

Credits and Endnotes

1. The credits precede the notes in combined noted that correlate to the same numbered frames. **Credits:** Aurora borealis, undated (Wikipedia); Nicholas Black Elk teaching Lucy with rosary, ca. 1910 (Marquette University Archives [MUA]: Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions Records [BCIM] 00559); Black Elk with pipe by Joseph E. Brown, Pine Ridge Reservation [PRR], 1947 (Joseph E. Brown Family); Black Elk in war bonnet by W. Ben Hunt, Duhamel Pageant, Black Hills [DP BH], SD, 1937 (MUA: Hunt Coll. 01287); see MUA e-archives for more info on most images, <http://digitalmarquette.cdmhost.com/>. **Notes:** These three books were used repeatedly throughout: Michael F. Steltenkamp *Black Elk: Holy Man of the Oglala*, University of Oklahoma Press, 2009; Michael F. Steltenkamp, *Nicholas Black Elk: Medicine Man, Missionary, Mystic*, University of Oklahoma Press, 2012; and Nicholas Black Elk, *Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux / as told through John G. Neihardt (Flaming Rainbow)*; annotated by Raymond DeMallie, State University Press of New York, 2008.
2. **Credits:** 1680s Kateri Tekakwitha painting by Anne M. Scheuerman, undated (MUA: Anne M. Scheuerman Coll.); Juan Diego Cuauhtlatotzin, undated (Wikipedia); Isaac Jogues, undated (Wikipedia); Katharine Drexel, undated (Wikipedia); Augustus Tolton, undated (Wikipedia); Easter eggs in basket by Brian Cumming, 2013 (Author's Coll.); La Florida martyrs, undated (Martyrs of La Florida Missions), <http://www.martyrsofloridamissions.org/>.
3. **Credits:** Powder River landscape, MT, undated (Wikipedia); Big Road from Lakota Delegation, Washington, DC, 1891 (MUA: BCIM 11634). **Note:** Black Elk spelled his name "Hehakasapa," which was often misspelled "Heliakasapa" in typescripts.
4. **Credits:** Harney Peak, SD, undated (Wikipedia); Black Elk from Black Elk and Elk, London, 1887 (Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives [SI/NAA]). **Note:** "An American Virgil" by Matthew Milliner, First Things, <http://www.firstthings.com/web-exclusives/2015/09/an-american-irgil>, Sept. 2, 2015.
5. **Credits:** Black Elk from Black Elk and Elk, London, 1887; Rev. Francis Craft, 1890s (DPL); Craft in regalia, 1880s, from unidentified newspaper, 1890 (MUA: BCIM 10921); Missouri River, SD (Wikipedia). **Notes:** In January 1885, Black Elk apparently visited Cheyenne River and/or Standing Rock agencies where he dictated his letter to Iapi Oaye and signed St. Kateri's petition, which is confirmed by the lack of a credible alternative Black Elk in the 1886 censuses of the Dakota Territory agencies. Black Elk's principal purpose for traveling to the Cheyenne River and/or Standing Rock agencies is not known, but Dakota Territory agents regularly complained about the roving habits of many Lakota, and as an outstanding dancer, it is likely that he would have been attracted to a major celebration coupled with his ongoing search to better know and serve the Great Spirit. It is likely that Fr. Francis Craft was hand-carrying the petition and had a late encounter with Black Elk who was one of the last to sign. Fr. Craft was a mixed-race Mohawk and Tekakwitha devotee who served as an itinerant pastoral visitor based at Standing Rock agency. He immersed himself in Lakota life and recognized the Christian virtues of generosity and brotherhood expressed at Lakota grass dance celebrations. Black Elk, Heliakasapa, "Wicayunini Wahokonwi Cakiya," *Iapi Oaye* (Greenwood, DT) 14:2 (Feb. 1885): 1, <http://reflections.mndigital.org/cdm/ref/collection/p16022coll2/id/13467>; Dakota Territory agents' reports in the Commissioner of Indian Affairs annual report, 1884-1885,

<http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/History/History-idx?type=browse&scope=HISTORY.COMMREP>); Mary Ewens, “The Native Order: A Brief and Strange History,” *Scattered Steeples, The Fargo Diocese: A Written Celebration of its Centennial* edited by Lamb, Ruff, and Sherman, 1988, p. 10; Thomas W. Foley, *Father Francis M. Craft, Missionary to the Sioux*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002; and Mark G. Thiel, “Catholic Sodalities among the Sioux, 1882-1910,” *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 16:2 (spring 1998), 59, <http://epublications.marquette.edu/do/search/?q=sodalities&start=0&context=507519>. Perhaps Black Elk’s first, this letter written in Dakota, rather than his native Lakota dialect, suggests he dictated it and was not yet literate, and with clear Christian influence, it started a life-long thread of documentation on spiritual questing. The Dakota Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, an interdenominational Protestant agency, published the newspaper and sponsored native-staffed churches at the Cheyenne River and Standing Rock agencies, which were possible sites of the dictation. The Pine Ridge Agency census of the following year identifies his two 10 year old brothers with the biblical names of Thomas and Isaac, which shows further Christian influence within his birth family. Dakota Territory agents consistently complained about the roving habits of many Lakota and note Fr. Craft’s ministry as an itinerant pastoral visitor, which is detailed in: Kellie Jean Hogue, “A Saint of Their Own: Native Petitions Supporting the Canonization of Kateri Tekakwitha, 1884-1885,” *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 32:3 (summer 2014): 25-44, and *Sacre Rituum Congregatione, Beatificationis seu Declarationis Martyrii Servorum Dei Joannis de Brebeuf, Isaaci Jogues et Sociorum e Societate Iesu*, Rome: Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1916, petition letters 8-9, pp. 98-103; these petition letters from the Benedictine Mission of Dakota [Territory] contain 150 signatures of adult men, all “chiefs, chiefs of orders, and members of the Grass [Dance] Order,” and 27 signatures of mission schoolboys. Most signers were from Standing Rock Agency with Black Elk’s appearing near the end as 146th. Access Genealogy, <http://www.accessgenealogy.com/native/free-us-indian-census-rolls.htm>, U.S. Office of Indian Affairs, Dakota Territory agency census rolls, 1885-1886 in National Archives and Records Administration M595 microfilm rolls 33 (Cheyenne River: includes no male Black Elk), 94 (Devil’s Lake: includes no male Black Elk), 362 (Pine Ridge: Frame 89, Black Elk father with 3 dependents age 29, frame 173, “Sleet” a.k.a. Black Elk [future Nicholas Black Elk] bachelor son age 24, and Black Elk [father of future Nicholas Black Elk] age 59 with six dependents), 427 (Rosebud: includes no male Black Elk); and 547 (Standing Rock: includes no male Black Elk); further comparison shows that most petition signers resided at Standing Rock Agency. Dakota Territory agents’ reports in the Commissioner of Indian Affairs annual report, 1884-1885, <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/History/History-idx?type=browse&scope=HISTORY.COMMREP>); Dakota Territory agents consistently complained about the roving habits of many Lakota and note Fr. Craft’s ministry as an itinerant pastoral visitor.

6. **Credits:** Black Elk and Elk, London, 1887; Trolley, Manchester, England, 1887 (Manchester Libraries); Queen Victoria (Wikipedia); wild-west show reenactment by author, Milwaukee, undated (Author’s Coll.); Black Elk, undated (Steltenkamp Coll.). **Note:** Black Elk, “Anpetu Oyakapi,” Manchester, undated, *Iapi Oaye* (Santee, NE), 18:12 (Dec., 1889): 1, <http://reflections.mndigital.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/p16022coll2/id/13837/rec/19>.
7. **Credits:** Black Elk, undated (Steltenkamp Coll.); Ghost dance, Pine Ridge Agency, 1890 (Wikipedia); Craft, 1890s (DPL). **Note:** “An American Virgil” by Milliner, *First Things*, Sept. 2, 2015.

8. **Credits:** St. Nicholas, undated (Wikipedia); Black Elk, undated (Steltenkamp Coll.); Nick Black Elk signature, “Black Elk Speaks Again – A Last Word,” Jan. 26, 1934 (MUA: Holy Rosary Mission-Red Cloud Indian School Records [HRM-RCIS] series 1); Drexel Hall at Holy Rosary Mission, Pine Ridge Agency, 1890s (MUA: HRM-RCIS 02186).
9. **Credits:** Black Elk teaching Lucy with rosary, ca. 1910; Black Elk with wife Brings White and Lucy, 1910? (Wikipedia); Black Elk and family, undated (MUA: BCIM).
10. **Credits:** Black Elk, Our Lady of the Sioux Church, Oglala, PRR, ca. 1910 (MUA: St. Francis Mission Records [SFM] 6-6 1375); Catechists at Catholic Sioux Congress, PRR, 1911 (MUA: BCIM 00657).
11. **Credit:** Dancers at rodeo by Ralph Doubleday, Interior, SD, 1908 (MUA: St. Paul’s Mission Coll. 0029).
12. **Credits:** Black Elk teaching with Two Roads by Eugene Buechel, PRR, ca. 1927-1929 (MUA: SFM 00756/ ITS 00042). **Note:** The proper title of the “Two Roads” was *Pictorial Catechism* by Albert Lacombe, 1874 (MUA).
13. **Credits:** *Pictorial Catechism* by Lacombe, 1874 (MUA); Catholic Ladder Pictorial Catechisms by Thiel, In the Spotlight, Jan. 2009, Marquette e-archives, <http://www.marquette.edu/library/archives/News/spotlight/01-2009.shtml>.
14. **Credit:** Congregation, St. Elizabeth’s Church, by Joseph A. Zimmerman, Oglala, PRR, 1936 (MUA: BCIM 00657).
15. **Credits:** Black Elk from South Dakota Catholic Sioux Congress, Yankton Reservation, SD, 1916 (MUA: BCIM 00626); RMS Titanic (Wikipedia); Black Elk, *Šinasapa Wocekiye Taeyanpaha* (Fort Totten, ND), 18:7 (Feb. 15, 1914): Verso of supplement. **Note:** Black Elk, *Šinasapa Wocekiye Taeyanpaha* (Fort Totten, ND), 18:7 (Feb. 15, 1914): Verso of supplement, translated by Manhart, 2002.
16. **Credits:** Rev. Henry Westropp and family, PRR, 1910s (MUA: HRM-RCIS 02241); Black Elk teaching on Rosebud Reservation, SD, 1910s (MUA: SFM 6-6 1072).
17. **Credit:** South Dakota Catholic Sioux Congress, Yankton Reservation, SD, 1916.
18. **Credits:** Montana Catholic Sioux Congress, Fort Peck Reservation, MT, 1916 (MUA: BCIM 00373).
19. **Credits:** Church leaders with Black Elk and Buechel at St. Agnes Church, Manderson, PRR, 1947 (MUA: HRM-RCIS 02134); Black Elk in horse-drawn wagon, PRR, undated (Steltenkamp Coll.).
20. **Credits:** Black Elk atop Harney Peak by Neihardt, 1931 (Neihardt Coll./ Western Historical Manuscripts, University of Missouri-Columbia); Black Elk and Neihardt, 1932 (Neihardt Coll., University of Missouri-Columbia); Black Elk, “Black Elk Speaks Again – A Last Word,” Jan. 26, 1934 (MUA: HRM-RCIS series 1); Damien Costello, *Black Elk: Colonialism and Lakota Catholicism*, Orbis Books, 2005.
21. **Credits:** Black Elk and Baloney, PRR, undated (Steltenkamp Coll.); Frank Fools Crow, undated (Steltenkamp Coll.).
22. **Credits:** Black Elk in healer’s regalia, DP BH, 1930s (South Dakota Historical Society); Black Elk and Yankton in ceremony, DP BH, 1940s (Denver Museum of Natural History); Black Hills, SD, undated (Wikipedia); *The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk’s Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1953.
23. **Credits:** Black Elk and George Looks Twice, DP BH, 1930s (Steltenkamp Coll.); Black Elk alone, DP BH, undated (Steltenkamp Coll.); Black Elk in war bonnet by Hunt, DP BH, 1937. **Note:** Brown, *The Spiritual Legacy of the American Indian With Letters While Living with Black Elk* by Brown, World Wisdom, 2007, pp. 105-123.

24. **Credits:** Black Elk and relatives outdoors, PRR, undated (MUA: BCIM 09-1 44-22); Black Elk and relatives indoors, PRR, undated (MUA: BCIM 09-1 44-22); *Nicholas Black Elk: Medicine Man, Missionary, Mystic* by Steltenkamp, pp. 118-119; *Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux / as told through John G. Neihardt (Flaming Rainbow)*; annotated by DeMallie, pp. 220-221.
25. **Credits:** Aurora borealis, undated (Wikipedia); John Lone Goose, undated (Steltenkamp Coll.); St. Agnes Church and hall, Manderson, PRR, undated (MUA: HRM-RCIS 02129); Black Elk's tombstone, St. Agnes cemetery, Manderson, PRR, undated (Steltenkamp Coll.). **Notes:** Guy Consolmagno, *The Catholic Astronomer*, July 2015, <http://www.vofoundation.org/blog/aurorae-and-a-possible-saint/>; see Yerkes Observatory, Williams Bay, WI, for more reports and photography of Aug. 18-20, 1950, auroral event.
26. **Credits:** Black Elk with pipe by Brown, PRR, 1947; Black Elk, 1970s (MUA: HRM-RCIS 00416); Fools Crow with pipe, St. Isaac Jogues Church, Rapid City, SD, 1975 (MUA: HRM-RCIS 02566); Fools Crow leading Sun Dance by Steinmetz, PRR, 1967 (MUA: HRM-RCIS 03531); Steinmetz with pipe, PRR, 1975 (MUA: HRM-RCIS 02562); Black Elk teaching Lucy with rosary, ca. 1910; Archambault, 1970s (MUA: HRM-RCIS 00017). **Notes:** Esther DeSersa, et. al., edited by Hilda Neihardt and Holm Utecht, *Black Elk Lives: Conversations with the Black Elk Family*, University of Nebraska Press, 2000; Marie Therese Archambault, *A Retreat with Black Elk – Living in the Sacred Hoop*, Franciscan Media, 1998; William Stolzman, editor, *The Pipe and Christ: A Christian-Sioux Dialogue*, Tipi Press, 1986; Rapid City Diocesan Inculturation Taskforce, *Recommendations for the Inculturation of Lakota Catholicism*, 1999, <http://kolbemediainline.com/rcdio/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/1999-Recom-for-Inc-of-Lak-Cathm.pdf>.
27. **Credits:** Black Elk with pipe by Brown, PRR, 1947; Looks Twice and Steltenkamp, undated (Steltenkamp Coll.); Looks Twice in regalia, undated (Steltenkamp Coll.); Black Elk teaching Lucy with rosary, ca. 1910; Looks Twice placing stole on Steltenkamp, Red Cloud School, Pine Ridge, PRR, 1976 (Steltenkamp Coll.)
28. **Credits:** Harney Peak, SD, undated; Black Elk from Black Elk and Elk, London, 1887.
29. **Credits:** Easter eggs in basket by Cumming, 2013; Black Elk in war bonnet by Hunt, DP BH, 1937; George Looks Twice and Mark G. Thiel by Patricia M. Poskie-Thiel, Rome, 2012.
30. **Credits:** Easter eggs by Cumming, 2013; Black Elk in war bonnet by Hunt, DP BH, 1937. **Note:** “When the Saints Go Marching In! Lessons learned from Causes, Past and Present,” <http://www.marquette.edu/library/archives/documents/Saints4rev.pdf> (PowerPoint) by Thiel, Tekakwitha Conference (Alexandria, LA), July 2015.
31. **Credits:** Cuauhtlatoatzin, undated; Guadalupe Basilica, undated (Wikipedia); roses at Guadalupe Basilica, undated (Wikipedia).
32. **Credits:** 1680s Tekakwitha painting by Scheuerman, undated; Finkbonner family, pastor, and Seattle Archbishop Brunnet at Tekakwitha Conference, MUA: Ray Coll.). **Note:** “Jake Finkbonner and the Miracle at Seattle Children’s Hospital,” by Thiel in *Native Footsteps: Along the Path of Saint Kateri Tekakwitha* by Thiel and Vecsey, eds., Marquette University Press, 2012, pp. 121–127.
33. **Credits:** Black Elk with pipe by Brown, PRR, 1947; Black Elk teaching Lucy with rosary, ca. 1910.