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posed can be expected to produce this result is debatable. Those most likely to read the book are already aware of the facts and opinions it presents, and it is unlikely to reach those who most need to be enlightened. Still, the editors are to be applauded for giving a certain permanence to the products of a symposium, which might otherwise evaporate as soon as the meeting was over.

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Oglala Religion. By William K. Powers. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977. 233 pp. \$11.95

Professor Powers' *Oglala Religion* begins with a complaint against enduring trends within anthropology. He criticizes the discipline for its historical orientation as well as its tendency to separate institutions from their cultural context. Similarly, Powers rebukes social structuralists for unduly emphasizing studies of kinship terminologies and kinship and marriage. Acculturation studies, according to the author, tend to be biased in favor of demonstrating change and adaptation, but not continuity. Contrary to the focus of such studies, Powers seeks to explain how the Oglalas have preserved their social and cultural identity, and he focuses upon the nature of the values which have endured. Building mainly upon the work of Lévi-Strauss, especially his distinction between social structure and social relations, Powers argues that the pre-contact sociopolitical system has been transformed into a religious institution which now provides the boundaries of Oglala ethnicity. Christianity, as it has been modified by the reservation milieu, becomes the vehicle which allows the older form of social organization to endure. The text, given Powers' general purpose, attempts to penetrate both pre-contact and modern social relations to arrive at an understanding of Oglala social structure. Based upon a study of pre-contact and modern social structure, Powers then argues that the pre-contact social structure has substantially endured. Though it is conventional to begin such a work with a

critical reflection on the literature, *Oglala Religion* presents a very well founded complaint and is, indeed, a helpful corrective.

Though *Oglala Religion* represents a contribution to anthropology as well as Native American studies, it is flawed in several of its component concerns. Though Professor Powers recounts the story of White Buffalo Calf Woman he does not call attention to its central importance in Oglala mythology. This particular myth represents the insertion of the "Friends" within the larger cosmic order and forms the people as carriers of the macrocosmic order within their own microcosm. Similarly, Powers reports that the images of a buffalo and a man were tied to the Sun Dance pole, but he does not refer to the fact, noted by most commentators, that these figures were ithyphallic. The Sun Dance, in many of its aspects, represents the triumph of the *res publica* over the private things, especially in regard to sexual license. Powers also presents a very truncated account of the massacre at Wounded Knee. He simply states that, "shocked at the indignity [seizing the weapons of Big Foot's band], an old man cried out that the people should resist, and a shot rang out." The stuff of tragedy is not quite this simple.

On the other hand, Powers is very sensitive to the natural symbolisms that inform Oglala religion. For example, he notes that at midday the sun would be over the fireplaces within the tipis of a camp. Due to this, every fireplace, symbolically placed in the center of tipis, would itself be an analogue of the sun. Since Powers is sensitive to this symbolism it is surprising that he does not call attention to a similar symbolism in the Sun Dance. At midday, the sun would be directly over the forks—aligned north and south—of the Sun Dance pole, and, thus, the pole itself can be viewed as the sun's resting place, a type of cradle. Similarly, the pole can be understood as the sun's phallus, a generator of warmth, growth, and life. On the whole, Powers credibly reports the major accounts of Oglala ritual and mythology, though his analyses are a bit truncated. Since the publication of *Oglala Religion*, however, an Oglala cosmogony has been discovered and published. (See the *Journal of American Folklore* 90 [April-June 1977]: 149-67).

As previously remarked, Professor Powers argues that the traditional sociopolitical organization persists within the guise of Christianity, especially Roman Catholicism. To make this case, Powers must suggest that Christianity has in some way been subverted by pre-contact Oglala religious beliefs as practiced by traditionalists within the modern tribe. In addition to this suggestion, Powers implies that missionaries, specifically the Reverend Paul Steinmetz, S.J., have somehow been captured by Oglala modes of religious expression. This position, of course, is an important bulwark for Powers' major argument. His contention, how-

ever, ignores the traditional stance of Jesuits in dealing with natural religions. Historically, Jesuit missionaries have followed the traditional teaching of the Roman Church that natural religions per se are good; they are merely not informed by Revelation. Given this, Steinmetz's activities can more plausibly be understood as an attempt to reinterpret the symbols of a natural religion in light of Revelation. In terms of the Roman Catholic teaching about the hypostatic union as actualized in Christ, the pipe can be understood as an instrument of mediation which makes it, as Steinmetz notes, "'a type of Christ.'" More importantly, however, Powers' arguments appears overdrawn. It would be more plausible to argue that Christianity and Oglala religion have formed a melange and, consequently, have created a new composite. Black Elk, a source relied upon heavily in the text, gives evidence in support of this position. Interestingly enough, Black Elk became a Roman Catholic and served the church as a catechist, a fact not reported in the text. *Black Elk Speaks*, generally regarded as an authoritative text, gives implicit evidence that the Friends regarded the cosmos as redemptive. The recently published Oglala cosmogony implies, on the other hand, that the cosmos is salvific, not redemptive. This conceptual shift represents a substantial change in the Oglala concept of nature, and it suggests that the traditional religion has been fundamentally altered by Christianity. Father Steinmetz may not have "gone native" after all.

Oglala Religion presents a persuasive case for Professor Powers' major argument. Based upon an analysis of the structure of Oglala language, sociopolitical organization, family organization, ritual, and myth, Powers concludes that a heptadic structure emerges at each level of abstraction. The heptadic structure, in turn, comprises tetradic, dyadic, and monadic elements. Yet in his assertion that myth and ritual serve as rationalizations for human behavior, Powers indicates that his own analysis remains within the conventional bounds of academic anthropology. His earlier complaint about the conventional wisdom represents only a dispute between schools. It does not embody a significant rupture with the ideological approaches of the past. In its concluding chapters, *Oglala Religion* becomes a representative work of a particular school, and the data, consequently, must be considered as a point of departure, grist for the academic mill. To put this another way, the most important category of analysis is informed by the conventional wisdom; it does not emerge from the data. Due to this, *Oglala Religion* fails to penetrate to the metaphysical level that is embodied in the culture's symbolisms and concludes on a less substantial note than need be the case.

Despite these limitations, Professor Powers has written an important work that makes a contribution to the field. He correctly suggests that

the Oglalas have yet to be understood in their own terms. Powers' work is a substantial effort to penetrate to the core elements of Oglala religion and, hopefully, this text will mark the way for others.

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The Great Sioux Nation. By Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz. New York: American Indian Treaty Council Information Center; Berkeley: Moon Books, 1977. 224 pp. pap. \$5.95

During 1975 and 1976 this reviewer lived in a small ranch house approximately three miles east of Bear Butte (*Mato Paha* to the Sioux) in South Dakota. The landlord explained to me that my root cellar was originally the soddie occupied by his grandfather who homesteaded the location "in the summer of (18)77". My neighbors in South Dakota were all white, mostly ranchers, and mostly descended from families which had "settled early" in the area. Mostly they exhibited a stone-walled resentment of all things Indian, yet they also displayed a surprising knowledge of the main flow of history within their region during the past century and a half. For example, they were well aware that homesteading near Bear Butte in 1877 constituted a clear violation of the 1868 Ft. Laramie Treaty, a document which guaranteed the butte as the very heart of the Great Sioux Reservation. It follows that they were equally aware that their current land holdings and prosperity were directly resultant from their grandfathers' thefts.

Unlike the Northeast, where centuries have elapsed during which white guilt concerning genocide and wholesale expropriation of native populations could be thoroughly sublimated, white South Dakota must deal with a quite recent history of usurpation. Where most tribes were long ago removed from the Northeast, the South Dakota native population has remained more or less in place (albeit on a vastly reduced land base). It is thus impossible for a white South Dakota rancher to go