

# The Salt Companion to Carter Revard

*Edited by*

ELLEN L. ARNOLD



CAMBRIDGE

PUBLISHED BY SALT PUBLISHING  
PO Box 937, Great Wilbraham PDO, Cambridge CB1 5JX United Kingdom

All rights reserved

The selection and introduction © Ellen L. Arnold, 2007  
individual contributions © the contributors, 2007

The right of Ellen L. Arnold to be identified as the  
editor of this work has been asserted by her in accordance  
with Section 77 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception  
and to provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,  
no reproduction of any part may take place without the written  
permission of Salt Publishing.

First published 2007

Printed and bound in the United Kingdom by Lightning Source

Typeset in Swift 10 / 12

*This book is sold subject to the conditions that it shall not,  
by way of trade or otherwise, be lent, re-sold, hired out,  
or otherwise circulated without the publisher's prior consent  
in any form of binding or cover other than that in which  
it is published and without a similar condition including this  
condition being imposed on the subsequent purchaser.*

ISBN-13 978 1 84471 090 4 paperback  
ISBN-10 1 84471 090 4 paperback

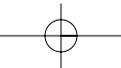
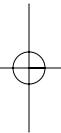
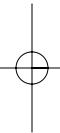
Salt Publishing Ltd gratefully acknowledges  
the financial assistance of Arts Council England



1 3 5 7 9 8 6 4 2

## Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	v
Introduction	1
Norma C. Wilson, “Star Legacies”	12
Suzanne Evertsen Lundquist, “Carter Revard as Autoethnographer or <i>Wa-thi’gethon</i> ”	34
Robin Riley Fast, “Going Home with Carter Revard”	60
Susan Scarberry-Garcia, “We Sing As the Birds Do’: Listening for Bird Song in the Work of Carter Revard”	77
Patrice Hollrah, “The Voices Still Are Singing’: Osage/Ponca Continuance in the Poetry of Carter Revard”	85
Robert M. Nelson, “Ponca War Dancers: Creating a Pan-Indian Circle”	98
Jerry Harp, “Reading That Part of the Past’: Accessing History in the Poetry of Carter Revard”	110
Robert Bensen, “To Make Their Bodies of Words”	128
Janet McAdams, “Carter Revard’s Angled Mirrors”	143
Ellen L. Arnold, “Present Myth’: Old Stories and New Sciences in the Poetry of Carter Revard”	160
Márgara Averbach, “Translating Carter Revard: An Adventure among Mixed and Fertile Words”	183
Susan Berry Brill de Ramírez and Peter G. Beidler, “Scholarship and Stories, Oxford and Oklahoma, Academe and American Indians: The Relational Words and Worlds of a Native American Bard and Storytelling Medievalist—Carter Revard”	202
Susanna Fein, “Trail-Tracking the Ludlow Scribe: Carter Revard as Translator-Scholar-Sleuth of Medieval English Poetry”	219
Author Notes	237
Index	241



## Acknowledgments

It has been a great privilege to participate in the making of this volume. I am grateful to all the contributors who gave so generously of their time, scholarly expertise, and personal support to make this project possible. Special thanks go to Janet McAdams, who introduced me to Carter Revard's work and to Carter Revard himself when we were both graduate students at Emory University in the 1990s, and without whom this volume would never have come to be. Bob Bensen, much appreciation for your personal and editorial encouragement throughout. Many thanks as well to Chris and Jen Hamilton-Emery and everyone at Salt Publishing for their patience and dedication in bringing this volume to fruition. Most of all, we all give thanks to Carter Revard for his inspiring and challenging poems and essays, which have brought us all together in celebration, for his kind and good-humored support to all of us in our work, and for his permission to quote from and reprint his work.

We gratefully acknowledge Frank Parman and Arn Henderson of Point Riders Press for the use of poems from *Ponca War Dancers* and *Cowboys and Indians*, *Christmas Shopping*, and the University of Arizona Press for permission to quote from and reproduce Carter Revard's poems (in *An Eagle Nation*, by Carter C. Revard. ©1993 Carter C. Revard; and *Winning the Dust Bowl* by Carter Revard. ©2001 Carter Revard. Reprinted by permission of the University of Arizona Press) and to reprint Janet McAdams' essay, "Carter Revard's Angled Mirrors" (from *Speak to Me Words: Essays on Contemporary American Indian Poetry* by Dean Rader and Janice Gould, ©2003 The Arizona Board of Regents. Reprinted by permission of the University of Arizona Press).

[ vi ]

*Acknowledgments*

Versions or portions of essays in this volume by Ellen L. Arnold, Margara Averbach, Suzanne Evertsen Lundquist, and Susan Scarberry-Garcia appeared in *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 15.1 (2003).

## Introduction

Carter Revard was born in 1931 in Pawhuska, Oklahoma, of Osage, Ponca, Irish, and Scotch-Irish heritage. He grew up in the Buck Creek Valley on the Osage Reservation, where he worked in the fields, trained greyhounds, and janitored with his twin sister in the one-room schoolhouse where he and his six siblings completed their first eight grades. After graduating from Bartlesville College High School, Revard won a radio quiz scholarship to the University of Tulsa, where he earned his B.A. in 1952. One of the first American Indian Rhodes Scholars, Revard took an M.A. at Oxford in 1954 and a Ph.D. at Yale in 1959. He taught at Amherst College before beginning a distinguished and prolific 36-year career (1961–1997) at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri, as a scholar and teacher of medieval English literature specializing in Middle English, history of the English language, and linguistics. (Bibliographies of Revard’s scholarly publications on medieval literature appear in the special issue of *Studies in American Indian Literatures* [2003] in his honor and in the appendix to Susanna Fein’s essay in this volume.)

The same year Revard graduated from the University of Tulsa and was named Rhodes Scholar, he was given his Osage name, Nompehwahthe (“Fear-Inspiring,” relative of Thunder [1998: 139]) by his grandmother, Mrs. Josephine Jump, in a traditional Osage naming ceremony. As he recalls in the preface to his essay collection *Family Matters, Tribal Affairs*, it was not until 1973, amidst growing national awareness of American Indian peoples awakened by the political events of the early 1970s—the Trail of Broken Treaties and the takeover of the Bureau of Indian Affairs building in 1972, the Wounded Knee occupation of 1973—that he began to teach courses in American Indian literatures and cultures. Revard

became an organizer in the St. Louis Indian community, helped found the American Indian Center of Mid-America, joined a Gourd Dancers group, and began to publish poetry with American Indian themes (1998: xiii–xvi). Two chapbooks—*My Right Hand Don't Leave Me No More* (1970) and *Nonymosity* (1980)—were followed by *Ponca War Dancers* (1980), *Cowboys and Indians*, *Christmas Shopping* (1992), *An Eagle Nation* (1993), which won the 1994 Oklahoma Book Award, and most recently, *How the Songs Come Down: New and Selected Poems* (2005), part of Salt Publishing's Earthworks Series. In addition, Revard has published a collection of essays, *Family Matters, Tribal Affairs* (1998) and a multi-genre memoir, *Winning the Dust Bowl* (2001). In 2001 Revard was named Writer of the Year in Autobiography by the Wordcraft Circle of Native Writers for *Family Matters, Tribal Affairs*. In 2005, he received the Lifetime Achievement Award from the Native Writers' Circle of the Americas.

Carter Revard's complex and beautifully crafted poetry has been widely anthologized in collections of American and American Indian literature, and his poems and essays on Native traditions and literatures have inspired two generations of Indian poets and helped to shape contemporary literary theory about Native American literatures. Revard's interests in languages and storytelling cross multiple cultural traditions and histories in ways that challenge cultural boundaries. In her book *The Nature of Native American Poetry* (2001), Norma Wilson says of Revard, "No other Native poet demonstrates so thorough a knowledge of British and American poetic traditions . . . . No other Native poet has been able to so fully articulate in English words the relationship between ancient tribal myth and modern life" (15).

Although there are many accomplished and widely published American Indian poets (Simon Ortiz, Maurice Kenny, Duane Niatum, Joy Harjo, Ofelia Zepeda, Wendy Rose, and Luci Tapahonso, to name a few), in addition to many of the most popular contemporary American Indian fiction writers who are also poets (Leslie Marmon Silko, N. Scott Momaday, James Welch, Louise Erdrich, Linda Hogan, and Sherman Alexie, for example), poetry has for a long time been neglected in critical studies and teaching relative to fiction. Only recently have three important books devoted exclusively to Native American poetry begun to define and focus critical approaches to this large body of work: Robin Riley Fast's *The Heart as a Drum: Continuance and Resistance in American Indian Poetry* (1999), Norma Wilson's *The Nature of Native American Poetry* (2001), and Dean Rader and Janice Gould's edited volume of essays, *Speak to Me Words: Essays on Contemporary American Indian Poetry* (2003). As

Norma Wilson points out, poetry as a written form was foreign to American Indians, but it shared similarities with the oral songs and chants that have always been central to their daily lives and spiritual practices; Wilson states, “Contemporary Native poetry has its roots in the land, in the oral tradition, and in history. . . . [W]hen Native poets evoke traditional literature, they are continuing in the oral tradition, drawing from cultural memory the words and images that have sustained their people and sharing parts of their cultural heritage” (2001: ix).

Though Native American literature arises from the vastly diverse languages, traditions, homelands, and histories of several hundred distinct cultural groups, that literature is described by many critics as sharing some essential elements: a rootedness in oral narrative and storytelling traditions; a respect for the sacred power of language both to create and destroy; a deep reverence for the earth and the interconnectedness of human beings with all the living beings and elements of the natural world; a refusal of Western dichotomizing and objectifying epistemologies; and a “reinvention” of the English language, which was imposed on American Indians as a tool of conquest, to empower it to express indigenous worldviews and realities. Though Native poetry shares these characteristics with Native literature in general, Dean Rader and Janice Gould observe that poetry is also distinctly different from other genres. Rader finds that the structure of poetry most effectively “mirrors Native oral potential and Native worldviews” (2003: 11) through its “transform[ation of] the lyric moment into a dynamic narrative event,” its resistance to “linear constraints,” its use of “creative typography to emulate spoken diction” (8), and its fusion of disparate elements, such as “present and past, poetry and prose, the lyric ‘I’ and the communal ‘we’” (11). Gould argues that many Native poets do in fact work within the constraints of dominant literary forms, and that many of these qualities—storytelling, play with form and typography, etc.—are also found in the work of other American poets; what she finds unique about American Indian poetry is “in the particular truth telling it embodies, in the particular kinds of insights Indians bring to this question of who we are or what we are about as a nation . . . . [O]ne function of American Indian poetry has been to ‘resist cultural erasure,’ to question the dominant narrative . . . , to remember our histories,” to “reclaim and rebuild the identities that the Euro-Americans wanted to

annihilate,” and to restore balance to Indian people and to a damaged world (10–11).

Carter Revard exemplifies what Rader terms “engaged resistance”—a resistance to “the imperial colonizing thrust of contemporary culture through participation in it” (12). While all of Revard’s poetry is deeply informed by and continues Osage and Ponca histories and traditions, as many of the essays in this volume so beautifully elucidate, he is also concerned with building pan-tribal connections and with reclaiming “what’s worthwhile in Europe for our people” (1998: 24). In his frequently referenced essay “Herbs of Healing: American Values in American Indian Literature” (1998: 161–83; Rader and Gould 2003: 172–92), Revard compares some of the modern “classics” to poems by contemporary American Indian writers—Wallace Stevens’ “Anecdote of the Jar” to Simon Ortiz’s “Speaking,” John Milton’s “On the Late Massacre in Piedmont” to Wendy Rose’s “I Expected My Skin and My Blood to Ripen,” Robert Frost’s “Never Again Would Birds’ Song Be the Same” to Louise Erdrich’s “Jacklight”—to demonstrate how these “undiscovered” poets correct, enrich, and balance narrow or distorted EuroAmerican visions of history and reality (Dean and Rader 2003: 192). By examining his own use of the Old English riddle form in poems such as “What the TV Said” and “What the Eagle Fan Says,” Revard shows how he adapts Anglo-Saxon poetics “for American Indian themes and purposes” (190), bringing those old forms to life, making them “blossom and fruit” (188) with revelations for the present world.

Revard’s poetry portrays American Indians not as culturally isolated victims resisting pressures from the outside, but as agents of global history. Interspersed with the more personal and local poems for which Revard is best known—“Coyote Tells Why He Sings,” “An Eagle Nation,” “What the Eagle Fan Says,” “Aunt Jewell as Powwow Princess,” etc.—are “scientific and political” poems, such as “Transactions,” “Making Money,” “November in Washington DC,” “Postcolonial Hyperbaggage,” “Columbus Looks Out Far, In Deep,” or “Transfigurations,” poems that, in Revard’s words, “connect the Oklahoma, rural, Indian with the national and international political scenery” and “lift the local chiaroscuro into the national sunlight” (28 September 2000: E-mail to author). As Janet McAdams observes, many of Revard’s poems are reprinted in multiple collections, making it difficult and not very useful “to characterize Revard’s body of work in a linear fashion” (Rader and Gould 2003: 194). Rather, Revard arranges his poems as “angled mirrors, so that full-face, profile, and rear-view versions of their subjects may be

seen at the same time" (2001: xiii; qtd. in McAdams 2003: 194), creating a fluid, multifaceted, interactive poetics. Yet, Revard is always, ultimately, a storyteller. This is especially evident in his most recent book, *How the Songs Come Down*, which Revard intends as "a coherent body of work, with a story that comes clear from the way the old and new poems are juxtaposed, grouped, and sequenced," a story whose "grand theme is singing"—the revelations embodied in song, the power and community that song builds (17 December 2005: E-mail to author). Revard's "conversive" blending of Western literary and Native oral traditions (Brill de Ramirez 1999) demand equally conversive, multilayered critical approaches that can address the ways his poems can both epitomize European conventions and interrogate and transform those conventions, can examine how his poems work toward indigenous sovereignties as well as for pan-tribal and global community.

The critical essays in this volume explore Revard's poetry from a variety of perspectives, meeting this challenge by forming their own intersecting, interacting field of "angled mirrors." Norma C. Wilson (University of South Dakota) and Suzanne Evertsen Lundquist (Brigham Young University) provide detailed biographical, cultural, and historical contexts for Revard's work. In "Star Legacies," Norma Wilson draws on his published work and her personal correspondence with Revard to locate the foundations of Revard's writing in the details of family, community, and tribal histories, to show how it expresses the continuity of centuries of indigenous Osage and Ponca tradition. Highlighting the way that Osage origin stories and naming ceremonies relate individual and community to the stars from which the Osage people descended, Wilson concludes, "For his poetry and his life, Carter Revard finds meaning in looking to the sky. Awe in the face of creation is one of his gifts to those who read his poems. His Osage and Ponca ancestors prepared him well to sing with a gift that can help others rise." Suzanne Evertsen Lundquist, also making use of extensive personal communication with Revard, takes a somewhat more theoretical approach to his family, literary, and philosophical genealogies in "Carter Revard as Autoethnographer or *Wa-thi'gethon*." Using Mary Louise Pratt's definition of "autoethnography" as life-writing produced in cultural "contact zones" where subjects "describe themselves in ways that engage with representations others have made of them," Lundquist examines Revard's essays and poetry as autoethnography that explores differences between Native and Western conceptions of identity and elucidates a theory of mixedblood identity as a dynamic "third space."

Robin Riley Fast's essay, "Going Home with Carter Revard," explores the centrality of "home" as both theme and poetics in Revard's work. In detailed readings of numerous "poems of home" such as "To the Muse in Oklahoma," "Homework at Oxford," "Wazhazhe Grandmother," "My Right Hand Don't Leave Me No More," and "Paint and Feathers," Fast (Emerson College) demonstrates how deeply Revard's poetry is grounded in the knowledge and values of home, and how his examination of the multilayered linkings of home, language, and survival articulate "an ethics and esthetics of relationality." In "We Sing as the Birds Do': Listening for Bird Song in the Work of Carter Revard," Susan Scarberry-Garcia (Arizona State University) similarly traces a single theme through many poems to show how the "music instinct" that bonds humans and birds helps to form a basis of his poetic sensibility. For Revard, Scarberry-Garcia observes, the Bird People have given their songs to humans so they can better communicate with the spirit world, and his "strategy of intimately knowing and 'naming the birds' is a means of recognizing the cosmic forces that animate, shape, and travel the natural world." The carefully detailed catalogues of bird names and bird song in north central Oklahoma that appear in Revard's poems, she argues, also position him as a teller of "a collective communal history" who passes on local knowledges and thus continues oral traditions.

In "The Voices Still Are Singing': Osage/Ponca Continuance in the Poetry of Carter Revard," Patrice Hollrah (University of Nevada-Reno) considers Revard's poem "Given" and three of his "Aunt Jewell" poems—"How the Songs Came Down," "An Eagle Nation," and "Aunt Jewell as Powwow Princess"—in which his Ponca Aunt, Jewell McDonald Camp Farmer, is a key figure of intergenerational transmission of traditional Ponca values. Hollrah studies Aunt Jewell's lessons to Revard and his passing on of her teachings to younger generations through his poems to suggest that they are acts of decolonization and self-determination, affirmations of Ponca/Eagle Nation sovereignty that help the people "live more fully." Robert Nelson (University of Richmond) begins from a similar consideration of tribal continuance to examine Revard's creation of pan-tribal community in his stanza-by-stanza close reading of a single poem in "Ponca War Dancers': Creating a Pan-Indian Circle." Looking first at the Ponca ceremonial dances of the *Helushka* Society and Revard's Uncle Gus's performance of the war dance as a kind of "hub" where "emic and etic perspectives gather," Nelson demonstrates that Uncle Gus clears a space amidst an etic tourist audience for Native traditionalism, thus modeling "a positive strategy for coming to terms with

the forces of cultural assimilation.” Next, Nelson focuses on the coalescence of an “emic” Pan-Indian “circle of vision” that emerges in the space between Uncle Gus’s performance and the white audience, where a “third variety of Indian community, not reserved to any one tribe or geographically fixed setting” is united by the “warrior spirit” of activism, born of AIM resistance in the 1970s, to protect and preserve intra-cultural communities and beliefs.

In “Reading That Part of the Past’: Accessing History in the Poetry of Carter Revard,” Jerry Harp (Lewis and Clark College) draws on theorizations of the permeability and mutability of boundaries in American Indian poetry by critics such as Robin Riley Fast and Janet McAdams to examine ways that Carter Revard’s poetry “articulates moments of fluidity in which one encounters parts of the past that otherwise remain inaccessible.” In such poems as “A Sun Dance Story,” “Rock Shelters,” and “A Cardinal, New Snow, and Some Firewood,” Harp demonstrates how shifts in perception open into moments of reading the past in “strikingly intimate terms,” weaving strands of the present and past with cultural meanings and personal discoveries. Similarly, Robert Bensen’s “To Make Their Bodies of Words” considers Revard’s poems as sites of the intersection of the moment and what is beyond the moment—in Bensen’s case, the spirit-world. While Harp writes about the permeability among geographical, spiritual, and historical spaces, Bensen (Hartwick College) focuses on “extraordinary moments [that] depend upon the coincidence or confluence of the Seen and the Unseen,” as in the apparition of Revard’s Uncle Gus dancing in “Aunt Jewell as Powwow Princess.” Interpreting “Looking Before and After” as an early work of visionary experience that informs Revard’s “Aunt Jewell poems,” including “An Eagle Nation” and “How the Songs Come Down,” Bensen shows how Revard’s poetics are developed from Osage creation stories and the Naming Ceremony.

Janet McAdams’ essay “Carter Revard’s Angled Mirrors” (reprinted from *Speak To Me Words*) begins with Revard’s advice in *Winning the Dust Bowl* that his poems should be read as “angled mirrors” (2001: xiii). Similar to Lundquist, McAdams (Kenyon College) draws on Pratt’s notion of cultural “contact zones” to demonstrate ways that Revard’s poetry performs a “third space”; whereas Lundquist addresses cultural identity, however, McAdams focuses on the textual mapping of a “new world” that is always in flux, always transforming. Through detailed examinations of Revard’s poetics, particularly the complex trope of voice, in three divergent poems—“Coyote Tells Why He Sings,” “What the TV

Said,” and “Homework at Oxford”—McAdams demonstrates how Revard destabilizes received binaries without collapsing them by showing their interrelationships or transforming one into its other. Ellen L. Arnold (East Carolina University) takes a somewhat similar approach in “Present Myth: Old Stories and New Sciences in the Poetry of Carter Revard” by exploring the dynamic interplay of postmodern science and traditional worldviews in poems such as “ESP,” “Transfigurations,” “The Poet’s Cottage,” and “Nonymosity.” By weaving creation stories and ceremonies from Osage tradition with images and concepts from science, Arnold suggests, Revard creates a contemporary mythology of wholeness that negotiates the borders between nature and culture, myth and history, spirit and matter.

The final three essays in this collection further expand cross-cultural and trans-historical considerations of Carter Revard’s work by examining it in global contexts. In “Translating Carter Revard: An Adventure among Mixed and Fertile Worlds,” Argentine scholar and translator Margara Averbach (Universidad de Buenos Aires) shares with readers her process of translating four of Revard’s poems—“Coyote Tells Why He Sings,” “To the Muse, In Oklahoma,” “Driving in Oklahoma,” and “Postcolonial Hyperbaggage”—from English into Spanish for her college students in Argentina. Starting with basic issues of translation across linguistic and cultural borders, Averbach demonstrates how the process of careful translation (especially with the generous participation of the author in e-mail dialogue!) can enrich and illuminate readings of poems in two languages and cultures, as well as contribute to extra-textual intercultural exchange. Two essays, one co-authored by Susan Berry Brill de Ramırez and Peter Beidler and a second by Susanna Fein, break new ground by examining the interrelationships between Revard’s medieval scholarship and his American Indian heritage. Beidler (Lehigh University), trained as a medievalist, and Brill de Ramırez (Bradley University), trained in literary theory and criticism, are both also scholars of Native American literature. In “Scholarship and Stories, Oxford and Oklahoma, Academe and American Indians: The Relational Words and Worlds of a Native American Bard and Storytelling Medievalist,” Brill de Ramırez and Beidler demonstrate how Revard’s roots in Native storytelling traditions offer him unique insights into the orally-informed literatures of medieval England and Europe. In their analysis of Revard’s translation and contextualization of the Anglo-Norman poem *Gilote et Johane* in “The Wife of Bath’s Grandmother,” they argue that Revard’s combination of scholarly rigor and storytelling strategies

creates a distinctive methodology, a “conversive scholarship,” that “welcomes his readers into the worlds within his books, essays, and notes” and offers a valuable alternative model of literary scholarship that “bridg[es] the gap between literature and scholarship through their connective heritage in relational storytelling.”

Medievalist Susanna Fein (Kent State University), who shares Revard’s scholarly interests in the fourteenth-century Harley Lyrics Manuscript, gives us a detailed glimpse of this creative methodology at work in “Trail-Tracking the Ludlow Scribe: Carter Revard as Translator-Scholar-Sleuth of Medieval English Poetry.” Fein explores the work for which Revard is best known among medieval scholars, which she terms “the stuff of legend”: his patient pursuit of the fragmentary clues that have enabled him to locate the anonymous scribe in a particular place and window of time, in medieval Ludlow from 1314 to 1349. Fein shows us how Revard’s pioneering work, including his lively translations of French works recorded in the Harley Manuscript (such as the bawdy comic interlude *Gilote et Johane* and four even bawdier and funnier fabliaux), and his edition with commentary of the satiric *Papelard Priest*, has rescued excellent but little-known poetry for the general as well as the academic reader. Attributing the success of Revard’s scholarship to his “sense of the past as a living, colorful presence, a sense that owes . . . much to his American Indian roots,” Fein invites those who love Carter Revard’s poetry to discover his medieval translations as well, which are “delightful and exceptional in their own way.”

Carter Revard tells us that “good language, in both talk and writing, builds a small community in which people can live a little more completely and joyously than solitude allows” (2001: xvi). Revard’s good language has provided the opportunity for this community of scholars to lift their own voices in “harmonies and counterpoints” that echo Carter’s own (xvi). These essays open multiple entries into Revard’s work, and it is our hope that they will provide occasions for lively new conversations about his poems, about Native American poetry, and American poetry in general. Like good poetry, these essays also help us “develop [our] sense of how miraculous the world is” (Revard 2003: 5). I will close with lines from Revard’s “Songs of the Wine-throated Hummingbird,” the final poem of *How the Songs Come Down*, which traces how song finds its way into the written words that stimulate our human minds to hear the music of the universe anew:

[ 10 ]

*The Salt Companion to Carter Revard*

. . . What are sounds,  
and what are songs, that we can make them,  
that we have ears to hear,  
that on these tiny waves  
of air, of water, even of magnetism, we have made  
the smaller ripples that we call Meaning  
when sounds are words—or which, rising  
like Aphrodite from the foam  
of dance and song and love, come through as Music. Deep  
in the blue Antarctic seas, high  
in the green Guatemalan jungle, here  
in these cracked English words,  
can you hear them sing,  
the hummingbirds, the humpback whales,  
a neutron star, a human soul? (2005: 160)

Ellen L. Arnold  
December 19, 2005

## *Works Cited*

- Brill de Ramírez, S. B. 1999. *Contemporary American Indian Literatures and the Oral Tradition*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- “Carter Revard: A Selected Bibliography.” 2003. *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 15.1: 142-49.
- Fast, R. R. 1999. *The Heart as a Drum: Continuance and Resistance in American Indian Poetry*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Rader, D. and J. Gould, eds. 2003. *Speak to Me Words: Essays on Contemporary American Indian Poetry*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Revard, C. 1998. *Family Matters, Tribal Affairs*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- . 2000, 28 September. “Hello.” E-mail to E. Arnold.
- . 2001. *Winning the Dust Bowl*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- . 2003. “Some Notes on Native American Literature.” *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 15.1: 1-15.
- . 2005. *How the Songs Come Down: New and Selected Poems*. Cambridge, U.K.: Salt Publishing.
- . 2005, 17 December. “How The Songs Come Down.” E-mail to E. Arnold.
- Wilson, N. C. 2001. *The Nature of Native American Poetry*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

## *Star Legacies*

**Norma C. Wilson**

Carter Revard writes about “star stuff” (1993: xi). Like his Osage ancestors, who imagined coming from the stars, Revard looks for the higher and deeper meanings of all he has received. Introducing *An Eagle Nation*, he says, “The creation of language, of writing, is less astounding than the invention of water, but not much less, and we each re-create, as we go, all that has been given us. . . . Under the old names, new beings gather; within the new beings, old ways survive” (1993: xi).

From his childhood in rural Oklahoma, among Osage, Ponca and Euro-Americans who lived close to the land, Revard learned to see by the light of a spiritual, philosophical and social perspective that had developed over centuries of life in the middle of North America. In *Family Matters, Tribal Affairs*, he says, “It may well be that myths are like the stars: we see by their light, even though they may have ‘died’ centuries ago” (1998: 153). His indigenous traditions and the experience of rural life formed the foundation for his poetry.

### **Living in Community**

Born March 25, 1931, Carter Revard grew up in Oklahoma on the Osage reservation, in the town of Pawhuska and on farm land between Pawhuska and Bartlesville, near Buck Creek. Raised by his mother Thelma Louise Camp, of Irish and Scotch-Irish ancestry, and his full-blood Osage stepfather Addison Jump, the author does not recall ever seeing his father McGuire Revard, who was part Osage. Though he is

only a small part Osage, Revard grew up with four half-brothers and sisters who were half Osage (17 July 1976: Letter to author). Thelma's brother Woody Camp was married to Jewell McDonald, a Ponca. Carter, his twin sister Maxine, and their older brother Antwine often stayed with their Aunt Jewell, Uncle Woody, and family at the Ponca village of White Eagle; and Jewell and her children often stayed with Carter's family. Over the years the extended Osage-Ponca family members have maintained their relationships.

By 1910 when Addison Jump was born, the Osages had been forced to accept individual allotment of their reservation lands, their ancient ceremonies were being devalued and discarded, and their language was under assault in boarding schools. Revard has written that in these schools Addison and his younger siblings were beaten for speaking Osage. Yet Osage was still spoken in their homes. In *Family Matters, Tribal Affairs*, Revard recalls a feast to mark the first anniversary of his brother Jim's ceremonial naming, indicating that despite forced assimilation, his family continued to follow their Osage customs (1998: 10).

Revard describes in his writing a childhood rich with the experience of Oklahoma farm life in the Buck Creek rural community on the Osage Reservation. In 1934, Addison and Thelma bought an eighty-acre meadow with house, garage, hay barn, cow barn and chicken house between Pawhuska and Bartlesville. Carter's Cousin Roy taught him to read. Carter helped his Grandpa Camp with the milking and other work, and watched with him the innocent kittens. With friends he played under rocks that had sheltered Indians in ancient times, and outlaws during the early twentieth century. He got to know the animals and birds, their tracks and their songs, and also neighbors like Mrs. Josephine Parks, a "rare practicing Christian." Revard remembers eating at her house as "like eating in an Indian household, where the gift of life and friends and relatives is kept quietly in mind" (2001: 48-49). A mile east of Revard's home was the one-room Buck Creek school that he attended from 1936 to 1944. He and sister Maxine served as janitors there in the eighth grade. His fifth, sixth and seventh-grade teacher, Miss Letha Conner, was Osage. When he spent an evening with her in July 2004, she told Revard that both her grandparents were killed during a buffalo hunt in Kansas in the 1870s (12 July 2004: E-mail to author).

Revard's book *Winning the Dust Bowl* surrounds his poetry with the multifaceted dimensions of living in community. For telling his life, Revard says he followed the "planless plan of Mark Twain" (2001: xvi).

The writing of Osage author John Joseph Mathews, who grew up in Pawhuska, Oklahoma, a generation earlier, was another influence. Like Revard, Mathews was a graduate of Oxford, and also like Revard, Mathews respected the common people living on the land. Revard writes, “[I]f you really do know any people like us, my folks and me, you’ve noticed that they’re as smart as rich people, probably less selfish on the average, just as funny and decent—or, I suspect more so—and you know they are on the average a good kind of people to grow up with” (2001: 133).

### Entering the Circle of Being

Revard worked at a variety of jobs as a teenager, including grooming and training greyhounds for racing. He attended high school in Bartlesville, just east of the reservation. A radio quiz scholarship enabled him to enter the University of Tulsa in 1948. In 1952, after Carter completed a B.A. in English there, Osage elders sponsored a ceremony in which he was given the name *Nonpehwahtheh* (Makes Afraid or Fear Inspiring, a reference to the Thunder Being of Osage creation stories). Revard explains in an essay, “Traditional Osage Naming Ceremonies: Entering the Circle of Being,” that ceremonial naming brought him to a “fuller consciousness” of the “mythic dimension” of life and place in the universe (1983: 460). The Osage inscription in his book *An Eagle Nation* “for the Wazhazhe and Ponca Nations and all our Relations” (1993: n. pag.) translates into English:

I chose the good way,  
you chose *No<sup>o</sup>-peh-wah-theh*.  
In literary studies when I had done well  
my grandmother was pleased,  
and the name *No<sup>o</sup>-peh-wah-theh*  
she gave to me.

(4 April 2001: Personal communication to author)

The Osage naming ceremony, like thunder preceding the rain, seems to have been a catalyst for the poems that would follow. This honoring strengthened his ties to the Osage people and ensured the obligation to be a good relative, an obligation which Revard has tried to honor.

As Mathews explains in “People from the Stars,” the first chapter of *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters*, language and naming were of primary importance to the Osage: “Not even the earth and sky had

names until the Children of the Middle Waters came” (1961: 7). He says that one of the first things the Osage did was to name the animals, birds, and insects in order to use symbolically the powers that the creator *Wah-Kon-Tah* had given the non-humans, and had not given the humans. They “named themselves *NI-U-Ko’n Ska*, Children of the Middle Waters” (1961: 7). Mathews called those who came from Europe and took over the Osage land, the Amer-Europeans. Revard sometimes refers to the invaders as “Ameropeans.”

Revard’s writing is consistent with his tribal legacy in both its emphasis on ceremonial naming, and in its profusion of names. Following in his own way the tradition by which land or water clans married into the sky clans, Carter, a member of the Wazhazhe or water people, married Stella, whose name means star, and he thanks her for starlight (1993: xii). Stella Hill Purce was born in New York City and like Revard has Irish ancestry. Both were studying English literature when they met at the Yale University Graduate School in January 1956. They married that year and continued their studies, both completing Ph.D.s in English. Stella Revard became a premier scholar in Milton/Neo-Latin Studies. The Revards have four children.

While studying at Yale, Revard taught at Amherst College. In writing his sonnet “The Coyote” at Amherst, Massachusetts, in 1958, Revard discovered his natural rhythm, meter and subject matter. And he also gave voice to an endangered animal native to his childhood home. While the sonnet has remained the same, Revard later changed its title to “Coyote Tells Why He Sings.” He described writing the poem in the first chapter of *Winning the Dust Bowl*. Waking before daylight and listening to the rain, he remembered being caught in an Oklahoma thunderstorm with his brothers and sisters and seeking shelter under rocks in “almost a cave” (2001: 6). Among the rocks they could read the names scratched there in the 1890s. It was a place where outlaws hid. In an interview with Joseph Bruchac, Revard said, “I never thought of the coyote other than as something that was trying to get our calves or our chickens. Then, when I needed the Oklahoma voice, the coyote gave it to me. So it isn’t the beings you pick, but those that come to you, who give you earth-time” (1987: 242).

Looking for the poet who would write with a unique American voice, Ralph Waldo Emerson said in his 1844 essay “The Poet,” “the poet is the Namer” and “Language is fossil poetry” (1998: 1653). “I look in vain for the poet whom I describe,” he wrote (1998: 1659). Whitman answered Emerson’s call, but it took another century for America’s indigenous

authors to reinvent the English language to serve their purpose. Certainly Revard exemplifies the poet as namer that Emerson described. Revard's poems bring fossils to life and give words wings. His use of indigenous words and concepts has provided him with the means to achieve the freedom of expression that Emerson sought for American poetry.

Revard's new poems extend the meanings of those written earlier. While "The Coyote" gave voice to an animal, "Geode," gives voice to a stone, explaining that a geode may begin as an oyster shell and that it takes millions of years for a geode to form. People who buy these beautiful stones at rock shops and use them for paperweights or bookends are reminded in this poem of the long process that went into the geode's formation. Revard's making of this stone with his words exemplifies respect for the beauty of creation and his own sense of obligation to provide a vehicle for this marvel's voice.

Echoing Old English alliterative verse, Revard describes the capacity of the word to give life to stone, now used as bookends:

I let them separate my selves and set them heavy  
 on either side of a word-hoard, whose light  
 leaves rustled with heavy thoughts between  
 the heavier, wiser, older lines of all  
 my residual selves, the wave marks made  
 by snowflake-feathery amethyst ways of being,  
 by all these words,  
 by the Word,  
 made slowly into Stone. (1993: 92)

It is significant that Revard, a Wazhazhe, was inspired to give voice to a stone whose formation began in water.

As Emerson suggested, poets speak for cultures. Their words leave a record to symbolize what life was/is for those who will live in the future. Revard wants future readers to be aware of the Osage perspective. Such knowledge can expand their consciousness of what it means to be a human being, a relative to all that lives. Relating the ancient Osage mythology, according to which the people came from the stars to live on Earth, Revard accentuates in poems like "Wazhazhe Grandmother" the contrasts between our ancient and modern environment.

"Wazhazhe Grandmother" begins with an epigraph defining the Osage word *Ho-e-ga*, from Francis La Flesche's dictionary. The definition illustrates the many associations such a word evokes in the minds of

Osage people. The word, which literally means “bare spot,” is further defined as “the center of the forehead of the mythical elk,” “an enclosure in which all life takes on bodily form, never to depart therefrom except by death,” “the earth which the mythical elk made to be habitable by separating it from the water,” “the camp of the tribe when ceremonially pitched,” and “life as proceeding from the combined influences of the cosmic forces” (1980: 46).

According to an Osage myth recorded by Alice Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, when the ancestors came down from the sky, the elk provided them with a place to live by dropping into the water that covered the earth and calling the winds from the four directions, which evaporated the water. The elk then rolled joyfully on the soft, exposed earth; and his loose hairs stuck in the soil—“The hairs grew, and from them sprang beans, corn, potatoes and wild turnips, and then all the grasses and trees” (1911: 63). Revard’s “Wazhazhe Grandmother” conveys his personal perspective on the creation, extending the Osage mythology by adding his own family’s story within its literary, historical, geographic and social contexts.

### **Historical Displacement**

The Osage people were able to maintain control of their lands until 1808, when they ceded large areas to the United States. In 1825, by treaty, the government forced them to leave their land in Missouri and move to a reservation in Kansas. In 1870, they were uprooted by an act of Congress, after which the Osage nation bought land from the Cherokees and moved to Indian Territory. With the General Allotment Act, which became law in 1887, the government paved the way for the breakup of tribal lands throughout the U.S. After inducing tribes to parcel out their communal lands to individual families, usually in the amount of 160 acres, the government opened “unassigned” lands to white settlement. The Osage did not accept allotment until 1906 when they obtained two arrangements that differed from those that the United States had forced on most tribes. First, their entire reservation was parceled out to members of their nation; so instead of 160 acres per family, they received over 600 acres per person. Second, the U. S. government was designated trustee, which guaranteed supervision through an arrangement with the elected Osage Tribal Council of the income from subsurface minerals on Osage land. All income from leasing and production

was to be paid to the Tribal Council for distribution to each Osage holder of a headright. These arrangements were safeguards, though not guarantees, against cultural and individual losses of fortune.

The government allowed individuals to choose their homesteads from land allotted the entire Osage nation. "Wazhazhe Grandmother" tells of Revard's grandparents, Josephine Strikeaxe and Jacob Jump, choosing to build their homestead during the first decade of the 20th century "where the Osage hills begin" (1980: 46). A century earlier when their ancestors lived in Missouri, along the Osage River valley, they regarded the hills around them as sacred because their ancestors' remains were there. Revard describes the "timbered hollow" on Bird Creek, where his grandparents lived, as a quiet place that "seemed waiting for us" (1980: 47). He remembers it as abundant with a variety of life—prairie chickens, deer, kingfishers, and "deep pools" of water, like the land the elk made habitable. But Bird Creek was dammed in the 1950s, and the land is now "at the bottom of Lake Bluestem" (1980: 47). Revard's record of this beautiful land, so carelessly destroyed to fulfill the desires of townspeople for green lawns and swimming pools, is more than nostalgic. By attempting to give a full account of nature that was a given when he was a child, Revard allows the reader to confront the extent to which Osage history and land have been exploited and obliterated. Of course, by implication the poem relates to the general history of rural life in the United States.

Revard dedicated a related poem, "Rock Shelters," to John Joseph Mathews. Revard knew the older Osage author, who also left words as a record of his life and time with Osage relatives in the shelter of the natural world. During his childhood in the 1930s, Revard's family lived between Doe Creek and Buck Creek. "Rock Shelters" names the animals who had lived there; however, by the 1930s, many of them, including the deer, turkey, antelope, cougar, and bear had been almost wiped out by professional white hunters who had arrived in 1890:

Here, the winter  
surrounded deer and turkeys, here lived plenty  
of beaver, muskrat, mink and raccoon, fox and  
bobcat and cottontail, coyote slinking, quail  
and squirrels, mice and weasels all with  
small birds watching from the bush or grapevine, berry  
tangles, juncoes, waxwings, cardinals like blood on  
snow, all sheltered here from  
the prairie blizzards north.

And southward, in the bend of  
 Buck Creek level to the southern ridge a valley  
 of bluestem grass thigh-deep under  
 sunflowers nodding, meadowlarks flying and singing with  
 grazing buffalo, red wolves and coyotes trotting watching  
 with pricked ears a hunter crawl with  
 bow and arrows for a shot. (1993: 10)

This past abundance contrasts with Revard's home place more than fifty years later at the end of the twentieth century:

Now crossed  
 by asphalt road, wire fences, lanes to white farmhouses  
 where no farming's done, grapes and lettuce and  
 bananas on the polished table from Texas, from  
 California, Nicaragua, the orange-fleshed  
 watermelons that once lay in sandy fields by  
 Doe Creek gone as truckloads of melons rumble  
 past from Louisiana into town where food is  
 kept. To plant here, you buy. This land  
 was needed, we were told, it would be used. So oil is  
 pulsing from beneath it, floats dead  
 rainbows on Buck Creek and draws its brief trails  
 straight as a Roman road across the sky . . ." (1993: 10)

The poem names not only the changes Revard has witnessed on Earth, but also in the sky. What is a star? Revard provides a broad definition that indicates the difference between what we now see above us and what we now think of as our Earth and the early 20th century perspective of his mixed-blood Osage, Ponca, Irish and Scotch-Irish family who lived on the land. No longer is the focus on natural surroundings:

. . . The small stars now  
 move fast and send down messages of war  
 to speech machines or pictures of  
 pleasure to our living rooms, inviting us out into  
 a larger endlessness with many  
 centers. Galaxies, before long, may  
 be sold for profit, once the first space ship has  
 claimed one and the next has  
 come to kill all those before. . . (1993: 11)

The satellites beam down images of Russian missiles, of Near Eastern armies, of items that can be bought at shopping malls. Instead of feeling

at the center of the Earth and connected to the cosmos by looking up at the stars, an individual looking up at the stars can feel alienated and fearful. Revard's poem shows how the quest for power and possessions has replaced the human search for meaning and higher forms of truth. Ending with a description of life as the Osage experienced it before the arrival of the Ameropeans, Revard reflects upon their feeling of the wonder and meaning of life on the land:

. . . Think  
of walking on blue  
stars like this one, new  
plants, new beings, all the rock  
shelters where we'll crouch and see  
new valleys from.  
Here is my  
mussel shell. Here is the charcoal.  
We were here. (1993: 11)

Osage myths associate the shell with the introduction to life on earth when all was covered with water (Fletcher and La Flesche 1992: 457). This recent poem moves from description of the place in the present to a memory from Revard's childhood past, to the changes brought by exploiting the land and sky, and finally back to imagine the ancient past, also spiraling into the human exploration of other galaxies. This way of seeing beyond the limited perspective of a single moment or of planet Earth further elaborates a theme introduced in earlier poems like "Wazhazhe Grandmother." Yet, more consciously in later poems like this one, Revard the poet is making his mark.

### **Myth and Prehistory**

Birds prepare for humans in "Dancing with Dinosaurs," suggesting the continuum between the evolution of reptile or dinosaur to bird and the subsequent and related development and continuum of Osage philosophy and ceremony. Revard imagines the journey through space and time as small reptiles begin to sing and to fly and eventually rise "to / twenty thousand feet on swirling / winds of a passing cold front" (1980: 60). They fly above Bermuda, Tobago, and Venezuela before descending "to perch on South America's shoulder, having become / the Male and Female Singers, having / put on their feathers and survived" (61). Revard compares this transformation to his personal naming ceremony:



But Revard also recognizes the ways in which the Osages are caught in the web of modern technology. Significantly, “People from the Stars” calls the people who pay “royalties” to the Osages for oil “Europeans.” Osages trade their “royalties” for flights to Las Vegas. Revard remembers looking down like a king, “enthroned / on wings of shining metal” at the “midnight highways,” lighted by the automotive “star-strings through the night” (1980: 45). The plane lands in the desert. And the Osage scholar wheels off “to shoot craps at the Stardust Inn / and talk of Indians and their Trickster Tales, / of Manabozho up / in Wounded Knee” (1980: 45). It has come to this, the poem suggests. Las Vegas, a city of artificial light, seems the supreme example of the trickster, a tawdry place for a person from the stars to land.

A later poem, “Close Encounters” tells in two parts much the same story with more detail. The first part leaves out the “people of death” and describes the Osage coming down as eagles, “who let us take their bodies” (1993: 25). The poem is set in the era before the invasion of the Ameropeans when the Osage were surrounded by dancing leaves and sunlight: “Nothing’s lighter than leaves, we sang” (26). And yet the leaves were those of the massive oaks, and the songs created a solid society.

In the poem’s second part Revard describes the experience in Las Vegas:

. . . At the Stardust Inn deep  
within that city of dice and vice and Warhead Testing,  
I was to give a paper  
to the Rocky Mountain Modern Language Association  
on Trickster Tales. (1993: 26)

At dawn, the traditional time for prayer, he walked:

to a vacant lot under  
its desert willows  
where lived a wren, some vivid orange flowers  
papery on thornleaved stems hugging the sand,  
and one empty billfold  
with its credit cards spread around a sole  
identity card that pictured  
a security guard from San Diego . . . . (27)

This description conveys the tenuous and small hold of very few species of animal and plant life near this city. Nature is the setting for a robbery

or some worse crime. The poem ends with reference to Revard's "singing" (at the conference) of Columbus, the Pilgrims and Cortez as tricksters who "brought / this krypton iris here and made / the desert bloom, / how they raised / the great light-sculptured houses / of cards and dice on sand," and of how the "rainbow ghosts of waterfalls / are pulsed into the sockets of / Las Vegas light flashing . . . / . . . its humongous word, / VACANCY, / VACANCY, / up to the dancing stars" (28). Ending the poem with pulsing irony, Revard exposes the gambler trickster's concept of this place as vacant of meaning, or purpose, or life. Las Vegas, Revard suggests, is the ultimate "city of God"; and the gambler's house, built on sand, has no foundation. Revard's walk to a vacant lot underscores the disconnect between the gambler's construct and the natural place—an orange flower and a wren make their home, at the edge of a city environment, re-designed to steal our resources. The title "Close Encounters" alludes to the movie *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* that was filmed at a place sacred to the indigenous Kiowa nation, and known as *Tsoai* to them, but dubbed Devil's Tower by the Ameropeans.

Many of Revard's poems satirize the abuse of indigenous cultures. His early poem, "Discovery of the New World," places the Ameropeans in the moccasins of Native Americans, suffering dreadfully as little green men from the stars colonize the Earth. Satirizing the notion of Manifest Destiny, the persona speaks with the voice of a creature from another planet describing human beings to his commander. The poem exposes the arrogant thinking of the exploiting colonizer:

The creatures that we met this morning  
 marveled at our green skins  
 and scarlet eyes.  
 They lack antennae  
 and can't be made to grasp  
 your proclamation that they are  
 our lawful food and prey and slaves . . . (1980: 43)

Like the indigenous people before them, Ameropeans are seen as "helpless creatures," subjugated by beings come from afar. The creatures from outer space are superior in their technologies, though lacking empathy. Despite its sharp criticism, the science-fiction premise of this poem written in the 1970s elicits a smile, but as corruption and greed have grown more pervasive, Revard's satire has sharpened. In "Postcolonial Hyperbaggage," a wealthy persona looks for ways to make his crimes disappear into some kind of reversible black hole in a Vuitton suitcase.

Revard names Nixon, Reagan and Bush, and suggests that “several American presidents could be considered perfect Godfathers” (2003a: 1). These Godfathers would like the indigenous people to disappear, though their images could be useful on money. Using the Spanish term *desaparecidos*, Revard connects disappeared victims of violent torture and killing in Latin American dictatorships like Chile and Guatemala with the marginalization of North American Indians: “All Indian Reservations could be *desaparecidos* / into Death Valley, yet accessible through / its golden icon, the Sacajawea Dollar” (2).

### **An Eagle Nation**

Separating his work from that of confessional, elitist, and individualistic poets, Revard says in “Some Notes on Native American Literature,” “[M]y literary theory is based on what literature does and can do within and for a community, rather than on what it does for the writer and a coterie of friends in ratholes and patrons in penthouses” (2003b: 11). The history and community of his Ponca relatives is just as essential to Revard’s poetics as the Osage mythology and world view. According to their tribal stories, the Ponca and Osage were earlier part of one people, and they might have never separated if a fog had not risen behind the group that crossed the Mississippi first. This group that would become the Osages followed its tributary, the Osage River, south. They later made their home in the area that is now Missouri and Kansas (Calloway 2003: 60).

The group that became the Poncas moved farther northwest, up the Missouri, and settled on its tributaries in Iowa and eastern Nebraska where they continued raising corn, squash, and beans as well as hunting buffalo and other big game. As both groups moved, they sometimes reunited with other Dhegihan-speaking peoples, as evidenced by an Osage clan among the Poncas and a Ponca clan among the Osages. The Osages were also influenced by the Mississippi and Oneota cultures. And the Poncas and Omahas were influenced by the Caddoan-speaking Pawnees and Arikaras (Calloway 2003: 60–61). A close association between Osage and Ponca people has existed for hundreds of years.

Although by an 1865 treaty, the U.S. government had guaranteed the Ponca a reservation in northeastern Nebraska, the government deeded these lands to the Sioux three years later and forced the small tribe of 681 persons to move to Indian Territory in 1877. Many Poncas died on

the journey. Their leader, Standing Bear, and thirty of his people left Indian Territory in 1879 after the death of Standing Bear's son, whom they intended to bury in their homeland. When the Secretary of the Interior ordered their arrest, and General Crook took them into custody, many non-Indians sympathized with the Ponca. Omaha journalist Thomas Henry Tibbles publicized the case, and Nebraskans raised money to employ lawyers who filed suit against General Crook, for Standing Bear's release on a writ of habeas corpus. The government argued that Indians were not eligible for the writ because they were not "persons" within the meaning of the Constitution. The judge filed a decision declaring that an Indian is a person entitled to the same constitutional protection as any other person. Standing Bear and his friends were then permitted to continue on their journey back to their home. Standing Bear said at the trial that he might go back to his homeland and "work until he was blind, but that would not change his color; that he would be an Indian in color," but that he wanted "to go and work and become a citizen" (Tibbles 1972: 89). In his decision filed on May 12, 1879, Judge Dundy interpreted Standing Bear's words to mean that "he and his followers had finally, fully, and forever severed his and their connection with the Ponca tribe of Indians, and had resolved to disband as a tribe" (Tibbles 1972: 104). Thus, the judge indicated that to become a "person" entitled to a citizen's rights, an Indian had to renounce his tribal identity.

In 1879 White Eagle, a respected Ponca leader, who had remained in Indian Territory, dictated a letter, thanking the lawyers and those who had taken pity on Standing Bear, but also detailing the wrongs that had been done to the Poncas when they were removed from their homelands. They had been taken from houses built by their own hands, their possessions had been confiscated, their livestock had all died from the hard journey, and their possessions had not been replaced. Like their Osage neighbors they were living in dire poverty. He asked the people of the United States to right the wrongs (Tibbles 1972: 118-21).

By 1880 for the first time since their removal, a larger number of Poncas were born in Indian Territory than died. In 1881 Congress appropriated money to compensate the Poncas for their losses and to establish them in their new home in Indian Territory or to allow them to return to the Nebraska reservation if they wished. Along with White Eagle, the majority of Poncas decided to remain in Indian Territory. But 170 left to join Standing Bear in Nebraska.

It was not Standing Bear's intention to cut his ties to his people. The dual citizenship of American Indians would not be guaranteed until the passage of the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924. According to Vine Deloria, Jr., this Act

. . . gives all Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States full citizenship but adds that such status does not infringe upon the rights to tribal and other property that Indians enjoy as members of their tribes. A dual citizenship exists here, which is not to be hindered in either respect: Indians are not to lose civil rights because of their status as members of a tribe, and members of a tribe are not to be denied their tribal rights because of their American citizenship. (1984: 3-4)

However, Deloria notes that this "distinction has not often been preserved" and that Congress attempted in the 1920s and the 1950s to "sever unilaterally the political relationship between the Indian tribes and the United States, using the citizenship of individual Indians as its excuse" (4).

Revard's book *Ponca War Dancers* (1980) features on its cover a photograph of White Eagle, for whom the Poncas in Indian Territory named their new community. Within both the Ponca and Osage communities and ceremonies, Revard has actively experienced his ancestral traditions. The book's title poem, "Ponca War Dancers," honors Revard's Uncle Gus McDonald and his cousin, Carter Camp. Set in 1974, a year after the occupation of Wounded Knee, the poem describes the community life and spirit of Poncas as they gathered for a memorial feast in Ponca City, Oklahoma. His Irish relatives called Carter Revard "Mike," distinguishing him from his cousin Carter Camp in his community and in this poem, as well.

The four-part poem shows the various ways that Gus McDonald, whose Ponca name was *Shongeh-Ska* (White Horse), still followed Ponca customs. The first part illustrates his respect for the avoidance custom of not speaking directly to his nephew's wife. That such careful respect can be easily misunderstood as sexism in the modern world is illustrated by the poem. Revard describes Gus McDonald as a champion dancer in the imagery of the second part of the poem,

spinning light as  
a leaf in a whirlwind  
the anklebells shrilling, dancing  
the Spirit's dance