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Pipestone Books: Indigenous Materialisms and Bibliographical Methods

Daniel Radus

State University of New York College at Cortland, daniel.radus@cortland.edu

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Pipestone Books: Indigenous Materialisms and Bibliographical Methods

Cover Page Footnote

In the section "Beyond the Book"

PIPESTONE BOOKS: INDIGENOUS MATERIALISMS AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL METHODS

Daniel Radus

In 1957, the relatives of Ephraim Taylor, a Dakota artist, offered to his minister, Frank Thorburn, a small gesture of their respect and admiration. The present was an object carved by Taylor from pipestone, a red ochre-hued stone prized for its distinctive material and cultural traits.¹ The stone was soft but stable, malleable with simple tools but resilient enough to preserve its shape. It was also quite rare, its range confined to a series of quarries near the border of Minnesota and South Dakota, not far from the Flandreau Indian Reservation. Stories told of an ancient flood there, its prodigious waters drowning an entire people, their blood lending to the stone its vibrant red hue. For artists like Taylor, then, to work with pipestone was to engage with a material that was vital and animate, not static or inert. The stone was a relative, a sentient trace of ancestral kin. For this reason, pipestone—as its name implies—was used in the creation of the *caḡnuḡpa*, a ceremonial pipe that functioned as an active participant in the spiritual practices of the Sioux.²

When he crafted this pipestone gift for the minister, Taylor engaged with these traditions but with an instructive difference. He carved from this vital, animate stone neither a pipe nor, as was also common, a tourist curio or souvenir. Instead, from a small rectangular slab of pipestone, Taylor formed the shape of an open book, its sides etched in fine strokes to delineate its unseen leaves.³ Inscribed on the boards, as it were, of this sculpted book are the names of those involved in its exchange; on the spine, the date of its production; and on the opened pages, a transcription in English of the Lord's Prayer. The prayer, inscribed in a crude but legible hand, is rendered in lines that flow from left to right, through the gutter and onto the recto, where they end abruptly at the side of an engraved cross.⁴ At the edge of both pages, the design concludes with conventional decorative flourishes—leaves, flowers—and a simple rectangular frame.

This remarkable object, of course, has several stories to tell. The first is a personal one, of a gift exchanged on Christmas in recognition

of a minister's bond to his congregants. Others lend insight into the devotional practices of the Dakota, themselves long familiar with efforts to adapt the Episcopal faith to their established spiritual practices. Still others reveal the fraught histories of pipestone sculpture as an artistic pursuit, including the effort to preserve the craft despite both intratribal and settler-colonial conflicts.⁵ In addition to these stories, a related one might consider the choice to carve this pipestone slab into the shape of a book, itself an unconventional decision. The pipestone book, I want to suggest, invites us to think further about how Indigenous peoples, like Taylor, engaged in critical and creative terms with the book as a material object—with, that is, the manufacture and the meaning of its physical form.

In particular, I argue that the pipestone tablet provides a model for thinking about books whose material traits have been altered by Indigenous readers. These alterations often involved the decoration of books with materials that tend not to be associated with either the production or ornamentation of European texts. As a result, books like these challenge the established methods of bibliographical scholarship, even as that field remains among the best suited to consider the various implications of their material form.⁶ These challenges are evident in perhaps one of the most familiar and enduring definitions of the field itself, that of W. W. Greg, who wrote in 1945 that “the object of bibliographical study is to reconstruct for each particular book the history of its life, to make it reveal in its most intimate detail the story of its birth.”⁷ For Greg, of course, a book's life is metaphorical, a figurative idea that serves in his definition to emphasize the role of the bibliographer as chronicler of the book's production, distribution, and consumption. Here the life of a book, no matter how revered the object, is what others do to it—or, more precisely, what the scholar can learn about what others have done. The book itself is lifeless, in fact, vulnerable to the will of the bibliographer, whose actions Greg describes in almost antagonistic terms as an effort to force the disclosure of intimacies, to compel a revelation that the book does not provide.

This definition, or at least the words used to articulate it, suggests that the bibliographer desires to know at all costs, to bend the book to their enumerative and descriptive will. Practices like these are reminiscent of the practices of colonization, and work has begun in bibliographical scholarship to address the pernicious logic that structures some elements of the field.⁸ Here I am interested in a related critique. Rather than challenge the desire to enumerate the lives of books, though, I am interested in the field's sense of what constitutes that life. The pipestone sculpture, and the books

it signifies, ask us as bibliographers to consider a book's life as, in some limited but literal sense, real—to consider the book, like the *caṅṇuṅpa*, as a vibrant object that itself tells stories, forms relations, and exerts its will on others. This is a radical departure from Greg but not a fanciful or even controversial claim in current humanistic scholarship, reoriented as it has been around the “material turn,” a reconsideration of the ontological status of objects like books. In discussing the pipestone book, I argue that these new materialist philosophies are insufficient to understand the complex role that materials serve in the alteration of Indigenous texts. Instead, as Indigenous scholars have claimed across the disciplines, bibliographical scholarship needs to engage with Indigenous ontologies—with the various philosophies that, long before the material turn, informed how Indigenous societies interacted, through mutual relation and obligation, with the nonhuman beings that settler-colonial traditions often dismiss as lifeless.

Pipestone Books

Taylor's sculpture, while in some respect unique, recalls a long historical tradition of Indigenous engagements with the material book. Perhaps the best known is the first. Wawaus, or James the Printer, worked the press at the Harvard Indian College, producing several books, including a translation of the Bible into the Wôpanâak language in 1663.⁹ Other examples soon follow and proliferate, such that it is perhaps more useful instead to look backward to before this presumed first. If we adopt a more capacious or less settler-inflected definition of “the book,” we might allow that, as Louise Erdrich claims, for Indigenous peoples “books are nothing all that new”—indeed, are millennia old.¹⁰ Her remark, about inscriptions on bark and rock, anticipates in a different register the claims of scholars like Germaine Warkentin, who has encouraged book historians “to revisit our settled concept of what constitutes a book.” The book, for Warkentin, is “an object of knowledge transfer,” an expressive material that can take several forms, including but not limited to the bound codex.¹¹ Claims like these are provocative and productive, challenging scholars to move Indigenous objects, like the ones Erdrich describes, from the margin to the center of our bibliographical scholarship. Here I depart from this broader definition, using “the book” to refer to the codex, not to register a dispute but rather to suggest the profound value of such an expansion even in studies that retain the narrower frame. When we recognize that these objects themselves require our bibliographical attention, we might then

understand more thoroughly how materials like bark and rock informed or even mediated Indigenous interactions with the physical codex.¹² The pipestone sculpture, I think, teaches a similar lesson, directing our attention to materials that seem unrelated to the production of books but that, for Indigenous peoples, were integral to it.

Though Wawaas used materials common to the traditions of European book production, others have reached to a larger material archive to adorn or even create books with barks, beads, hides, and quills. Simon Pokagon, the nineteenth-century Potawatomi author, had several short texts printed on the striated bark of the white birch. Readers often decorated their standard-issue volumes as well, covering the original boards with barks and using quills to embroider intricate designs. Objects like Pokagon's were at once tourist curios and political tracts; others were gifts for honored guests or treasured personal possessions, willed to successive generations of devoted users.¹³ The ornamentation of books with unconventional material was not a practice exclusive to Indigenous peoples, of course, but for people like Pokagon, whatever purpose their books served, the unusual materials used in their creation were never solely decorative. Pokagon, for example, explains in the preface to one of his tracts that the use of birch bark "is out of loyalty to my own people, and gratitude [to] the Great Spirit."¹⁴ Here and elsewhere, the materials used to produce these books were more than substrate or supplement to the book itself. Indeed, across the history of Indigenous engagement with the material text, such materials have told their own stories, both to confirm and to contest the words printed inside. The pipestone tablet, though it stretches the concept of "the book," nonetheless functions as an object lesson for this important idea. Its words, etched in rock, cast in relief the essential relation, for Indigenous readers, between the immaterial content of the book and its material presence.

When Ephraim Taylor carved from pipestone an ecclesiastical book, open to a prayer, his choice of material was no coincidence. In etching this devotion onto pipestone, he referenced the profound role of that material in the spiritual practices of the Sioux. The pipestone functions here not as mere canvas or curiosity, but instead as an essential part of the stories this sculpture tells. One such tale concerns the origin and purpose of the *caḡnuḡpa*. The pipe, this tale recounts, was presented to the Sioux by Pte Saḡ Wiḡyaḡ, the White Buffalo Calf Woman. As she shared of the pipe, the sacred woman instructed the people in its proper care and the rituals associated with its use. She explained that, when in need, the Sioux should light the *caḡnuḡpa*, infusing its smoke with their devotions.¹⁵ Prayers like these would evoke the relations that bound *waḡaḡ*—sacred—figures

like Pte Saŋ Wiŋyaŋ to the Sioux. Indeed, as Ella Deloria notes, for the Dakota the act of prayer is understood as an invocation of kinship, as an earnest request that sacred figures behave as relatives.¹⁶ When the smoke from the *caŋnuŋpa* rose, then, so too would these prayers, guided into the spiritual realm through the benevolent intercession of a sacred woman understood as kin.

As this tale suggests, the *caŋnuŋpa* functions as a communicative instrument that enables connection and dialogue between the people and their sacred relations. These relations, known as the Waŋaŋ Taŋka, can be glossed, though inexpertly, as a spiritual power akin to a godlike Great Spirit.¹⁷ In this sense, the pipe functions not unlike an ecclesiastical book. While distinct in some important respects, both are understood to enable the transmission of messages from adherents to sacred, higher powers. Both, too, premise that transmission on the invocation of a kinship bond. The pipestone book, open to the Lord's Prayer, makes plain these similarities. The object appeals at once to traditional practices and their Episcopal correlatives, suggesting not a conflict between these customs but instead a beneficial concordance. "Our Father," the first words of the engraved devotion, are themselves an assertion of kinship relations. These words, etched out of pipestone, reinforce the role of the pipe and suggest that the book shares with it the power to foster, through prayers, connections between oneself and the spiritual realm.

In addition to these similarities, though, the pipestone book also implies that the material form of the conventional book is perhaps insufficient to this sacred task. Pipestone, the sculpture might suggest, does the work that the conventional book cannot. Indeed, for the Sioux, essential to these sacred practices was not only the object used in them—the pipe, the book—but also the materials that made up that object. The sculpture thus recalls another story, not of the origins of the *caŋnuŋpa* but of pipestone itself. In one version of this tale, a flood inundated the homelands of the Sioux, and to escape the deluge, the people took refuge atop a hill. The water continued to rise, however, drowning all except for one woman. This woman would soon give birth to twins, renewing the people, while the blood of the deceased ancestors pooled, hardened, and transmuted into the vibrant red-hued stone. Other versions ascribe the blood instead to warfare or the killing of the buffalo. Despite these differences, common to all versions of this tale is the association of pipestone with the lives of ancestral kin.¹⁸ As David Grant writes, the stone "is representative of blood and extended relationships through metaphors of ancestry."¹⁹ That is, the pipestone exists in genealogical relation to the people themselves.

It is, Kim TallBear notes, still now “sometimes spoken of as a relative” by those invested in its extraction and use.²⁰ Pipestone, then, participates as kin in the spiritual practices of the Sioux, both in its namesake shape and as uncarved matter.

Inherent to pipestone, in other words, are notions of relation that lend to that substance a certain sentience or liveliness. Pipestone is *wakaŋ*, imbued with a spiritual essence that connects the stone to the people and the rest of creation. This force is not imposed but is instead innate to that material, providing to it an intrinsic will. Tales associated with the *caŋnuŋpa*, for instance, often describe the pipe as animate, including one wherein its cries were understood to prophesize the disruption of traditional practices due to the arrival of settlers.²¹ Likewise, in ceremonies the pipe is understood as an active participant whose decision to contribute to these ceremonies must be facilitated, not assumed. When Pte Saŋ Wiŋyaŋ presented the pipe to the Sioux, she premised her intercession on their behalf on their proper care for her gift. This story implies that only with proper care does the pipe perform its role in the expressive and relational circuit that connects the people to other beings, both material and sacred. Pipestone is thus for the Sioux an animate, vital, nonhuman being. Something akin to life inheres in the vibrant stone, such that its absence would harm social and spiritual relations, perhaps irreparably.²² More than a substrate for the *caŋnuŋpa*, pipestone itself is essential to the function of that object. Itself a relation, the stone facilitates the creation and maintenance of relations with others. It does this of its own volition, imbued as it is with a vital force that lends to it a discrete will.

Indigenous Materialisms and Bibliographical Methods

To carve a book from pipestone, then, was to supplement the ecclesiastical text with the animate and relational qualities of this substance, even perhaps to insinuate that the ecclesiastical book itself lacked such properties. The sculpture implies that prayers, whether initiated in pipe or book, require for their fulfillment attention to the materials used to transmit them. This attention to the complex materialities of devotional practice, of course, reveals the intricacies of religious adaptation in settler-colonial contexts. The stories and traits innate to pipestone remain essential to the spiritual practices of the Sioux, even to those who have converted to the Episcopal faith. In broader terms, however, the tablet’s appeal to these relational and animate traits reflects not only the sacred practices of Indigenous peoples but their bibliographical ones as well. The pipestone

book, in this sense, invites us to examine further the actions of Indigenous book artists, whether known—like Pokagon—or unknown, like the countless Indigenous women who, in the same era, decorated books for use and sale.²³ Indeed, though little discussed in scholarship, there is a long historical tradition in which Indigenous peoples used unexpected materials to alter or supplement the form of their books. Studies often explore this tradition with reference to the histories of folk and tourist art, but little has been written on how these artistic practices engage with the material book in all its physical, historical, and discursive complexity.²⁴ As the pipestone tablet suggests, these materials served as more than a means of ornamentation for otherwise conventional books. Instead, materials like pipestone were essential to the purpose and meaning of the book itself—as crucial, in fact, as the words printed within. As such, choices like Pokagon’s were intentional and strategic, challenging readers then and now to consider how these alterations operated in relation to the conventional book and its immaterial content.

The established methods of bibliographical scholarship are well suited to this challenge, at least in part. Central to these methods is a movement between what Jerome McGann calls the book’s bibliographic and linguistic codes, between its material presence and discursive content.²⁵ At its best, scholarship of this sort explores the interaction of these two codes, using both to offer a more thorough account of the book as a whole. But the issues raised in considering books like Pokagon’s—not to mention objects like Taylor’s—strain against elements of this approach. For one, the field’s investment in the material book often serves to facilitate the broader pursuit of a dematerialized ideal, a text reliant on the material book though ultimately distanced from it. Such an approach renders the material itself essential but nonetheless subordinate to the discursive, an untenable circumstance for the Indigenous books discussed here. To offer instead a thorough and ethical account of this neglected bibliographical tradition, one that prioritizes the material text at all stages of the interpretive process, readers might ask of these altered books several questions.

First, what stories inhere in the unexpected materials used in the creation of these books? Stories, like those that relate the origin of the *cañnuŋpa* and of pipestone itself, privilege cultural, spiritual, and political traditions that exist alongside and perhaps counter those found elsewhere in the book. Second, what relationships are prompted through these materials and their use? Kin relations, like those social and sacred connections between pipestone and the Sioux, produce and indeed compel in readers new obligations, both to the book and its users. Third, what actions can these materials take? The agential force of matter, like the spirit imbued

in pipestone, can impose its will on readers, shaping actions in a manner that requires us to confront the book itself less as a passive object than as an actor in a network of distributed power. These questions retain a focus on the material book but reorient that attention towards how the material functions in Indigenous contexts—toward how, as the pipestone tablet suggests, the materials used to alter a book might themselves tell stories, forge connections, and exert their desires on readers.

In answering these questions, readers might turn to the methods of critical bibliography, a constellation of research practices that looks to supplement established interest in the particulars of the material book—its collation, circulation, and the like—with fresh appeals to the theoretical insights and social concerns that have animated recent scholarship in the humanities. The books I explore here oblige us to synthesize two distinct elements of critical bibliographical practice. The first is an effort to diversify our received histories of the book, to reconceive these histories to prioritize the bibliographical practices of marginalized communities. In the last decade, there has been a renewed if still scarce interest in Indigenous interactions with the material book, not just its alteration but all aspects of its creation and distribution too.²⁶ Work in this field is fraught, not least for settlers, because of the intellectual histories we inherit and must confront. The study of Indigenous books began in earnest in the nineteenth century with the production of the “Indian Bibliography,” a genre of pseudo-academic literature that sought to catalog books by Indigenous authors. These enumerative catalogs were compiled by settler scholars, and their creation served to advance settler-colonial objectives.²⁷ Scholars now press against this tradition, exploring how Indigenous peoples interacted with the book on their own terms, often to the social and political benefit of their communities.²⁸ Efforts like these have brought bibliographical scholarship into conversation with the methods and values of Indigenous studies—among others, an ethical and receptive approach to information and objects of cultural, social, or spiritual significance; a self-conscious effort to use scholarship to bolster calls for the persistence of Indigenous governance, land, and knowledge; and a consistent appeal to Indigenous perspectives and epistemologies. In so doing, this work has helped challenge the inaccurate, insidious, but nonetheless pervasive idea that the book was, in all cases, a settler-colonial imposition to be resisted or abjured.

The second element is the recent turn in bibliographical scholarship, like in most fields, toward a reconsideration of the ontological status of material objects. This turn has challenged the belief that objects like books are passive or inert, waiting for human subjects to act on them. Instead, in

the new materialist model, objects themselves exert at least some measure of agential force. That is, objects act of their own limited volition, obstructing and encouraging the actions of others. This approach has aimed to flatten conceptual hierarchies that would privilege subjects over objects, conceiving of both as willful actors in a network of distributed power. Objects, the new materialists claim, are vital—animate, lively, vibrant in their capacity to act on their discrete will.²⁹ These ideas have found purchase in bibliographical scholarship, a field with an existential interest in the materialities of its principal object of study. As Sonia Hazard notes, bibliographers are perhaps more inclined than others to ascribe to the material book a certain force.³⁰ The field has begun to engage with new materialist philosophies in earnest, exploring the material book as an end unto itself and expanding the boundaries of the language we use to describe its power.³¹ This work has taken seriously the idea that books exert a force on their users, one that cannot be reduced to romanticized abstractions derived from the aesthetic or intellectual virtues of their discursive content.

The idea that books are created of vibrant matter, are themselves animate and relational, recalls both the *cañnuyra* and the stone from which it is carved. It recalls, too, the pipestone tablet and the altered books that, I have argued, the sculpture represents. As the pipestone book reveals, however, to understand these altered books will require of bibliographical scholarship more than a new materialist approach. While this approach can help explain the agential force of objects like these, its purchase is limited. For one, new materialist philosophies are reluctant to ascribe a spiritual dimension to the agential capacities of objects. In contrast, as TallBear notes and as the pipestone book suggests, for Indigenous peoples this dimension seems essential.³² Likewise, in considering the ontological status of Indigenous books, there is little reason to appeal to Western philosophies. Indigenous peoples, of course, have their own sophisticated ontological paradigms, though these beliefs are seldom described in the abstract terms that tend to define research in the new materialisms. In these intellectual traditions, the innate liveliness of objects is an established belief, one that derives in part from an ecological awareness that finds relation—and thus mutual obligation—with all manner of creation, including with those materials used in the alteration of books.³³ These traditions in fact predate the new materialisms, though, as Zoe Todd has claimed, proponents of the latter often fail to engage with the former. For Todd, this failure is indicative of a larger problem in which settler scholars, in search of new insights, disregard or even dismiss Indigenous thought, perpetuating the marginalization of Indigenous

peoples.³⁴ If bibliographical scholarship is to engage in ethical and sophisticated terms with books that have been created or altered by Indigenous peoples, then, the field must appeal to the ontological philosophies of the communities from which those books originated.³⁵

What would it mean to examine a book that existed in animate relation to its users? How would such a book be approached from a bibliographical perspective? For some inspiration, we might turn once again to the work of Louise Erdrich. Erdrich's fiction often features plots and characters that are concerned with the stories, relations, and lives that inhere in objects, not least in books. Her latest novel, *The Sentence* (2021), focuses in part on a fictional book—also titled *The Sentence*—that exerts a powerful and, at first, destructive force on its readers. When the novel's narrator and main character, Tookie, tries to avoid the book, setting it resolutely on a pile of texts she hopes to ignore, she realizes that “the book had its own volition and would force me to reckon with it.”³⁶ In an ill-considered attempt to evade that force, to reject the book's animate relation to her own veiled past, Tookie buries *The Sentence*, having struggled with little success to burn or otherwise destroy it. The interment pains her, though. With increasing disquiet, Tookie declares that “the book itself was not an inanimate thing. I had buried something alive.”³⁷ When the book is unearthed and its contents revealed, Tookie learns or at least rediscovers something about herself—her name, a complicated but integral part of her identity as an Indigenous woman. In acknowledging the book's life, Tookie acknowledges something that she had repressed about her own. As scholars, we ought to model our bibliographical research into Indigenous books on the ideas in Erdrich's fiction. To recognize the life within a pipestone book would be to consider Indigenous books differently, as more akin to the *cañnuñpa* than an imposition of settler-colonial circumstance. Inherent in the vibrant materialities of the Indigenous book are stories of presence, resistance, and renewal—stories that promise both to unsettle and enrich the study of the material text.

Daniel Radus is an assistant professor of English and the coordinator of the Native American Studies Program at SUNY Cortland.

NOTES

1. In the geological sciences, references to pipestone instead use the cognate term “catlinite,” named after the painter George Catlin. Catlin's descriptions of the stone, its quarries, and the stories associated with its origins introduced the stone into the popular

- consciousness of the nineteenth-century United States. *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, 2 vols. (New York, 1841).
2. I use the exonym “Sioux” to describe the traditions of the *Oceti Sakowin Oyate*, a confederation of seven Indigenous communities in the western Great Lakes and northern Plains. These communities are often divided into three groups: the Eastern Dakota, the Western Dakota or Nakota, and the Lakota. Because the object I describe here is associated with the Dakota, I use the autonym “Dakota” when I reference the people and practices associated with that object. To use consistent and efficient language, I use the term “Indigenous” to denote those peoples indigenous to North America, though that term has broader application, of course. As a nonspeaker of the Dakota language, I defer to the spelling used in my sources or to the University of Minnesota’s Dakota Dictionary Online, <https://fmp.cla.umn.edu/dakota/home.php>. I discuss pipestone itself, the stories related to that material, and its role in sacred customs more extensively later in this article.
 3. The pipestone book is in the Thorburn Collection at the South Dakota Art Museum, cat. no. 1985.1.54. For a short account of the book, see Barbara A. Hail, “Beaded Bibles and Victory Pouches: Twentieth Century Lakota Honoring Gifts,” *American Indian Art Magazine* 13, no. 3 (1988): 43–47.
 4. Given the decorative elements of this cross and the nature of the book’s production and exchange, likely the cross is a Niobrara Cross, a design introduced in 1874 by William Hobart Hare, the Episcopal bishop who began the Missionary District of Niobrara and later of South Dakota. For the Niobrara Cross, see Owanah Anderson, *400 Years: Anglican/Episcopal Mission among American Indians* (Cincinnati: Forward Movement, 1997), 119.
 5. The first Episcopal mission to the Sioux was established in 1863. See Vine V. Deloria, “The Establishment of Christianity among the Sioux,” in *Sioux Indian Religion: Tradition and Innovation*, ed. Raymond J. DeMallie and Douglas R. Parks (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 91–112. For the role of families like the Taylors in the preservation of pipestone sculpture as an artistic craft, see William P. Corbett, “Pipestone: The Origin and Development of a National Monument,” *Minnesota History: The Quarterly of the Minnesota Historical Society* 47, no. 3 (1980): 82–92.
 6. Here and throughout, I use the term “bibliographical scholarship” as shorthand foremost for the practice of descriptive bibliography—that is, for the physical description of books and for how these descriptions reveal circumstances of their production, distribution, and interpretation.
 7. W. W. Greg, “Bibliography—A Retrospect,” in *The Bibliographical Society, 1892–1942: Studies in Retrospect* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1945), 23–31, quotation on 24.
 8. In 2020, the Society for the History of Authorship, Reading, and Publishing (SHARP) hosted a roundtable on the subject, for example. See Andrea Reyes Elizondo and Jean Lee Cole, “Decolonising Book History,” *SHARP News* (blog), October 8, 2020, <https://www.sharpweb.org/sharpnews/2020/10/08/on-decolonising-book-history/>.
 9. For a recent appraisal of the Harvard Indian College and the Cambridge press, see Lisa Brooks, *Our Beloved Kin: A New History of King Philip’s War* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2018), 72–90. For a comprehensive study of Indigenous engagements with the book, see Phillip H. Round, *Removable Type: Histories of the Book in Indian Country, 1663–1880* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).
 10. Louise Erdrich, *Books and Islands in Ojibwe Country: Traveling through the Land of My Ancestors*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper Perennial, 2014), 3.

11. Germaine Warkentin, "Dead Metaphor or Working Model?: 'The Book' in Native America," in *Colonial Mediascapes: Sensory Worlds of Early America*, ed. Matt Cohen and Jeffrey Glover (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 47–75, quotations on 50.
12. Brooks makes a similar point about inscriptive practices in general, noting that items like "letters and books" did not replace Indigenous writing but rather were "incorporated" within established practices. *The Common Pot: The Recovery of Native Space in the Northeast* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 13.
13. For decorated books as gifts and heirlooms, see Colette A. Hyman, *Dakota Women's Work: Creativity, Culture, and Exile* (Minneapolis: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2012), chap. 6, Kindle.
14. Simon Pokagon, *The Red Man's Rebuke* (Hartford, MI, 1893).
15. In offering a brief rehearsal of this tale, I have referenced versions recorded by Joseph Epes Brown, Ella Deloria, and James R. Walker. See Joseph Epes Brown, ed., *The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 3–9; Ella Deloria, "Origin of the Peace Pipe," Ella Deloria Archive, Indiana University, accessed May 17, 2022, http://zia.aisri.indiana.edu/deloria_archive/browse.php?action=viewpage&id=2397; and James R. Walker, *Lakota Belief and Ritual*, ed. Raymond J. DeMallie and Elaine A. Jahner (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), 109–12.
16. Deloria notes further that in the Dakota language the words for "to address a relative" and "to pray" are "not really two; they are one." *Speaking of Indians* (San Francisco: Normanby Press, 2016), 25, ProQuest Ebook Central. See also Raymond J. DeMallie, "Lakota Belief and Ritual in the Nineteenth Century," in *Sioux Indian Religion: Tradition and Innovation*, ed. Raymond J. DeMallie and Douglas R. Parks (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 31.
17. For the *cañnuŋpa* as a communicative tool, see David M. Grant, "Writing *Wakan*: The Lakota Pipe as Rhetorical Object," *College Composition and Communication* 69, no. 1 (2017): 61–86. For *Wakaŋ Taŋka*, see DeMallie, "Lakota Belief and Ritual," 28–30.
18. For a summative rehearsal of the several versions of this tale, see Sally J. Southwick, *Building on a Borrowed Past: Place and Identity in Pipestone, Minnesota* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005), 5. The version I describe in detail here is rehearsed in several venues, including in those—like Catlin's—that require of us skepticism as to their sources and motives. I have drawn foremost from *Pipestone: An Unbroken Legacy*, a short film that interprets the site of the pipestone quarries through interviews with Indigenous quarriers and carvers. *Pipestone: An Unbroken Legacy*, directed by Sonny Hutchison and Chris Wheeler (Denver, CO: Great Divide Pictures, 2009).
19. Grant, "Writing *Wakan*," 72.
20. Kim TallBear, "An Indigenous Reflection on Working beyond the Human/Not Human," *GLQ: A Journal of Gay and Lesbian Studies* 21, no. 2–3 (2015): 230–35, quotation on 233.
21. For the intrinsic will of *wakaŋ* objects, see DeMallie, "Lakota Belief and Ritual," 30; and Deloria, *Speaking of Indians*, 40–42. For stories of the *cañnuŋpa* as animate, see Deloria, "The Origin of the Peace Pipe."
22. Kim TallBear, "Beyond the Life/Not-Life Binary: A Feminist-Indigenous Reading of Cryopreservation, Interspecies Thinking, and the New Materialisms," in *Cryopolitics: Frozen Life in a Melting World*, ed. Joanna Radin and Emma Kowal (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2017), 179–202, discussion on 195.

23. Hyman offers an account of how Indigenous women decorated their books, focusing on the ornamentation of ecclesiastical materials in Dakota communities. *Dakota Women's Work*, chap. 6.
24. In addition to Hail and Hyman, both of whom discuss books that have been decorated by Indigenous women, Ruth B. Phillips describes a nineteenth-century commonplace book with birchbark covers embroidered with moose hair, focusing on how its design reflects the convergence of "Victorian discourses of the floral art of women and of Aboriginal people." *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700–1900* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998), 184–85.
25. Jerome McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 56.
26. Though more prevalent now than in prior decades, there remains a relative dearth of studies on this topic, such that in 2017 Matt Cohen could make a case for "more book history in indigenous studies." "Between Friends and Enemies: Moving Books and Locating Native Critique in Early Colonial America," in *The World, the Text, and the Indian: Global Dimensions of Native American Literature*, ed. Scott Richard Lyons (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2017), 103–28, quotation on 105.
27. For the "Indian Bibliography," see Round, *Removable Type*, 15. One notable response to this practice was the release, in the 1970s and 1980s, of several enumerative bibliographies of Indigenous books. See, for example, Arlene Hirschfelder, *American Indian and Eskimo Authors: A Comprehensive Bibliography* (New York: Association of American Indian Affairs, 1973); H. David Brumble, *Annotated Bibliography of American Indian and Eskimo Autobiographies* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981); and Daniel F. Littlefield Jr. and James W. Parins, *A Biobibliography of Native American Writers, 1772–1924* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1981).
28. In addition to Round, representative examples include Steffi Dippold, "A Prince Went Up a Tree and Climbed into Colonial Typography: or Reversing Lettered and Unlettered in the Wampanoag Bible," *New England Quarterly* 92, no. 1 (2019): 6–45; Amy Gore, "Pretty Shield's Thumbprint: Body Politics in Paratextual Territory," *Western American Literature* 55, no. 2 (2020): 167–92; and Caroline Wigginton, "Hymncraft: Joseph Johnson, Thomas Commuck, and the Composition of Song and Community from the Native North American Northeast to Brothertown," *Native American and Indigenous Studies* 8, no. 1 (2021): 19–55.
29. The new materialisms include many related theoretical projects. In this short account I have drawn from Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010); Bill Brown, "Thing Theory," *Critical Inquiry* 28, no. 1 (2001): 1–22; and Diana Coole and Samantha Frost, eds., introduction to *New Materialisms: Ontology, Agency, and Politics* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).
30. Sonia Hazard, "Thing," *Early American Studies* 16, no. 4 (2018): 792–800.
31. In addition to Hazard, see Jonathan Senchyne, "Vibrant Material Textuality: New Materialism, Book History, and the Archive in Paper," *Studies in Romanticism* 57 (2018): 67–85.
32. Tallbear, "Beyond the Life/Not-Life Binary," 190.
33. Jerry Lee Rosiek, Jimmy Snyder, and Scott L. Pratt, "The New Materialisms and Indigenous Theories of Non-Human Agency: Making the Case for Respectful Anti-Colonial Engagement," *Qualitative Inquiry* 26, no. 3–4 (2019): 331–46.

34. Zoe Todd, "An Indigenous Feminist's Take on the Ontological Turn: 'Ontology' Is Just Another Word for Colonialism," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 29, no. 1 (2016): 4–22.
35. Here the work of Alison Jones and Te Kawehau Hoskins on a Maori *tā moġo* (facial tattoo) drawn in ink on a nineteenth-century land deed is instructive, if tangential to the book proper. In their analysis, the inscribed *tā moġo* is understood and interpreted as "an organic, speaking subject." "A Mark on Paper: The Matter of Indigenous-Settler History," in *Posthuman Research Practices in Education*, ed. Carol A. Taylor and Christina Hughes (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016): 75–92, quotation on 77.
36. Louise Erdrich, *The Sentence* (New York: HarperCollins, 2021), 73.
37. Erdrich, *The Sentence*, 96.