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However, these are picky little things that Apache scholars will immediately recognize but that make little difference in advancing the story.

In another scholarly caveat, though, it would have been lovely to have a bibliography rather than presenting all references only in a notes section at the back of the book where both substantive footnotes and citations are all mixed up.

I found it a bit disconcerting that the rock art depictions on the cover of the book are not Apachean. In addition, the photographs and drawings reproduced in the text are not close to the items to which they refer. Since pictorial information is not in plates, it seems they could easily have been moved to the place of initial reference.

These are small quibbles, indeed, in a text that is poignant, elegant, informative, and utterly fascinating. Neil's skills as an exquisite documentary filmmaker are translated in lyrical prose, a translation skill few filmmakers possess. Any person interested in the American Southwest, the Apache, or the United States' first peoples will do no better than this book. It is a masterpiece.

I wish Neil Goodwin to have the last word, quoting from his reflections upon descriptions of a Sierra Madre campsite in his father's diary of October 1931:

I can imagine shafts of light slicing through the smoke from campfires. I see the corrals, the animals: Horses and mules shod with rawhide.... There is meat hanging on drying racks, a curing hide is pegged to the ground.... On the ground there is a rusty bucket full of acorns next to pile of agave hearts. A pit for roasting the agave is half dug. There is a scattering of torn fabric, glass bottles, tin cans, and coils of barbed wire. (p. 173)

*Claire R. Farrer*

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**The Black Elk Reader.** Edited by Clyde Holler. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000. 370 pages. \$49.95 cloth; \$24.95 paper.

Since the 1960s *Black Elk Speaks* has been an immensely popular book. In the last decade, more focus has centered on Black Elk's post-*Black Elk Speaks* life, especially his years as a Catholic catechist on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Black Elk's life and beliefs continue to intrigue scholars and others because his religious views are rather enigmatic and refuse easy interpretation. The works he collaborated on continue to influence people's perceptions of Native America. As Clyde Holler states in the introduction to *The Black Elk Reader*, Black Elk's influence on American culture has been profound, and his influence on "the revitalization of Native American religion no less significant" (p. xiv).

George Linden succinctly summarizes how "*Black Elk Speaks* has gone through the phases of the creative collaboration of determined *wasichu* [non-Indian] and Lakota, to the appreciation of a few dedicated students, to wide popularity, to academic commentary and criticism" (p. 81). *The Black Elk Reader* is the first collection of essays focused specifically on Black Elk. It is divided into three main sections, each focusing on *Black Elk Speaks*: Literary

and Historical Perspective; Textuality, Cultural Appropriation, and Outright Theft; and Philosophical, Theological, and Religious Studies Perspectives. In its range and diversity *The Black Elk Reader* has great interdisciplinary appeal. On the whole, the volume is well worth studying.

Most striking about the collection, and about Black Elk scholarship in general, is the diversity of the scholars and their perspectives. Sixteen essays are included, the last of which is a bibliographic essay by Raymond Bucko. Holler suggests that this essay be read first. Besides providing an overview of works pertaining to Black Elk and Lakota culture, Bucko lists eight principles to consider when studying American Indian culture and texts, for example that all cultures change and are internally heterogeneous (pp. 306–307). Most of the essays are thoughtful and well-argued, and some represent a positive shift in the sometimes turbulent and always stimulating debates concerning John G. Neihardt and Black Elk, culture and religion, and American Indian studies in general. In “Black Elk Passes on the Power of the Earth,” Ruth Heflin presents a balanced account of the collaboration between Black Elk and Neihardt, discussing Black Elk’s literary choices and emphasizing that both men exerted an influence over *Black Elk Speaks*. This balance is refreshing. The collection also includes several skirmishes, including a mostly warranted defense of Neihardt by George Linden, apologetics for Black Elk’s “authentic” Catholicism, and a plea by Frances Kaye for all *wasicus* to admit being thieves.

For various reasons, Black Elk scholarship has been contentious. Writers bring their own disciplinary apparatuses and perspectives to material that is sometimes difficult to interpret and evaluate, and is, on occasion, contradictory. Recent debate centers on Black Elk’s life as a catechist and whether or not his Catholicism was sincere. Evidence to support that Black Elk practiced his Catholic duties with great zeal from 1904 onward is abundant. The most vocal champion of Black Elk’s Catholicism is Michael Steltenkamp, whose book *Black Elk: Holy Man of the Oglala* (1993) describes Black Elk’s work as a catechist. That Black Elk performed his catechist duties ardently is hardly debatable, but his reasons for doing so are not so easily determined. Some writers, including myself, argue that Black Elk was a pragmatist who used Catholicism as a way to help his people, and that his religious views shifted over time. In “A Retrospective on *Black Elk*,” Steltenkamp maintains his opinion that Black Elk converted wholeheartedly and entered into a mostly Christian consciousness. To support this contention, he cites Black Elk’s “profession of faith” in *The Sacred Pipe*: “[W]e have been told that Jesus the Christ was crucified, but that he shall come again at the Last Judgment, the end of this world or cycle. This I understand and know that it is true” (p. xix).

Who could argue with such an unambiguous declaration of faith? Actually, the rest of the sentence Steltenkamp omitted, without including ellipses, reads: “but the white man should know that for the red people too, it was the will of *Wakan-Tanka*, the Great Spirit, that an animal turn itself into a two-legged person in order to bring the most holy pipe to His people; and we were taught that this White Buffalo Cow Woman who brought our sacred pipe will appear again at the end of this ‘world,’ a coming which we Indians know

is now not very far off." In his essay "New Missiology and Black Elk's Individuation," Paul Steinmetz makes a similar omission when quoting Black Elk discussing his Ghost Dance vision and stating that he thinks he saw "the son of the Great Spirit himself" (Raymond DeMallie, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 266). In the rest of the passage omitted by Steinmetz, Black Elk states that perhaps he should have followed his first Great Vision rather than his Messiah Vision, because the first one "had more power and this might have been where I made my great mistake." Black Elk believed that his Great Vision was greater than his Messiah Vision, which is a surprising evaluation for someone with a fundamentally Christian consciousness.

Omissions like the above serve to undermine these writers' arguments, which is unfortunate since both have legitimate insights into Black Elk's religious world. They should temper their analyses with opposing arguments and evidence, and acknowledge difficult passages, like the ones omitted above and like the following from *The Sixth Grandfather*: "Up to this point [the early to mid 1880s] we had been living in accordance with the old religion and we had plenty and things were good for us. When we wanted to perform a ceremony there was no interference with the whites and so we were still fortunate" (p. 241). "The Great Spirit assigned us a certain religion and etc [*sic*]. The power won't work in anything but circles . . . now the white man has taken away our nest and put us in a box. . ." (pp. 290–91).

Nevertheless, this collection of essays (including those by Steltenkamp and Steinmetz) is engaging, insightful, and sure to spur much debate and analysis. R. Todd Wise, for example, discusses the ways in which someone with little knowledge of Lakota culture can experientially grasp the significance of Black Elk's Great Vision, emphasizing Black Elk's belief that this was possible. In addition, confronting one's "entrenched prejudice against visionary experience," among other things, aids in relating to the vision in a meaningful way (p. 244). Wise also argues for a constructivist understanding of the vision, contending that understanding functions intersubjectively, a "play" of "deconstructing or mocking" interpretation while promoting the construction of new understanding(s) (p. 247). This raises the question of how much cultural knowledge is necessary. Most scholars and teachers emphasize knowledge of Lakota ceremonial practice, which may be necessary but insufficient. Ross Enochs' "Black Elk and the Jesuits" illustrates why.

In the last paragraph of his essay, Enochs states that, "Few [contemporary Lakota] are interested in the traditional Lakota religion, and many are Christians" (pp. 299–300). Many are Christians, but the assertion that few Lakotas are even interested in traditional religion is totally unsupported. To understand the logic of his assertion, one must understand the cultural myopia that underlies it. Enochs views traditional religion as extinct because no one practices Lakota ceremonies exactly as they were performed prior to 1890, a criterion that borders on the absurd. Enochs' assumption is that religion must be changeless in order to be "traditional." Earlier in his essay he reports that Black Elk and other Lakota were allowed to participate in dances because the Jesuits saw them as cultural rather than religious customs (p. 295). Enochs apparently shares this divided view of the secular and the religious. He further

claims that “traditional” is a misnomer and that “Native Americans who are interested in their traditional religions do not practice anything like their traditional religion, and Black Elk is the same” (p. 300). If Catholic Mass is not delivered in Latin, must we then conclude that there are no “authentic” Catholics?

In contrast to Enochs, Alexandra Witkin-New Holy emphasizes the importance of kinship, place, and tradition. In “Spiritual Significance of *Paha Sapa*,” she discusses *cangleska wakan* (the sacred hoop) and *hocoka* (the center), writing that “the Lakota do not conceptualize the universe in terms of ‘three planes’ [sky, earth, and underworld] but as ‘integrated’” (p. 196). She also states, following Black Elk’s metaphor, that in order for the “stick to flower . . . [e]ach Lakota must take personal responsibility for the nation, each Lakota must do what is necessary to nurture the flowering of the stick” (p. 204). The Western categories of culture and religion fail to capture the Lakota way, which—as many writers in the anthology discuss—is grounded in unity, relatedness, and responsibility. Francis Kaye extends this responsibility to the *wasicu* reader, who in her opinion necessarily engages in thievery through the appropriation of *Black Elk Speaks* as a tool for spiritual growth or for the expurgation of *wasicu* guilt. She also considers all American non-Indians thieves. Kaye conflates being responsible for the past with being responsible to the past. All Americans (who are the direct beneficiaries of the cultural genocide, broken treaties, and unjust treatment of the Indian nations) are obviously not responsible for those crimes, yet we are responsible to the Indian nations and for the state of our contemporary society. However, Kaye should be commended for her belief that anyone “who seeks to benefit from Black Elk’s spirituality willingly takes on . . . a similar obligation . . . to give something back to the Lakota community or at least to one’s own local community or perhaps to the helpless ones in whatever may be one’s own community” (p. 166).

*The Black Elk Reader* is a collection of thoughtful and challenging essays. Equipped with a fundamental understanding of Lakota history and culture and a critical study of *The Sixth Grandfather*, the prudent reader will greatly benefit from this volume. Some supplementary works that offer historical and contemporary contexts to Lakota history and culture are *Oglala Religion* (W. Powers, 1975); *Sioux Indian Religion* (edited by DeMallie and Parks, 1987); *Standing in the Light: A Lakota Way of Seeing* (Young Bear and Theisz, 1994); and *Reading and Writing the Lakota Language* (White Hat, 1999).

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**The Caddo Chiefdoms: Caddo Economics and Politics, 700–1835.** By David LaVere. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998. 198 pages. \$50.00 cloth.

Historians have labored for many years under the misconception that the scholarly writing of history should be solemn, objective, and somewhat dull. Anything lively smacked of the popular and no reader of such history, academic or otherwise, could take it seriously. Happily, David LaVere has