TRIBAL GROUPS

At the four Apache reservations, only the Mescalero prohibit photography by the general public, although exceptions were made in the 1970s, allowing an anthropologist and also a German TV crew to photograph and film Mescalero ceremonies.

Southern Utes and Mountain Utes allow photography of their social Bear Dance but not of their sacred Sun Dance.

Photography of Navajo ceremonies has not been and is not today regulated by any formal policy of the tribal council of the Navajo Nation. Recording of Navajo ceremonies has been done a few times in the last 100 years. Some photographs were obtained surreptitiously. Most often permission to photograph

Figure 8. Taos Pueblo ritual relay racers, San Geronimo fiesta, Sept. 30, 1871. One of the earliest photographs of a ceremonial subject taken in the Southwest. William Blackmore, English financier and collector of American Indian artifacts, hired photographer Orloff R. Westmann to photograph the Taos fiesta. (Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives, 1943-C.)

a ceremony was obtained by beforehand negotiations and payments were made to the people involved. In the late 1970s Navajo medicine men formed a nonprofit corporation to receive health insurance funds. The bylaws stated that no camera, television or recording equipment be allowed inside a shelter where a curing ceremony was in progress (Parezo 1983:33, 73). Membership in the organization was voluntary, and not all medicine men joined.

Most traditional Navajo religious rites deal with curing of disease or restoring well-being of one or two patients. A medicine man, often called a Singer, conducts the curing ceremony that may last nine nights and intervening days. Large numbers of Navajo attend the last two nights.

Navajo ceremonies offer a wealth of photographic subjects: sandpaintings on the floor of a ceremonial hogan or lodge, group singing and dancing, corral-type dressing rooms made of evergreen boughs, and in earlier days horse races, rooster pulls and other social events. Photographers of Navajo ceremonies have many problems to solve: finding when and where the ceremonies are to be held, obtaining permission from both the Singer and the patient's family to take photographs, photographing under adverse lighting conditions at night and in a dimly-lighted ceremonial hogan. Because of these difficulties some of the first photographers of Navajo ceremonial subjects took their photographs out of ceremonial context--the subjects were posed, and lighting conditions dictated when and where the photographs were taken.[19]

Figure 9. One of the earliest photographs yet found of the Zuni Shalako ceremony, taken in 1886 by the I.W. Taber Photo Company. This company was hired to photograph the Hemenway Expedition's work at Zuni. The 9-foot tall kachinas are leaving the village after dancing all night. They will not reappear for another year. (Bancroft Library, University of California, Taber photograph 4653.)

Portions of the Nightway ceremony (Yeibichai) were photographed at Shiprock, NM, in 1920, by Arthur Chapman. He said, "Several tourists with cameras of the ordinary type were ejected from the big hogan where the sandpaintings were made." However, Chapman did take photographs, through the connivance and help of the Indian Agent and a trader. Chapman said, "No excuse is here offered for taking pictures in defiance of the Navajo's wishes, except that permanent records of Navajo sandpaintings should be made for the benefit of a world that is seeing Indian ceremonials and traditions vanish all too quickly" (Chapman 1921).

Unquestionably, the most complete photographic and film documentation of Navajo ceremonies was made in the winter of 1963-1964 by the American Indian Films Group of the University of California, Berkeley, directed by Samuel A. Barrett. Barrett obtained permission to photograph Navajo ceremonies through the assistance of Kenneth E. Foster, director of the Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art in Santa Fe, NM (now Wheelwright Museum). Foster and his Navajo interpreter along with Barrett made arrangements, actually they created a bit of fiction, whereby the staff of the group was accepted as members of the family of the patient undergoing the curing ceremony. Since members of a patient's family share the cost of a ceremony, the group made payments to the Singer and all others involved, acting out the fiction that they were members of the patient's family. Thus, the traditional method of a patient's family being responsible for the costs was kept intact. The group made color films of a hand-trembling rite, and complete coverage

TABLE I

SUMMARY OF

PROHIBITION OF PHOTOGRAPHY OF SOUTHWESTERN INDIAN CEREMONIES

TRIBAL GROUP	DATE	TRIBAL GROUP	DATE
SAN FELIPE, NM	always?	SANTO DOMINGO, NM	~1923-earlier
SANTA ANA, NM	always?	JEMEZ, NM	~1923
ZIA, NM	always?	SANDIA, NM	~1923?
YAQUI, PHOENIX AZ	always	TAOS, NM	~1923
ISLETA, NM	always?	TESUQUE, NM	1930s?
HOPI, AZ		YAQUI, SONORA	1940s
SNAKE	1917	YAQUI, TUCSON AZ	1950s-60s
KACHINA	1920s	ACOMA, NM	1920s-50s?
SOCIAL	1920s	MAYO, SONORA & SINALOA	1970s?
ZUNI, NM	~1920	LAGUNA, NM	~1979
COCHITI, NM	~1923	POJOAQUE, NM	~1981
**NAVAJO		MESCALERO, NM	1960s

** Navajo ceremonies have been photographed a few times from 1900 to the present, but only by carefully arranged beforehand permission.

of the Red Ant Way, Mountainway, Nightway and perhaps one other ceremony.[19]

As mentioned previously many early Navajo photographs and films were taken out of ceremonial context. Perhaps this separation of the recording process from the actual ceremony satisfied objections that photography would cause loss of ritual power, adversely affecting the cure of the patient and physically interrupting the ceremony. These early objections probably are still valid today. Permission for the general public to photograph might allow Navajo ceremonies to become tourist attractions--a situation not yet acceptable to many Navajo. However, photography of Navajo social dance competitions is permitted, e.g., the competitions held in early October at the Northern Navajo Fair, Shiprock, NM.

Although it is a relatively rare occurrence, recording portions of a Navajo ceremony still occurs.

TARAHUMARA, MAYO AND YAQUI VILLAGES

Tarahumara villages in Chihuahua, Mexico allow photography of their ceremonies, especially if gifts of food or cigarettes are offered.[20] Photography in Mayo villages of Sonora and Sinaloa, Mexico may be possible, but usually they prefer that photographs not be taken.[21] The same is true for the Yaqui villages in Sonora.[22] The Yaqui village of Guadalupe near Phoenix, AZ, prides itself, so villagers say, on never allowing photographs of their ceremonies to have been taken. The three Yaqui villages in Tucson have had a yes/no and a selective policy toward photography, but they have essentially banned all types of recording in the 1980s.[23]

CEREMONIALS ORGANIZED BY NON-INDIANS OR BY INDIANS

Southwestern ceremonials are celebrations organized for entertainment and commercial purposes and usually include Indian dances. They are an institution dating back at least to the commemoration of Mexican Independence when Pecos Indians performed an Animal Dance at Santa Fe in 1822 (James 1846:143). To attract Easterners and their money, Santa Fe organized another celebration in July-August 1883, three years after completion of the railroad to the city. This Tertio-Millennial Exposition brought Indian groups from as far away as Zuni and the Mescalero reservations to perform ceremonies. It provided a choice opportunity for some of the earliest photographic documentation of southwestern Indian dances.[24] Santa Fe grasped the ceremonial concept a third time in 1919, forming the annual Santa Fe Fiesta. Edgar Hewett and Lansing Bloom organized dancers from seven tribal groups to perform at the fiesta. There were many photo opportunities.[25] By 1928 there was a reduction in the number of dance groups at the fiesta for several reasons (Sweet 1981:108; 1985:2, 76).

Many other ceremonials and powwows were organized in the Southwest by both non-Indians and Indians, and they all permitted photography.[26] At the annual Smoki (Smoke-eye) ceremonials in Prescott, AZ, non-Indians perform their versions of Indian dances, including the Hopi Snake Dance.[27] President Coolidge was initiated into the Smokis in 1924. Borrowing again

from the Indians, the general public is now prohibited from photographing actual Smoki ceremonies but can photograph the dancers afterwards.

REMARKS

Throughout 120+ years of photographic contact, Southwestern Indians developed several responses to tourists and their cameras. Outright prohibition was the reaction of 21 tribal groups to photography, Table I. Of the 13 southwestern tribal groups that permit photography, Table II, six of them withhold this permission for their most sacred ceremonies--a fact that emphasizes, at least in the 1980s, that prohibition is selective and can be based on sacredness of the ceremonies. However, in an economic contrast, both Indians and non-Indians often use Indian ceremonial dance and music as tourist attractions. Thus, Indians have developed a set of rationalizations as they have reacted to the inquisitive tourists and their photography (Sweet 1981:189ff; 1985:80).

Some individual Indians and tribal groups probably objected to photography from the very inception of the introduction of the camera to the Southwest. By the early 1900s there were several instances of Indians protesting the presence of photographers. The number of photographers and the problems of controlling them at Hopi Snake dances led the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to ban photography at these dances in 1915-1917. Perhaps of some import to those Rio Grande Pueblos who wanted to ban photography was the appointment in 1919 of their new superintendent, Leo Crane--the same man who implemented the ban of photography at the Walpi Snake Dance.

Tribal groups had several reasons for prohibiting photography: ceremonies were sacred and photography was considered to be an interference, a source of loss of ritual power and an act of disrespect; some Indians believed photographs took something away from them (Lummis 1925:ix); Indians resented commercial exploitation of their religion through sale of photographs; and in the 1920s, photographs of their ceremonies might have been used against them as documents by people who objected to the practice of Indian religions.

The early 1920s was a period of intense controversies over Indian religious freedom and land rights. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke issued his infamous Circular No. 1655 on April 26, 1921, stating that certain Indian dances were considered "Indian Offenses" and were to be restricted. By 1925 many non-Indian individuals and organizations throughout the country had successfully defended religious and land rights of Indians. Attitudes changed within the federal government and in 1928 U.S. Deputy Indian Commissioner E.B. Merritt told the Pueblo Council that the United States did not wish to interfere with Pueblo customs and ceremonies (Santa Fe New Mexican, Nov. 9, 1928). The Indians came out of this period knowing that they had considerable public support to practice their religions as they wished and to regulate visitors to ceremonies.

Photographs of Indian ceremonies can be analyzed through the three elements of subject, photographer and photohistorian. Indian ceremonial subjects are

TABLE II

PHOTOGRAPHIC OPPORTUNITIES

IN

THE INDIAN SOUTHWEST: 1980s

OVER 400 CEREMONIES PERFORMED ANNUALLY
BY 34 TRIBAL GROUPS

THE GENERAL PUBLIC CAN TAKE PHOTOS AT:	STILL CAMERA FEES
TARAHUMARA VILLAGES, CHIHUAHUA	gifts
TORTUGAS (LAS CRUCES), NM	none
*PICURIS PUEBLO, NM	$5
*SAN JUAN PUEBLO, NM	$5, sometime $10
#*SANTA CLARA PUEBLO, NM	$5 each dance group
#*SAN ILDEFONSO PUEBLO, NM	$5 each group, no video
NAMBE PUEBLO, NM	$3
JICARILLA APACHE, NM	none
SAN CARLOS APACHE, AZ	none
FORT APACHE, AZ	none
PAPAGO, AZ	variable, none
*SOUTHERN UTES, CO	none
*MOUNTAIN UTES	none
CEREMONIALS AND TRIBAL FAIRS	variable

*No photographs permitted of some ceremonies
#No audio-visual recording

most often ritual dramas, including dance--a supplication for health, fertility or weather control to benefit the group or the individual. The photographer has a set of separate values and interests; a photograph may objectively capture a scene, but choice of time, subject matter, limits of context, methods of printing, and reasons for taking the photograph are highly subjective. The viewers, the photohistorians, last of the three elements, are also highly individualistic; they scan and interpret the photograph from their own set of interests in art, choreography, costumes, history, religions, etc.; the value of their interpretation is directly related to their knowledge or lack of knowledge of the subject matter. Richard Powers (1985:335) commented on the dependence and also the divergence of these three elements, "The final mystery of photography is that taker, subject, and viewer, each needed for the end product, circle one another warily, define one another in their own terms."

Photographers of Indian ceremonies had many reasons for their actions: a colorful experience captured, a souvenir collected, an artistic subject recorded, a source of saleable images, á scientific and perhaps altruistic desire to record something that was disappearing. Their actions have not gone without criticism. Susan Sontag comments, "After the opening of the West in 1869 by the completion of the transcontinental railroad came the colonization through photography...The tourists invaded the Indians' privacy, photographing holy objects and the sacred dances and places, if necessary paying the Indians to pose and getting them to revise their

ceremonies to provide more photogenic material," (Sontag 1977:64). Vine Deloria Jr. says that photography was a powerful tool for recording scenes in the West, but "it was also a weapon in the final skirmishes of cultural warfare," (Lyman 1982:11).

Justification for photographing Indians at the turn of the century was expressed by Edward S. Curtis (1907) as a need to document "every phase of life among all tribes yet in primitive condition." Joseph Dixon had the same justification in 1913 for his book The Vanishing Race (Gold 1983). These two photographers often used the art-documentary mode of photography to illustrate Indian cultural subjects--their documentation often gave way to the precedence of photographic art in their publishing ventures. We can only comment that the art-documentary mode of photographing the "vanishing race," a race whose population has more than quadrupled in the 20th century, continues today and is not a vanishing enterprise.

Photographic documentation of southwestern Indian ceremonies has been accomplished through the efforts of hundreds of photographers. However, very few photographers were inclined or permitted to record an Indian ceremony from beginning to end. Notable exceptions are the works of the American Indian Films Group with the Navajo,[19] and of George Dorsey (1902) and his team of photographers documenting the Hopi Snake Dance. For most ceremonies the photohistorian must use many archival sources to compile a complete sequence of photographs.

The role of the photograph collector was apparent at an early date, e.g., William Blackmore made his extensive Indian photograph collection in the 1860s and 1870s (Jackson 1877; Lyon 1979); and Adolph Bandelier collected photographs that accompanied his report written in 1887 for the Jubilee of His Holiness, Pope Leo XIII (Bandelier and Burrus 1969:112-115).

The efforts of photographers, collectors and present-day photoarchivists have immense value to photohistorians, dance historians, visual anthropologists, and those interested in history of religions. Indians themselves, whether individuals or tribal governments, are now using photoarchives as a valuable source to study their cultural history.

Indian reactions to photography developed over a period of four generations. Cultural contact with the camera probably puzzled and to some extent frightened the first generation. Photography was no stranger to the next two generations, and many individuals and tribal groups in the Southwest decided to prohibit the use of the camera at ceremonies. Now after four generations of cultural contact with the camera, the prohibition of photography has become a tradition among the majority of Southwestern tribal groups.

Emergence of Indian photographers brings a new component into the cultural use of photography. They are aware of the success of non-Indian photographers and would like to have the opportunity to record their own ceremonies. However, in certain cases, refraining from photographing ceremonies can become for them a form of worship (Masayesva and Younger 1983:10). A native Indian photographers' association has been formed in Canada.[28] The role of the Indian photographer

in documenting ceremonies is at its beginnings. The next decade, undoubtedly, will see that role expand along with that of the Indian photohistorian--they'll be following the traditions of their prehistoric ancestors who documented ceremonies in rock art, kiva mural paintings and pottery decorations.

Los Alamos, NM

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Presented April 12, 1986 at: Researching Dance Through Film and Video, a conference sponsored by the Congress on Research in Dance and the Human Studies Film Archives, Smithsonian Institution, held at the Museum of Natural History, Washington, D.C., 28 slides were used as well as a video tape containing the films of the 1913 Walpi Snake Dance made by the Kolb brothers and also by Victor Miller. The tape also contains the Hopi Kachina Dance filmed by Clifford Paul in 1926 and some of the footage shot in 1963 of the Nightway ceremony filmed by the American Indian Films Group.

INSTITUTIONS REPRESENTED IN THE PHOTO SEARCHES

KEY TO SYMBOLS

AHS	Arizona Historical Society Library, Tucson, AZ
BCHL	Bethel College Historical Library, North Newton, KS
BMMOM	British Museum, Museum of Mankind, London
CHSPL	California Historical Society, Photo Library, Los Angeles, CA
HUNTL	The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA
KCMF	Kit Carson Memorial Foundation, Taos, NM
KOW	Kow-Ina Cultural Research Foundation, Grants, NM, not active in 1986.
LACM	Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History, History Archives, Los Angeles, CA
LOC	Library of Congress, Newsreel Collection, Theodore Roosevelt Collection; also the Prints and Photographs Division.
LOWIE	Lowie Museum, Univ. of California, Berkeley, CA
MAI	Museum of the American Indian, New York, NY
MNA	Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff, AZ
MNMHL	Museum of New Mexico History Library, Santa Fe, NM
MNMLA	Museum of New Mexico Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe, NM
MNMPA	Museum of New Mexico Photo Archives, Santa Fe, NM
NASPB	National Archives, Still Picture Branch, Audio Visual Archive Division
NAUSC	Northern Arizona University, Special Collections Library, Flagstaff, AZ
NMSRC	New Mexico State Record Center and Archives, Santa Fe, NM
NMSRG	New Mexico State University, Rio Grande Historical Collections, Las Cruces, NM
PMPA	Peabody Museum Photo Archives, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA
SINAA	Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives, Washington, D.C.
SWM	Southwest Museum, Highland Park, Los Angeles, CA
UNMSC	University of New Mexico, Zimmerman Library, Special Collections, Albuquerque, NM
USCSC	University of Southern California Library, Special Collections, Los Angeles, CA
WWM	Wheelwright Museum, Santa Fe, NM. Formerly Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Arts.

1 In this study a tribal group is defined as composed of Indians who have shared culture, live on a reservation or enclave usually with communal ownership of land, form a distinct political entity, and some members speak a common native language. Thus, each Pueblo in New Mexico is considered to be a separate tribal group, because each has its own reservation and a separate government. The several Hopi villages are considered to be one tribal group since they share one reservation and have a single government, even though individual villages retain autonomy over ceremonies and some land usage. Most tribal groups in the southwestern United States maintain tribal rolls of members; the criteria for enrollment varies from group to group. The 50 tribal groups in northwestern Mexico and southwestern United States form one of the major cultures found in the area. In terms of Indian cultural boundaries, Indians in the area at the time of first contact with Europeans were bounded by the Plains Indian culture to the east, Great Basin Indian culture to the north, California Indian culture to the west and a diffuse boundary to the south by Mexican Indian and Mesoamerican cultures. Partially in jest, the area has been defined as extending from Durango, Colorado, to Durango, Mexico; and from Las Vegas, Nevada, to Las Vegas, New Mexico (Reed 1964:175).

2 The earliest Hopi Snake Dance photographs I have found to date were taken in 1885 by W. Calvin Brown of Albuquerque and also by Cosmos Mindeleff of the Smithsonian Institution. Two of Brown's photographs are in a private collection in Albuquerque. The Santa Fe Weekly Leader, Aug. 29, 1885, 4-3, comments, "Col. (W. Calvin) Brown, a photographer of Albuquerque, has given a vivid description of the Moqui Snake Dance as was given by the Moqui Indians on the 18th and has photographed views of the dance..." Cosmos Mindeleff photographed Snake Dances in August 1885 at Mishongnovi and at Walpi (Mindeleff 1886, 1887). MNMPA 85574 is a photograph of an illustration of a Hopi Snake Dance in Harper's Weekly, drawn by H.F. Farny from a photograph by Cosmos Mindeleff (Edwardy 1889). Also see Mindeleff's 1885 photographs of the Mishongnovi Snake Dance at SINAA 1817-a-1 through 1817-a-4. Many prominent photographers recorded the Snake dances and other Hopi ceremonies of the 1880s to the 1910s (location of collections): Charles Carpenter and Summer Matteson (MNA); Edward S. Curtis (Curtis 1907-1930:Vol. 12); Earle Forrest (MNA; HUNTL); G. Wharton James (MNMPA; James 1902); Carl Moon (HUNTL); Frederic Monsen (HUNTL); Joseph Mora (MNA; NAUSC; Mora 1979); H.F. Robinson (MNMPA); Adam Clark Vroman (LACM; HUNTL); George Ben Wittick (MNMPA). The Museum of Northern Arizona has the largest number of photographs of Hopi ceremonies.

3 The 1901 Walpi Snake Dance movie film produced by Edison is of relatively poor quality, see Newsreel Collection at the Library of Congress, copyright H11267, H11269, H11270, H11271, Dec. 12, 1901. Edward S. Curtis filmed the Snake Dance at Oraibi in 1904 and 1906 (Davis 1985:39,

48, 251; Forrest 1961:39; Gidley 1982). Curtis filmed the Snake Dance in several different years, and portions of his Snake Dance films are included in The Shadow Catcher (McLuhan 1975, note: the music and drum beat used as background has no relation to an actual Snake Dance). The National Archives Motion Picture Collection film 48.107 is titled Acoma Pueblo, Snake Dance. Although this film shows street scenes in Acoma Pueblo, the Snake Dance sequence was definitely filmed at Walpi, because the distinctive Snake Rock pillar in the Walpi plaza is easily identified in the film; the date of this film is estimated to be 1905-1911.

4 The Snake Dance film made by Emery and Ellsworth Kolb is a combination of the 1911 and 1913 Walpi ceremonies. The 1913 portion shows Arizona Governor W.P. Hunt and ex-President Theodore Roosevelt. The film is a part of the extensive Emery Kolb collection at NAUSC. For more information on Emery Kolb see A Guide to the Kolb Collection, Discovery Series 17, NAU Libraries, 1980. Another film of the Walpi Snake Dance was taken by Santa Fe Railway executive and photographer William E. Kopplin probably in 1911. Prints from this film, some printed reversed, are in Dream Tracks (McLuhan 1985).

5 The Pathe's Weekly undeveloped film of the August 21, 1913, Walpi Snake Dance was sent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C. The film now in the Library of Congress, showing Teddy Roosevelt at the dance, more than likely is the Pathe's Weekly film photographed by Victor Miller. The story is yet to be developed of how the undeveloped Miller film made its way through the Washington bureaucracy to LOC. See LOC unpublished Theodore Roosevelt Catalog: Hopi Indians dance for TR at Walpi, AZ, 1913; shelf location FAB1134, print; FRA6075, negative; FRA5714, positive; contact Wendy White Hensen, film librarian of T.R. Roosevelt collection.

6 Emry Kopta's photograph, MAI 27909, shows several observers with cameras at the Walpi Snake Dance ca.1921-1923. Kopta lived at Polacca, Hopi First Mesa, for most of the period from 1912 to 1922. He was a sculpture, and through his friendship with the Hopi he was allowed to photograph Hopi scenes and ceremonies during a period when restrictions of photography at Hopi were slowly taking effect. Several hundred ca.1920 Kopta photographs of Hopi ceremonies are at MAI, sent to this eastern location because Mrs. Kopta believed they were too sensitive for repository in Arizona. The Kopta collection at MNA has over 800 prints and 1200+ negatives, pertaining to Hopi daily life ca.1920. For details of Kopta and his work see (Breunig and Lomatuway ma 1983; Hurst 1982; Kopta Foundation 1982).

7 Photographs of five Hopi men dancing in the Capitol Plaza Washington, D.C., on May 15, 1926 are in the National Photo Company Collection, Prints and Photographs Division, LOC. There are eight photographs of the Hopi with thousands of spectators in the background, including Alice Roosevelt Longworth, Mrs. (Senator) Borah, Lady Isabella Howard, Count and Countess Szechenyi and others. Photos 39887 and 39921 of Lot 1237-1 show the Hopi dancing

with the snakes, Herbert E. French photographer. See Congressional Record Vol. 67, pp.123, May 13, 1926, for Senator Cameron's invitation "to everyone to witness this unusual Indian dance." These Hopi dancers toured the country off and on for six years, starting in 1924. The group was organized by M.W. Billingsley and they gave dances and lectures throughout the United States (The Arizona Republican, Phoenix, January 29, 1930, pp.11).

8 Clifford Paul filmed a Hopi Kachina Dance in June-July 1926 at Hopi First Mesa, probably at Sichomovi village. The film is six minutes long and is of the Hopi Tasap Dance. The Tasap is a Hopi version of a Navajo Yeibichai Dance from the Nightway ceremony. The Tasap is still performed in the 1980s in several Hopi villages. Clifford Paul was born in 1892, died in 1960. He was chauffeur for Willam Butterworth, president of John Deere Co., Moline, IL. The film was taken when Paul and the Butterworths were touring the West. Paul won a Packard car ca.1938 in a nationwide photo contest. Paul's daughter, Ethel Armstrong of Roswell, NM, has a copy of the film and will be depositing a copy at MNA.

9 A few photographs of a masked Hopi Kachina Dance were taken in 1927 (Hegemann 1963). Hopi social dances have been photographed at various times from the 1920s to the 1980s (Hegemann 1963; Coze 1957; Bynner ca.1935, MNMPA; Smith in 1933, MNA; Page and Page 1982). CBS Television filmed Hopi scenes and a social Butterfly Dance at Shipaulovi in January 1979 for use on Charles Kuralt's Sunday Morning Show. Tribal authorities granted permission, "because it would be a great benefit to the Hopis in the long run as favorable publicity, as compared to no publicity which was detrimental to Hopi interests in the recent litigation over lands with the Navajo Tribe," (Hopi newspaper Qua Toqti for Jan. 11, 1979).

The Hopi Snake Dance continues to intrigue non-Indians. Friar (1972:28) describes the use of the dance in a theatrical production, "Off-Broadway had Sam Shepard's Operation Sidewinder, which premiered in March 1970 at the Lincoln Center Repertory Theatre...the second act..is almost completely devoted to the Hopi Snake Dance...An experienced and excellent Hopi dancer, Louis Mofsie, trained the non-Indian performers and staged the dance sequence. Because of its sacred significance, complaints by Native Americans were voiced against its use...the attempt at accuracy and authenticity in Operation Sidewinder was dismissed by the Times critic as...'Broadway Indians doing a Broadway Snake Dance'..."

10 Snake dances were last performed at Oraibi in 1916, Walpi in 1969, Shipaulovi ca. 1970s and Hotevilla in 1980. The small Second Mesa village of Mishongnovi closed its 1985 Snake Dance to the general public perhaps, in part, due to the increasingly large crowds attracted to the event. Shungopavi Snake Priest Redford Quamahongnewa sent a letter to the Hopi Tribal Council, stating that their August 23, 1986, Snake Dance would be a Hopi-only affair (Gallup Independent August 5, 1986). This decision by the Hopis was made following a July 28 Hollywood press conference held by Academy award winner Jon Voight, where he spoke about a prophetic message the Hopi people will share with

the world sometime soon. Flanked by Elizabeth Taylor and Hopi Thomas Banyacya, Voight posed for photographs and TV cameras (Navajo Times TODAY July 29 and 31, 1986). Many Hopis were disturbed by the news conference and Shongopavi immediately closed its 1986 Snake Dance to non-Hopi. Two weeks prior to the news conference Voight visited Mishongnovi. After the news conference Mishongnovi announced its Snake Dance, next in 1987, was closed to outsiders forever (private communication).

11 Photographer Timothy O'Sullivan of the Wheeler Survey was at Zuni in 1873. However, no single photograph of a Zuni ceremony can as yet definitely be attributed to O'Sullivan. John K. Hillers, photographer for the Smithsonian Institution, was at Zuni in 1879 and the early 1880s and probably during that period took photographs of a Zuni Harvest Dance, 2267-p SINAA and 106-IN-2384 FA at NASPB; also see 2355, 2275, 2371-a at SINAA for other Hillers photographs of Zuni ceremonial material; also 37941 at MNMPA. The Peabody Museum has an album of 27 excellent 8"x10" black and white photographs of the activities of the Hemenway Expedition at Zuni in 1886; all photographs in the album are attributed to the I.W. Taber Photo Co., San Francisco, CA. One photograph of a snow-covered field shows six Shalako kachinas leaving the village. There is a series of photographs of a so-called Zuni War Dance, and one of these photographs has Frank Cushing posing in the center with costume, bow and arrows. The Smithsonian Institution has a print of this Zuni War Dance tentatively attributed to O'Sullivan. Another photograph of this same dance is in the collections of the State Historical Society of Colorado and is attributed to William Henry Jackson; a copy of this latter photo is in the McNitt collection of NMSRC. the Bancroft Library has a similar photograph attributed to the I.W. Taber Co. Since there is a series of photographs at various stages of this Zuni War Dance in the Hemenway album, attribution of these 1886 photographs is most strongly associated with the I.W. Taber Co., rather than with either O'Sullivan or Jackson. Also I doubt that the speed of O'Sullivan's glass negatives in 1873 would have been fast enough to capture the action of the dance without blurring. Who made the 1886 Hemenway photographs for I.W. Taber is as yet not known. Zuni ceremonies through the 1890s were photographed by: Ben Wittick (MNMPA); Fredrick Monsen (HUNTL); Adam Clark Vroman (LACM); Matilda Coxe Stevenson (SINAA, MNMPA); Amelia Hollenbach (private collection); John K. Hillers (SINAA, MNMPA).

12 An undated manuscript by Ben Wittick, "A Visit to Pueblo Zuni, The Shalako Dance," is in Box 116 Wittick Collection at MNMHL. Wittick mentions that the day was a Sunday, which corresponds to the Nov. 28, 1897, Shalako ceremony. Wittick was also at the Nov. 20, 1896, ceremony.

13 The Cattell brothers were brought to Zuni by Fredrick W. Hodge. Hodge, backed by the Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation, conducted archaeological investigations at the Zuni ruins of Hawikuh from 1917 to 1923. There are 11 Zuni films at the MAI, all filmed in 1923, presumably by the Cattell brothers and were directed by Hodge. Copies of

these films are also in the archives of the Zuni Archaeological Programs, Box 339, Zuni, NM 87327, but there may be restrictions to viewing some of the films. Four sections of the Cattell films contain ceremonial material: about 9 minutes of outdoor portions of the Shalako ceremony; about 9 minutes of a pilgrimage and ceremonies of rain priests; about 5 minutes of a summer kachina rain dance performed by the Kokokshi kachinas, sometimes called Longhair kachinas; 3 minutes of a Santo Dance, with bower for santos, banner, chorus of men with one drummer, women dancers wore squash blossoms in hair but no tablitas--a dance similar to the Rio Grande Pueblos' Tablita or Corn Dance. There was considerable factionalism among the Zuni people in 1923, and the filming done by the Cattell brothers under the direction of Hodge contributed to the factionalism (Zuni Hearings 1924).

14 References for the statements in this paragraph are to be found in: Santa Fe New Mexican Aug. 5, 1913, Aug. 3, 1918, Aug. 6, 1921; Kluckhohm 1928:76; Brett 1933:60; Harris 1934. A note on an envelope of Jesse Nusbaum photographs of the Aug. 4 Santo Domingo Corn Dance ca.1910-1911, reads, "Photographs prohibited and cameras busted by Indian guards," etc. (MNMPA). Visitors to the Aug. 4 Santo Domingo Feast Day celebration from 1972 through 1986 were given pamphlets, stating no picture taking, no sketching, no tape recording, no alcoholic beverages...failure to abide by the above rules will result in a fine. Photographs of ceremonies taken prior to the 1920s for the designated pueblos are in the following archives: ACOMA: SWM, HUNTL, LACM, UNMSC, CHSPL, MNMPA, KOW, NUMSRC, Curtis Vol. 16 (1926). SANTO DOMINGO: SWM, HUNTL, SINAA, LACM, KOW, MNMPA, NMSRC, PMPA. COCHITI: SWM, HUNTL, MNMPA, MAI, MNA, NMSRC. JEMEZ: MNMPA, MAI, and photographs published in books or articles by Elsie Clews Parsons, Albert B. Reagan, R.B. Townshend and Charles H. Lange.

15 Private communication, Hilton Remley.

16 The Sept. 30, 1871, photographs of Taos ritual relay runners were taken by Orloff Westmann, a photographer from the Elizabethtown, NM, gold-mining camp (SINAA 1943-c). He had to pose the racers, since the speed of his wet collodion glass plate was too slow to make an action photograph. Westmann was hired to do this job by William Blackmore, an English entrepreneur who was also an avid collector of ethnological materials (Lyon 1979). Blackmore's extensive collection of photographs of American Indians, dated in the late 1860s and early 1870s, is one of the earliest and most important collections available of the American Indian--mostly portraits (Jackson 1877). The collection is in SINAA and BMMOM.

18 Photographs of dances ca.1882 at San Juan Pueblo and Cochiti were probably taken by Henry Brown of Santa Fe and are listed by title in Bandelier and Burris (1969:112-114). T. Harmon Parkhurst, another Santa Fe photographer, made innumerable Tewa ceremonial photographs from about 1915 to the 1930s, and they document almost the entire dance cycle of these Tewa village (MNMPA). SINAA, NMSRC, and PMPA also have several Tewa ceremony photographs. NMSRC

has several films of ca.1930s Tewa ceremonies.

19 One of the earliest opportunities to photograph the Navajo was in 1864-1868, when a large portion of the tribe was incarcerated by the U.S. Army at Bosque Redondo near Fort Sumner, NM. None of the Bosque Redondo photographs viewed to date depicts a Navajo ceremony, even though many ceremonies were held there (Roessel, Ruth 1973:136, 215, 227, 260-265; Osburn 1985:404-407). After the Navajo returned from the Bosque Redondo to their homelands in northwestern New Mexico and northeastern Arizona, Timothy H. O'Sullivan of the Wheeler Survey photographed them ca.1874 at Fort Defiance, AZ. One of O'Sullivan's photographs shows twenty Navajo men in a circle dance (Roessel, Robert 1980:75), a dance with little ceremonial significance. In some of the following early photographs of Navajo ceremonial material, the subjects were posed or photographed out of ceremonial context (photographer, date of photograph, archive or reference): Nordenskiold 1891, NMSRC Sally Wagner collection 8001 and 8003; Lime ca.1894-1904, SINAA 55094-a, and see Parezo 1983:31; Vroman 1898, LACM V709 to V803 for general photos of the Navajo and V736 for photo of a rooster pull; Simpsom, 1901, MNMPA 37683; Curtis ca.1904, see Curtis 1907:vol. I, 92-140; Mora 1904-1906, MNA collection MS200-3; Schwemberger ca.1905, MNA Reichard collection MS22-8. Some of the notable collections of photographs of actual Navajo ceremonial subjects taken from the 1920s through the 1970s are: Armer, late 1920s and early 1930s, WWM; Hegemann 1926-1930, HUNTL; Foster 1963, WWM; Heick and Wharton 1963, LOWIE; Lair ca.1970s, WWM. Karl Luckert recorded the Coyoteway in January 1974 and his book has many photographs of the ceremony. He said, "Johnny Cooke was his faithful interpreter. Luke Cooke has been a devoted negotiator on our behalf...he volunteered to be our patient... he has insisted on bearing certain portions of the expenses himself...Man With Palomino Horse one of the two surviving Singers of Coyoteway has consented to have his chantway recorded and preserved for posterity...the greater portion of the expenses for this project has been paid by myself ..." (Luckert and Cooke 1979:ix, x).

The first motion picture film of a Navajo ceremonial subject probably was made by Edward S. Curtis in 1904 (Davis 1984:37). This film was made in the daytime and shows some of the masked dancers that appear during the 9th night of the Nightway (Yeibichai) ceremony. Curtis probably persuaded them to dance during the day, so that there would be enough light to make the film. This film is a part of The Shadow Catcher, a film biography of Curtis (McLuhan 1975). The sequence in this film is a mirror image of the original Curtis Yeibichai Dance and has been copied at 24 frames/second rather than the approximately 16 f/s camera speed used by Curtis. Emery Kolb, NAUSC, also made a short film of portions of the Nightway ceremony ca.1911. It, too, was filmed in the daytime, but the presence of background spectators and other material suggest that this film was made during the course of an actual ceremony. Laura Armer made a movie of the 6th-day activities of the Mountainway ceremony, held February 1928 near Ganado, AZ. Roman Hubbell, owner of

Hubbell Trading Post at Ganado, financed the film and provided the gifts to participants (Parezo 1983:32). A copy of this film is supposedly at the Southwest Museum (Armer 1953:5), and perhaps also at WWM. MAI has a 20-minute film, probably ca.1930s, containing Navajo ceremonial material: sandpaintings in a hogan, masked Talking God, puppet dance scene, and night-time scenes of a Fire Dance.

The most complete films of Navajo ceremonies were made in 1963-1964 by the American Indian Films Group with Samuel A. Barrett, director; William R. Heick, cinematographer; Robert Wharton, photographer; David Peri, sound recorder; William Burke, apprentice. These films remain unedited to date (LOWIE). Video copies, reel-to-reel tape, of these ceremonies were given to the Navajo Community College, Tsaile, AZ. Portions of these films, including a hand-trembling rite and some of the Nightway ceremony, can be seen in the commercially available film Navajo: The Last Red Indians, 1972, 35 min., by Michael Barnes, producer BBC/Time-Life Films (Weatherford 1981:85).

There is a possibility the films of the American Indian Films Group may at sometime in the future be transferred from LOWIE to the Smithsonian Institution, Human Studies Film Archives. The WWM has many 4"x5" colored transparencies of Navajo ceremonies photographed by Kenneth Foster when he accompanied the American Indian Films Group in 1963. Navajo Indians were organized into a film project where the Indians were taught filmmaking and were encouraged to choose their own subjects. Most filmed objects or rituals. See the film Navajo Film Themselves (Weatherford 1981) and a description of the project (Worth and Adair 1972).

20 For Tarahumara ceremony photographs see (Bennett and Zingg 1976). This reprint contains 96 color plates from the large photograph collection of Fr. Luis G. Verplancken, S.J., of the Tarahumara Mission, Creel, Chihuahua, Mexico. John P. Schaefer has recent photographs of the Tarahumara ceremonies (Fontana 1979). Another large private collection of Tarahumara ceremony photographs is held by Jack Rodack of Tucson, AZ. Also see (Kennedy and Lopez 1981; Running 1985).

21 For Mayo ceremony photographs see (Crumrine 1977).

22 For photographs of the Mexican Yaqui ceremonies see: (Beals 1945; Spicer 1954; MNMPA 46298, 46301, 66299, 46300, 46302). MAI has a film of a Mexican Yaqui Deer Dance.

23 For photographs of the Arizona Yaqui ceremonies see: AHS collections for photos from 1920s to 1950s; MNMPA 37823 to 37827 taken in 1922; (Spicer 1940; Herbert 1960; Painter 1962; Fisher 1977). A short film sequence ca.1930s of the Yaqui Easter ceremonies in Arizona is in Real Americans (NMSRC No. 325).

24 Photographs of Indian dances performed by Picuris, Acoma, Zuni and Apache Indians were taken in July 1883 at Santa Fe's Tertio-Millennial Exposition (MNMPA).

25 For photographs of Indian Dances at the Santa Fe Fiesta in the 1920s see the collections in MNMPA; films of the fiesta have been collected by Tom McCarthy of the Audio-Visual

Programs, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, NM.

26 For films of Indian parades and dances at the Gallup Ceremonial see the collections in NMSRC.

27 For information and photographs of the Smoki ceremonies see: collections at Smoki Museum, Prescott, AZ; NAUSC vertical file; Jesse Nusbaum collection MNMPA; LOC Prints and Photographs Division Lot 12337-4.

28 Native Indian/Inuit Photographers' Association (NIIPA), 210 Napier St., Hamilton, Ont. L8R 1S7, phone (416) 528-8487, has a goal "To promote an Indian photographic, educational network and to encourage as well as promote the usage of photography as a medium of the fine arts."

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