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This lack of annotations and commentaries is especially problematic for the chapter on Native American literature, because without it one cannot discern whether the works are in the oral or written tradition. Although this bibliography does list the most prominent works in Native American literature, the chapter devoted solely to Native Americans is the shortest in the book, comprising only twenty pages and 164 entries. The introduction to the chapter is not enlightening and completely ignores the religious foundation of much Native American literature. The closest Peck comes to acknowledging this religious connection is to say that "traditional tribal literature" is composed of "myth, songs, ritual chants, and so forth" (p. 48). A short essay on the intersection of religion and literature (with reference to some works in the bibliography) would have helped orient teachers and students toward this body of writing. Fortunately, the editor firmly acknowledges that American Indian literature was the first literature produced in North America.

The editor's goal of producing a comprehensive bibliography for the literature of Native Americans, African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Asian Americans is admirable and ambitious but is not well executed. Regrettably, *American Ethnic Literatures* is primarily a listing of books without useful commentary. It would be difficult for a bibliography of only 219 pages to do justice to Native American literature, much less four bodies of ethnic literature. This book may be a useful starting point for some students and teachers, but for those in Native American studies, a better choice would be *American Indian Literatures: An Introduction, Bibliographic Review, and Selected Bibliography* by LaVonne Brown Ruoff.

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**Black Elk: Holy Man of the Oglala.** By Michael F. Steltenkamp. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993. 211 pages. \$19.95 cloth.

This book is the result of the collaboration between Lucy Looks Twice (1907–78), daughter of the famous Lakota holy man, Black Elk, and Michael F. Steltenkamp, a Jesuit priest who taught at the Red Cloud Indian High School on the Pine Ridge Reservation in

South Dakota in the 1970s. Black Elk's life story and his accounts of traditional Lakota culture have been presented in John G. Neihardt's *Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux* (1932), Joseph Epes Brown, *The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux* (1953), and *The Sixth Grandfather: Black Elk's Teachings Given to John G. Neihardt*, edited by Raymond J. DeMallie (1984). However, Steltenkamp's book provides, for the first time, perspectives on Black Elk by his own family, offering a new dimension to the literature. In this regard, *Black Elk: Holy Man of the Oglala* makes an important and original contribution.

*Black Elk Speaks* was reprinted in 1961 and subsequently was discovered by generations of readers hungry for insight into American Indian spirituality. Since then, a body of work has developed and grown around it in literature, anthropology, history, and religious studies, much of it focused on the authenticity of the Black Elk corpus. Both Neihardt and Brown were silent about Black Elk's acceptance of Catholicism and his activities in the church as a catechist and missionary; both choose instead to present him as a representative of Lakota tradition, without reference to modern reservation life. This silence laid the basis for an interpretive mystique that raises questions of legitimacy and of the practical consequences of a single individual representing two distinct religious traditions.

The strength of Steltenkamp's book is its use of Lucy Looks Twice's words to present her father in a realistic historical perspective, reflecting the Pine Ridge Reservation situation during the twentieth century. Those who knew Black Elk remember him first and foremost as a Roman Catholic catechist, a deeply religious man who preached the necessity of conformance with church beliefs and practices. In the words of Lucy Looks Twice,

Many people have already read about my father's life as a medicine man in *Black Elk Speaks* and *The Sacred Pipe*. So, I'd like to tell about the rest of his life—the many years not talked about in either book. The greater part of his life was spent as a Catholic catechist whom I knew as a meek and loving father. This is the story I know about and want to relate (p. 21).

The image of Black Elk as the mystic holy man, effectively depicted in *Black Elk Speaks*, has attained such reality that many

critics seem to feel betrayed by the historical complexity of Black Elk as a Christian, a family man, and a successful member of reservation society. Far from stranded on the brink of the last century, mourning the passing of the old ways, Black Elk adapted dynamically and innovatively to changing times. It is this picture of Black Elk that is successfully presented in this book, using the words of his daughter and the reminiscences of others who also knew him. Chapters dealing with the Black Elk family, Black Elk's conversion to Christianity, his experiences as a catechist and missionary, his collaboration with Neihardt, visions and other religious themes, and his old age fill out the picture of Black Elk's life beyond what has previously appeared in print.

Lucy Looks Twice related the incident that was the turning point in Black Elk's religious life. Called to doctor a sick boy, Black Elk was in the middle of his healing ceremony when a Jesuit priest, Father Joseph Lindebner, arrived. Quickly gathering up Black Elk's sacred objects, drum, and rattle, he threw them from the tent. "Then he took my father by the neck and said, 'Satan, get out!'" (p. 34). Black Elk stepped outside and sat there, dejected. When the priest returned to Holy Rosary Mission, he took Black Elk along. Black Elk stayed for two weeks, accepted the teachings of the priests, and, on the Feast of Saint Nicholas—6 December—was baptized as Nicholas Black Elk. In the words of Lucy Looks Twice, "After he became a convert and started working for the missionaries, he put all his medicine practice away. He never took it up again" (p. 34).

Steltenkamp examines the nature of Black Elk's conversion, suggesting that it was more complex than the substitution of Christianity for traditional religion, or the integration of the two religions into a single system (p. 42). He notes intriguing parallels between the pictorial Two Roads Catechism used by Black Elk to give instruction in the Catholic faith, and the red and black roads of Black Elk's great vision (p. 98). Refusing to draw any simple conclusion, Steltenkamp leaves the relationship between the catechism and the vision indeterminate. Although he does not present a focused interpretation of Black Elk's Catholicism, he argues that traditional Lakota culture was adaptive and that Black Elk, typifying traditional culture, was flexible to changing conditions (p. 148). Steltenkamp argues that for Black Elk, as for others of his generation, the issue was not the primacy of one religion over the other, but the reflexive, spiritual perspective that characterized their lives (p. 155). His discussion suggests that the lack of such an

“abiding sense of religious mission” (p. 158) is indicative of the problems of modern reservation life. The holy men—traditional religious leaders like Black Elk who became leaders in Christian churches—were, Steltenkamp writes, “bridges of adaptation . . . . Their fundamental role was to foster a religious consciousness that had so long enabled the people to confront whatever challenged them” (p. 162). Finally, Steltenkamp concludes, “Discussion of such a process becomes fruitless when attempts are made to quantify Christian accretions or Lakota residues, and conscious or unconscious reconstructions” (p. 163). He leaves for the future the detailed historical study of the processes of religious change on the reservation, exemplified in the lives of the Lakota holy men.

For Lucy Looks Twice, the problem of her father’s conversion and the relationship between the two religions seems to have been a simpler one. She reported her father’s statement to the priests that the Sioux had been like the Israelites, waiting for Christ (p. 102), and she did not hesitate to draw parallels between native and Christian sacred symbols. Her greater concern seems to have been that, through the reading of *Black Elk Speaks* and *The Sacred Pipe*, younger Lakotas were casting Black Elk as a traditionalist hero who advocated a return to the old religion. She wanted to set the record straight that her father, as she knew him, was a faithful Catholic who never, even in old age, turned his back on the church.

The message of *Black Elk* is not a simple one. We, Indians and non-Indians alike, need to construct a fuller, more realistic vision of the past century of Indian life if we are to face the challenges of the present successfully. Steltenkamp reminds us that there can be no simple return to tradition, for, historically speaking, tradition was a process of adaptation, not a static system. Those who advocate a simplistic “return” to the ways of their grandfathers “might find themselves embracing what their forebears chose to relinquish, modify, or regard as nonessential” (p. 146). Black Elk’s full story embraces not only his youth but his maturity and old age on the Pine Ridge Reservation. It offers the clear context of one man’s life, bringing into focus the changes in the culture and religion of the Sioux during the twentieth century.

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