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## Listening to Bamewawagezhikaquay's Teachers: Jane Johnston Schoolcraft's Citational Cosmopolitics

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### Cover Page Footnote

I am deeply grateful to colleagues who have been interlocutors on this project, especially Sari Carter, Jeremy Chow, Sam Plasencia and Mariam Wassif. I would also like to thank Kate Ozment and Lisa Maruca for facilitating this special issue, and Megan Peiser for sharing her essay with me in draft. It is a privilege to think with all of you.

LISTENING TO  
BAMEWAWAGEZHIIKAQUAY'S TEACHERS:  
JANE JOHNSTON SCHOOLCRAFT'S  
CITATIONAL COSMOPOLITICS

Shelby Johnson

*Nin zhe ka we yea  
Ishe ez hau jau yaun  
Ain dah nuk ke yaun.*

*To my home I shall return  
That is the way that I am, my being  
My land.*

—Bamewawagezhikaquay (Jane Johnston Schoolcraft), “On leaving my children John and Jane at school, in the Atlantic states, and preparing to return to the interior”<sup>1</sup>

*Anishinaabeg stories are embedded in relationships and relationship-making practices—they constitute them. . . . Many see stories as the living strands (indeed, even living beings themselves) that constitute the relationships Anishinaabeg hold between themselves and with all of creation.*

—Jill Doerfler, Niigaanwewidam J. Sinclair, and Heidi K. Stark<sup>2</sup>

In March 1839, Bamewawagezhikaquay (The Sound the Stars Make Rushing through the Sky, also known as Jane Johnston Schoolcraft) placed her two children, John and Jane, at a residential school and returned to her home in what is now the settler state of Michigan.<sup>3</sup> In deep grief, she penned a poem in Anishinaabemowin: “Nin zhe ka we yea / Ishe ez hau jau yaun / Ain dah nuk ke yaun,” which her husband, federal Indian agent and ethnologist Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, acknowledges he “freely”

translated: “It is learning that calls them; but tell me, can schools / Repay for my love, or give nature new rules?”<sup>4</sup> While Henry’s lyric somewhat retains Bamewawagezhikaquay’s critique of white educational institutions in her questioning of “[giving] nature new roles,” it cannot encompass the poem’s cosmological sensibility. Indeed, his translation misses what Bamewawagezhikaquay would have understood as an “embodied ecology,” Tanana Athabascan scholar Dian Million’s term for a recognition that “*the land is us, it is in us*, in memory and resonance with living generations lived in close relation with places.”<sup>5</sup> To more precisely reflect Bamewawagezhikaquay’s perspective, contemporary scholars often render her stanza as an assertion of co-belonging with people and the land: “That is the way that I am, my being / My land.”<sup>6</sup> Margaret Noodin, an Anishinaabemowin language scholar, similarly translates the lines as a contrapuntal acknowledgment of loss and homecoming to generationally known places: “It is near / I am alone / As I go / My homeland.”<sup>7</sup> These translations bring into relief Bamewawagezhikaquay’s recognition that Anishinaabe praxes of *being human* are related to *being with* landscapes, a position shaped by her mother Ozhaguscodaywayquay and her grandfather Waubojeeg’s teachings rather than the European literature she encountered in her Irish father John Johnston’s library. In this essay, I argue that Bamewawagezhikaquay’s writings cite Anishinaabe cosmologies, including lineages of human and nonhuman teachers and perspectives on animate archives that should inflect new approaches to textual studies.<sup>8</sup>

Bamewawagezhikaquay’s literary output, which included poems and stories composed in Anishinaabemowin, went largely unpublished in her own lifetime. Although a few of her writings reached wider circulation through a handwritten literary magazine she coedited with Henry—*Muzziniegun, or the Literary Voyager* (1826–1827)—some were mediated through his ethnographic texts, including *Algic Researches* (1839). Yet Henry rarely attributed these texts to Bamewawagezhikaquay, a bibliographic practice that undoubtedly reflected his ethnographic priorities, which emphasize universally accessible and abstracted knowledge directed at white settlers. Henry often translated her retelling of Anishinaabe stories out of their tribal-national contexts and instead took them as broadly emblematic of “the philosophy of the Indian mind” rather than as situated knowledge-ways.<sup>9</sup> While “On leaving my children” immediately indexes the settler structures of power that shaped Bamewawagezhikaquay’s life—the occupation of Anishinaabe lands, confinement of Indigenous children in residential schools, colonial practices of coerced assimilation, attempted erasures of

Indigenous languages—the poem expresses, I contend, a “citational cosmopolitics,” what I define as a practice where Bamewawagezhikaquay invokes, and occasionally translates into English, human and more-than-human agents in the cocreation of Anishinaabe knowledge. As Bethany Schneider reminds us, “Translation and citation are related terms. Each entangles notions of movement and transport—to ‘cite’ something is to ‘summon, call; arouse, excite.’”<sup>10</sup> In this sense, Bamewawagezhikaquay’s oeuvre challenges Henry’s early advocacy for the discipline of ethnography, a field that by the end of the nineteenth century would devote itself to “salvaging” Native cultures before their “inevitable vanishing.” Instead, her citational praxis goes beyond Franz Boas’s critique of salvage ethnography and his self-identification as a “cosmographer.” For Boas, “cosmographer” signals a scholar who considers every phenomenon “worthy of being studied for its own sake,” but for Bamewawagezhikaquay, the point is not to “study” but to live with human and nonhuman beings—to live with their ongoing survivance, as Anishinaabe critic Gerald Vizenor puts it.<sup>11</sup>

By naming Bamewawagezhikaquay’s citational orientation a “cosmopolitics,” I further build on philosopher Isabelle Stengers’s term “cosmopolitics.” Stengers derives cosmopolitics from “cosmopolitan” to merge two related epistemologies—*cosmos* and *politics*—where *cosmos* indicates what we still do not know about “multiple divergent worlds” and *politics* reflect “articulations of the unknown” which we could “eventually be capable” of naming.<sup>12</sup> In resisting the totalizing impulses of settler ethnographic writing, Bamewawagezhikaquay cites generational webs of human and nonhuman relations within a plural and “divergent” Anishinaabe cosmos largely “unknown” to settlers, while her stories extend these webs into a resurgent future. Indeed, her citational praxis constitutes a mode of ethnographic refusal, what Audra Simpson (Mohawk) defines as practices of Indigenous sovereignty opposed to settler paradigms of recognition.<sup>13</sup> By calling the citational mode in “On leaving my children” a cosmological praxis of refusal, I additionally locate Bamewawagezhikaquay in resistant Indigenous epistemologies that Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith calls “dissent lines,” to show how her writings restore both Anishinaabe bodies and bodies of knowledge in long-standing relations with local landscapes.<sup>14</sup>

In what follows, I contend that Bamewawagezhikaquay cites Anishinaabe art forms as animate archives that encompass dense embodied and ecological relations, where plants like pine trees and corn coordinate knowledge and history against colonial representations of Indigenous cultures within protocols of ethnographic salvaging, where

the racializing of a static “Indian mind” accompanies tropes of inevitable “vanishing.”<sup>15</sup> Hers is a mode of thought that intersects with resurgent frameworks on orienting to Anishinaabe writings, including birchbark maps and cliff paintings, not as inert objects but as dynamic nodal points in shared and ongoing acts of communication, where texts are “living beings themselves,” as Doerfler, Sinclair, and Stark observe in this article’s epigraph.<sup>16</sup> To do this, I build on literary critics who have approached Bamewawagezhikaquay as a biracial poet whose manuscript writings prompt us to move beyond the book as the analytic frame for engaging with Native archives and on scholars who have foregrounded her portrayals of intricate environmental networks.<sup>17</sup> My critical approach therefore extends what Gordan Henry Jr. (Anishinaabe), David Stirrup, and Noodin define as “the politically nimble, formally various purposes to which Anishinaabeg writers have put their literary outputs.”<sup>18</sup> In particular, I am influenced by the lessons of Anishinaabe medicine woman Keewaydinoquay, as well as Cree and Métis ethnobotanists Mary Sisiip Geniusz and Wendy Makoons Geniusz, to examine how Bamewawagezhikaquay cites plants as her teachers and relatives, a model of attribution that poses vital interventions for bibliography studies.<sup>19</sup> Above all, Bamewawagezhikaquay’s citational praxis reflects an Anishinaabe cosmos of human and nonhuman copresences and their cocreations of literature. And her cosmos is rooted in place-based conceptions of plants and landscapes as knowledge-bearers and living archives.<sup>20</sup>

### “The One I See, the Pine”

Bamewawagezhikaquay’s lyric “My being / the land” enunciates an ongoing Anishinaabe existence within historically and geographically negotiated land relations that have important implications for thinking book history differently in terms of nonhuman animacy—an insight that opens up other poems in her oeuvre where she depicts plants and geographic formations as living archives, especially in “To the Pine Tree” and “On the Doric Rock, Lake Superior.” As Susan Berry Brill de Ramírez notes of “To the Pine Tree” and “On leaving my children,” Bamewawagezhikaquay centers movement within and homecoming to her community, with the former poem representing her return as a child to Sault Ste. Marie in 1810 after spending time abroad with her father’s family in Ireland.<sup>21</sup> Desperately homesick, Bamewawagezhikaquay related to a friend that after crossing the Niagara ridge and seeing her beloved woodlands, she exclaimed, “There pa! see those pines!”<sup>22</sup> She originally penned “To the

Pine Tree" in Anishinaabemowin but provided her own English translation, which models a cultural and linguistic accuracy distinct from Henry Schoolcraft's largely imprecise and sentimentalized version of "On leaving my children." However, unlike with "On leaving my children," the conditions of Bamewawagezhikaquay's movement to and from Ireland do not reflect the wholesale effort to eradicate Indigenous cultures exemplified in residential schools but constituted a brief visit to her father's family, with the promise of returning to her Anishinaabe family. As such, Bamewawagezhikaquay adumbrates her intense attachments to Anishinaabe traditional territories with clarity in her translation of the poem, of which the final stanza reads:

Not all the trees of England bright,  
 Not Erin's lawns of green and light,  
 Are half so sweet to memory's eye,  
 As this type of northern sky. (lines 13–16)

Here Bamewawagezhikaquay contrasts her bonds to Ireland by materializing long-remembered connections to Anishinaabe landscapes, which she alternatively characterizes through *filiation* ("the pine, my father" could refer to her urging her father to observe the trees or it could be an address to the trees themselves) and *affiliation* (the pine "hails me, with a friend's delight").

Given the poem's rhetorical context, Bamewawagezhikaquay's lyrics also intervene in Romantic modes of imperial nostalgia, where travelers would often write about their feelings on returning home, a sentimental mode that portrays migrancy as an interruption in an otherwise intimate connection to place. Instead, "To the Pine Tree" memorializes her passage as a homecoming within a conventional Anishinaabe cosmogony. Peguis First Nation scholar Niigaanwewidam J. Sinclair explains that Anishinaabe stories emphasize "transmotion," a belief "Anishinaabeg peoples have always been on the move, on their imaginative and narrative terms." Indeed, he explains that transmotion "is a sovereignty concept," or a cosmology of "material existence," which gives shape to "the ways bodies travel, live, and die in this life."<sup>23</sup> Stories of Niizhwaaso-ishkoden Ninganaajimowin, or the Seven Fires Prophecy, represent the centuries-long movement of the Anishinaabeg from their residence with Wabanaki peoples on the Atlantic coast to their present home farther west, including their six pauses on the long passage until their seventh, and final, homecoming to Mooningwanekaaning (Madeline Island).<sup>24</sup> While "To the Pine Tree" invokes Irish and British sites of imperial attachment,

orienting with Anishinaabe story conventions reveals Schoolcraft's sense of mobility not as a displacement, but as a state of being, reflected in the pine's "ever green" flourishing. Bamewawagezhikaquay thus challenges settler imaginaries in which Indigenous communities are violently conscripted as subjects who can be displaced, as Jodi Byrd (Chickasaw) reminds us, where the cultural and citational work of US expansion reformats Native life as removeable and, ultimately, disposable.<sup>25</sup>

With Byrd in mind, I want to explore how Bamewawagezhikaquay's gestures toward Anishinaabe movement open affordances for recovering her citational practice in "To the Pine Tree" as a recovery of place: "The one I see, the pine / I return back to my homeland." Indeed, Noodin's translation emphasizes Bamewawagezhikaquay's acknowledgment of pine trees as relative:

Bizindamig ikeyaamban—Listen in that direction

.....

Gii-ayaad awiia waabandamaan niin—He was  
there I saw it myself

Zhingwaak, zhingwaak nos sa!—The pine, the pine my  
father!

.....

Wiin eta gwanaajiwi wi—He is beautiful

Gaagige wezhaawashkozid—Forever he is the green one.

(lines 8, 11–12, 17–18)<sup>26</sup>

As illuminated by Noodin's translation, Bamewawagezhikaquay's vision of botanic kinship comes more fully into view when read with Wendy Makoons Geniusz and Mary Sisiip Geniusz, who are Anishinaabe-mashkikiiwikwe, medicine women and ethnobotanists, and their recordings of their mentor Keewaydinoquay's teachings on plant gathering and healing traditions. Keewaydinoquay relates that several species of pine flourish around the Great Lakes, including zhingwaak (white pine), apakwanagemag (red pine), and okikaandag (Jack pine).<sup>27</sup> While each tree is significant for Anishinaabe medicinal practices, whose saps and barks are utilized as burn balms and as inhalants during sweat lodge ceremonies, I wish to linger with zhingwaak as the pine species Bamewawagezhikaquay cites. As Keewaydinoquay explains, "[T]he white pine was like a fine lady. . . . Every aspect of her being is refined and genteel," from her slender needles to her smooth, gray bark.<sup>28</sup> Zhingwaak's sap, clear and thin, is valued as a base for lineaments within



everyday healing work of mothers, aunts, sisters, and grandmothers in the community.<sup>29</sup>

By reading zhingwaak within this medicinal tradition, I believe we can recover from the poem a curative “grammar of animacy,” Potawatomi botanist Robin Wall Kimmerer’s term for Anishinaabemowin verb structures that ascribe personhood to nonhuman entities.<sup>30</sup> Although translations of “To the Pine Tree” generally render the pine as masculine, Keewaydinoquay’s teachings suggest that we might understand zhingwaak within matrilineal relations—she “was like a fine lady.” The pine’s welcome marks Bamewawagezhikaquay’s return to her mother and her mother’s people, human and nonhuman. At the same time, with colonial expansion, deforestation accelerated throughout Michigan and Wisconsin where zhingwaak flourished because settlers considered the white pine ideal for ship masts and building materials.<sup>31</sup> Zhingwaak became imbricated within imperial economies of extraction that elided complex ceremonial and medicinal uses. Yet by reading with Anishinaabe grammars of relation, “To the Pine Tree” cites a cosmos of coextensive kinship at odds with what Dakota scholar Kim Tallbear describes as a colonial “animacy hierarchy,” or a settler episteme that cultivates economic and ontological interactions incompatible with Indigenous attributions of mutually obligated human and more-than-human existences, exemplified in practices that she calls “being in good relation.”<sup>32</sup> Yet because zhingwaak’s uses are primarily curative, Bamewawagezhikaquay’s citation extends a tremulous hope for a resurgent healing of her Anishinaabe community.

While I have considered “To the Pine Tree” as a summoning of matrilineal medicine and botanic kinships, scholars have mapped additional citational matrixes in other poems. I want to pause with these critical conversations, specifically with “On the Doric Rock, Lake Superior,” because they open further avenues for retrieving Bamewawagezhikaquay’s representations of landscapes as animate archives. Schneider argues that “On the Doric Rock” wryly responds to US naval officer Melancthon T. Woolsey’s efforts to “teach” Bamewawagezhikaquay the history of the Pictured Rocks on Michigan’s Upper Peninsula. Yet she was surely aware of these centuries-old lithic pictographs, which Ojibwe writer Louise Erdrich suggests continue to speak to the Anishinaabeg: “The rock paintings are alive.”<sup>33</sup> Although Woolsey declares the cliff paintings illegible, the poem’s ekphrastic perspective invokes their animacy within ongoing Anishinaabe communication, even while the poem as a whole argues that the cliffs were devised by “the great good sovereign of the skies,” who “[hath] left but traces of his fingers here” (lines 30, 32). Yet precisely *who*

Bamewawagezhikaquay cites as the “great good sovereign of the skies” is in question, as she could be denoting the Christian God, the Anishinaabe culture hero Nanabozho, who first invents pictographic writing, or the human artists who painted the cliff’s surface.

Schneider explicates Bamewawagezhikaquay’s complex citations of Woolsey’s letter and settler Christianity, as well as Anishinaabe aadizookaan (traditional storytelling), in the poem through Jacques Derrida’s definition of the “trace,” “which does not let itself be summed up in the simplicity of a present” but reveals “the disappearance of the origin.”<sup>34</sup> The line “[T]races of his fingers here” evinces what Schneider calls an “anticitational citation,” where stanzas render “a philosophy of the ‘here’ to which [settler] citational structures do not stick,” even or especially, from the view of the Derridean trace, when signification is endlessly deferred.<sup>35</sup> Instead, Bamewawagezhikaquay improvises “a radically indigenous model of *presence*.”<sup>36</sup> Likewise, Stirrup argues that “On the Doric Rock” portrays a “terrain that is already charted, storied, narrated, and read. . . . And if the superimposition of European tropes fails to erase those preexisting marks, the resulting palimpsest” subverts colonial efforts to dispossess landscapes of not only Native peoples but also of their stories.<sup>37</sup> Building on this work, I read the citational ambiguity in “On the Doric Rock” as a deliberate exercise of opacity in Édouard Glissant’s sense—as Bamewawagezhikaquay’s refusal to name what settlers desire to know about Indigenous lifeways, making it impossible for Woolsey to then “explain” Anishinaabe cultural practices back to her.<sup>38</sup> Yet even if zhingwaak and the Pictured Rocks’ status as living archives remains somewhat opaque, Bamewawagezhikaquay’s citational praxis still gestures toward bidirectional communication: the pine trees “hail me, with a friend’s delight” and the Pictured Rocks call its viewers to “[look] up to nature’s God above the skies.” In these poems, Bamewawagezhikaquay evinces a kind of “listening otherwise,” in Stó:lō scholar Dylan Robinson’s words, to the land—“listen in *that* direction,” as she puts it in “To the Pine Tree.”<sup>39</sup> When she traverses Anishinaabe terrain, the cliffs and trees actively call her, hail her, summon her—*cite* her—into being too.

### “Cover Me Anew with Fresh Earth”

While Bamewawagezhikaquay’s citational praxis is, if sometimes subtly, an invocation of plants and cliff formations as relatives and teachers, Schneider’s analysis of “traces of his fingers here” extends an additional critical question: Why Derrida at all? Why not an Anishinaabe conception

of language and thus of citationality? In Anishinaabemowin, for instance, name' is a verb that means "to find/leave signs of somebody's presence."<sup>40</sup> Turtle Mountain Ojibwe poet Heid E. Erdrich glosses name' as a metaphor for communication: "[It] arises from an Anishinaabe-centered epistemology that relates writing with landmark, and marking with ongoing presence in place. . . . When we find what another leaves, we are connected across time."<sup>41</sup> If we turn to Bamewawagezhikaquay's cosmos as vibrantly alive with material "leavings," rather than Derridean "traces," then we can see how she roots her citational cosmopolitics in a *here* of storied landscapes—of human-ecological communication across time and space. These leavings are not tethered solely to linguistic signs, as they are with Derrida, but inhere both within "embodied discourses," Osage scholar Robert Warrior's phrase for the generational transfer of Indigenous knowledges through social routines, and "embodied ecologies," Million's term for cosmologies of shared human and nonhuman existence.<sup>42</sup> Building on this work, I consider how Bamewawagezhikaquay's citations orient differently to questions of origins—only ever infinite regression in Derrida—through her retellings of emergence tales.

If Bamewawagezhikaquay's citational cosmopolitics is at once a deliberate practice of opacity circumscribed by the conditions that attend writing within settler systems *and* a gesture toward ongoing and future formations of anticolonial epistemologies, then her origin stories extend Anishinaabe grammars of kinship to the matter of emergence and growth. Her stories continue to build on the somatic and aural "leavings" of Anishinaabe communication—the pine tree who "hails me, with a friend's delight"—to disrupt the ethnographic surveillance of settler textualities. In this way, her stories reflect Métis and Anishinaabe scholar Melissa K. Nelson's contention that Native oral stories are vital sites for scientific and social knowledge formation because they represent learning and citation as a sensuous method of becoming situated in a local ecology, a process she calls "getting dirty."<sup>43</sup> An Anishinaabe cosmos such a process illuminates and emphasizes both porous boundaries between human and more-than-human bodies and multidirectional postures of attention, as learners listen to plant and animal teachings, what Nelson further describes as "a messy, visceral, eco-erotic boundary-crossing entanglement of difference that can engender empathy and kinship and a lived environmental ethic."<sup>44</sup>

In "Corn Story," for instance, Bamewawagezhikaquay narrates the origins of mandaamin, or maize, for Anishinaabe communities, when a stranger sacrifices himself to become corn as a gift to honor a boy's transition from childhood to adulthood. She deliberately begins the story at this liminal moment in the youth's life, which is paralleled by his

environmental surround as winter shifts to spring: “It was on the first indication of spring, that his eldest son, had arrived at that age, when it is thought necessary for youth to fast, to see what kind of spirit would be his guide and guardian through life.”<sup>45</sup> After fasting for many days, the young man is approached by a stranger dressed in a “deep green” blanket and feathers.<sup>46</sup> He acknowledges the youth’s devotion to his community and that his motives in fasting are “to do good to [his] fellow creatures.”<sup>47</sup> The stranger then tells the boy to “wrestle with him as it would be only by his courage and perseverance, as well as strength, that he could hope to succeed in his wish to do and get good for mankind.”<sup>48</sup> At the struggle’s climax, the stranger urges the youth: “[W]hen you have knocked me down—clean the earth of weeds and roots and make the earth very soft and bury me. . . . Be careful never to let the grass or weeds grow on the hillock where I am laid and once in the month cover me anew with fresh earth. If you follow my instructions you will do good to your fellow creatures.”<sup>49</sup> In order to *know* corn, in other words, the young man must participate in its cultivation—a haptic knowledge that arises from *listening* to and *touching* the stranger and the earth.<sup>50</sup> As such, mandaamin gestures toward and cites dense knowledge-ways that extend across time and space, embracing the existence of Manitou like the stranger, the generational ceremonies of Anishinaabe life, and seasonal agricultural routines.

In contrast to Bamewawagezhikaquay’s cosmopolitical perspective in this story, settler dismissals of Anishinaabe ceremonies and agricultural practices persistently “unwitness,” in Drew Lopenzina’s resonant phrase, the different regimes within which mandaamin signified.<sup>51</sup> In many Indigenous traditions, corn emerges from a woman and reflects the significant labor that Native women contributed as the primary cultivators of farmlands.<sup>52</sup> In retelling a Potawatomi version of the arrival of corn, Kimmerer recalls another origin story, where a woman falls from the sky but grasps seeds in her hand, which flourish later on earth: “Skywoman buried her beloved daughter in the earth, the plants that are special gifts to the people sprang from her body. . . . From her breasts grew corn, from her belly the squash, and we see in her hands the long-fingered clusters of beans.”<sup>53</sup> Closer to Bamewawagezhikaquay’s own context, in *The Life of Black Hawk* (1833), Mahkate:wi-meši-ke:hke:hkwa similarly relates that corn is a gift from a “woman of the clouds,” who rewards Sauk generosity in sharing food with her in a time of scarcity.<sup>54</sup> In tales by the Anishinaabeg and their Sauk and Potawatomi neighbors, not only are zhingwaak and mandaamin on an equal cosmological footing with humans, but they also challenge nineteenth-century settler conceptions of pedagogical hierarchy, where plants or animals are rarely teachers. Indeed, however mandaamin

is attributed—whether a “woman of the clouds” or a young “man [who comes] down from the sky”—Bamewawagezhikaquay’s praxis as attribution invokes generational and haptic knowledges attendant to shared familiarity with a place.

Bamewawagezhikaquay concludes “Corn Story” by figuring the stranger’s clothing into the parts of mandaamin: his blanket becomes the corn’s husk and his feathers the tassels, which must be “pulled away” in order to eat the kernels. Hers is a “telling . . . and teaching” that the young man uses to instruct his Anishinaabe community in their “careful attention to this plant.”<sup>55</sup> Her somatic foregrounding of mandaamin as “a friend . . . [to] all mankind” starkly contrasts with colonial portrayals of first encounters with the plant. In her survey of colonial herbals, for instance, Wendy Makoons Geniusz cites John Gerard’s 1597 description of “Turkie corne”: “We have as yet no certain prooffe or experience concerning the vertues of this kinde of Corne.” He leverages this unfamiliarity into a racial taxonomy—“certain prooffe” and continues: “[A]lthough the barbarous Indians which know no better, are constrained to make a virtue of necessitie, and think it a good food; whereas we may easily judge that it nourisheth but little, and is of hard and evill digestion, more convenient food for swine than men.”<sup>56</sup> Here Gerard not only negates the value of mandaamin within Anishinaabe foodways but also denies the validity of their scientific knowledges, instead rendering them “primitive” superstitions.<sup>57</sup> Maya and Zapotec scholar Jessica Hernandez reminds us, however, that Indigenous agricultural routines reflect familiarity with botanic cycles and needs: when cultivated together, corn stalks and leaves protect other plants traditionally grown with it, including beans and squashes, the “three sisters.”<sup>58</sup>

In the end, Bamewawagezhikaquay’s narrative exigence takes seriously the teachings of plants like mandaamin and zhingwaak, as well as geographical sites like the Pictured Rocks, with humans thereafter *living* these knowledges in everyday practices or seasonal ceremonies: the young man, after all, “observed every thing he had been directed to do.”<sup>59</sup> Nonhuman beings and entities teach inhabitants “how to live life,” what Michi Saagiig scholar Leanne Betasamosake Simpson calls “land as pedagogy,” with Bamewawagezhikaquay’s other stories and poems also embracing animals like wolves and robins as teachers.<sup>60</sup> As such, her writings evoke an expansive definition of textuality, where nonhuman beings produce generational knowledge and transmit it to the future, often through evocatively material and somatic textures—sound, taste, and touch are significant vectors for archival creation. Moreover, her citational cosmopolitics summon not only the tangible and audible

processes of shared communication inherent to Anishinaabe textualities but sometimes diffuse unseen forces too—spirits from the sky, root systems beneath the earth. In all these ways, Bamewawagezhikaquay cites a cosmos where, as Chickasaw novelist Linda Hogan puts it, “What is valuable lives, in much the same way as in dreams, beneath the ground, just outside of human sight, sometimes just a bit beyond reach.”<sup>61</sup>

### “As Long as There is Mondaumin”

As Heid E. Erdrich observes, Bamewawagezhikaquay’s stories take care “to give attribution (in the Ojibwe manner of saying who ‘gave’ the song or story) . . . within an Ojibwe literary tradition.”<sup>62</sup> While more obvious pathways exist for considering Bamewawagezhikaquay from frameworks in textuality studies, given the dispersal of her literary output in manuscripts or in books published under other peoples’ names, pursuing a cosmopolitical method opens new avenues for re-imagining Indigenous book history. In modeling one approach, Megan Peiser (Choctaw Nation) urges for capacious conceptions of the archive as entry points for engaging with Native knowledge systems and, in this special issue, explicates a citational practice embodied by the seeds of Tanchi Ohyo, Corn woman: “These seeds hold stories, histories, families and relationships, they hold sacred covenants between people and our more-than-human relatives.”<sup>63</sup> Bamewawagezhikaquay’s writings likewise show that the Anishinaabeg and their teachings will endure “as long as there is *Mondaumin* to live and grow from the ground.”<sup>64</sup>

In addition, while many scholars recognize that book history is rarely commensurate with Indigenous story routines, less acknowledged is that archives *as living beings* are illegible within settler ontologies, predicated, as they often are, on sharp distinctions between human life and (non)human (non)life.<sup>65</sup> Yet what could it look like for textuality studies to cite lineages of teaching—not only Keewaydinoquay to Mary Sisiip Geniusz and Wendy Makoons Geniusz, or Ozhaguscodaywayquay to Bamewawagezhikaquay, but plants like mandaamin and zhingwaak to her?<sup>66</sup> What if book history oriented not to texts not as inert objects but as animate beings?<sup>67</sup> Bamewawagezhikaquay, when read with cosmopolitical answers to these questions, extends vital alternatives to textuality studies, for zhingwaak and mandaamin are not colonized subjects of empire, but flourishing teachers, who continue to call Anishinaabe sovereignty into being.<sup>68</sup>

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## NOTES

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1. Bamewawagezhikaquay, "On leaving my children John and Jane at school, in the Atlantic states, and preparing to return to the interior," in *The Sound the Stars Make Rushing through the Sky: The Writings of Jane Johnston Schoolcraft*, ed. Robert Dale Parker (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 141–43.
2. Jill Doerfler, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, and Heidi K. Stark, eds., *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understanding the World through Stories* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2013), 59.
3. She signed her name variously, including "J.S.S.," "Leelinau" (Henry Schoolcraft's nickname for her), "Jane Schoolcraft," and "Bamewawagezhikaquay." I have decided to use her Anishinaabe name throughout.
4. Bamewawagezhikaquay, "On leaving my children," trans. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, in Parker, *Sound*, 141–42.
5. Dian Million, "'We Are the Land, and the Land Is Us': Indigenous Land, Lives, and Embodied Ecologies in the Twenty-First Century," in *Racial Ecologies*, ed. Leilani Nishime and Kim D. Hester Williams (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2018), 19–33; 26; emphasis in original.
6. Bamewawagezhikaquay, "On leaving my children," trans. Dennis Jones, Heidi K. Stark, and James Vukelich, in Parker, *Sound*, 142–43.
7. Schoolcraft, "On leaving my children," trans. Margaret Noodin, Ojibwe.net, accessed April 20, 2022, <https://ojibwe.net/songs/traditional/nindinendam-thinking/>.
8. This expansive cosmology of personhood extends Eduardo Kohn's argument in *How Forests Think: Toward an Anthropology beyond the Human* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013): "Life thinks, thoughts are alive. . . . Wherever there are 'living thoughts,' there is also a 'self.' . . . 'We' are not the only kind of *we*" (16).
9. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Algie Researches*, vol. 1 (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1839), 9.
10. Bethany Schneider, "Not for Citation: Jane Johnston Schoolcraft's Synchronic Strategies," *ESQ: A Journal of the American Renaissance* 54, no. 1–4 (2008): 111–44, quotation on 113.
11. For Franz Boas, see Laura Dassow Walls, *The Passage to Cosmos: Alexander von Humboldt and the Shaping of America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 268. On survivance, see Gerald Vizenor, "Aesthetics of Survivance," *Survivance: Aesthetics of Native Presence* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 1–23, esp. 1.
12. Isabelle Stengers, "The Cosmopolitical Proposal," in *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy*, ed. Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005),

- 994–1003, quotations on 995; and *Cosmopolitics I*, trans. Robert Bononno (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), chap. 3. For Indigenous conceptions of the cosmos and cosmopolitics, see also Salma Monani and Joni Adamson, eds., *Ecocriticism and Indigenous Studies: Conversations from Earth to Cosmos* (New York: Routledge, 2017); and Marisol de la Cadena, “Indigenous Cosmopolitics in the Andes: Conceptual Reflections beyond ‘Politics,’” *Cultural Anthropology* 25, no. 2 (2010): 334–70; and Marisol de la Cadena, *Earth Beings: Ecologies of Practice across Andean Worlds* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015).
13. Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of the Settler State* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 11.
  14. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 2nd ed. (London: Zed Books, 2012), 12–13.
  15. For nineteenth-century Anishinaabemowin writing, see Kai Pyle’s groundbreaking digital archive, *Gaa-Ozhibii’igejig: Writing Published by 19th-Century Anishinaabe People*, accessed April 20, 2022, <https://anishinaabelit.wordpress.com/>.
  16. For scholarship on Indigenous textualities in early American studies, see Alyssa M. T. Pleasant (Tuscarora), Caroline Wigginton, and Kelly Wisecup, “Materials and Methods in Native American and Indigenous Studies: Completing the Turn,” *Early American Literature* 53, no. 2 (2018): 407–44; Kristina Bross and Hilary Wyss, *Early Native Literacies in New England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008); Joshua David Bellin and Laura L. Mielke, eds., *Native Acts* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011); Matt Cohen and Jeffrey Glover, eds., *Colonial Mediascapes: Sensory Worlds of the Early Americas* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), esp. Germaine Warkentin, “Dead Metaphor or Working Model? ‘The Book’ in Native America,” 47–75; Matt Cohen, *The Networked Wilderness: Communicating in Early New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); Birgit Brander Rasmussen, *Queequeg’s Coffin: Indigenous Literacies and Early American Literature* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012); and Angela Calcaterra, *Literary Indians: Aesthetics and Encounter in American Literature to 1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018).
  17. On Bamewawagezhikaquay and textual studies, see Robert Dale Parker, “Introduction: The World and Writings of Jane Johnston Schoolcraft,” in *The Sound the Stars Make Rushing through the Sky: The Writings of Jane Johnston Schoolcraft*, ed. Robert Dale Parker (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 1–84; Augusta Rohrbach, *Thinking outside the Book* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2014), chap. 1; David Stirrup, *Picturing Worlds: Visuality and Visual Sovereignty in Contemporary Anishinaabe Literature* (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 2020), chap. 1; Laura L. Mielke, *Moving Encounters: Sympathy and the Indian Question in Antebellum Literature* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008), chap. 6; Christine Cavalier, “Jane Johnston Schoolcraft’s Sentimental Lessons: Native Literary Collaboration and Resistance,” *MELUS* 38, no. 1 (2013): 98–118; and Kelly Wisecup, *Assembled for Use: Indigenous Compilation and the Archives of Early Native American Literatures* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2021), 133–36. On Bamewawagezhikaquay and Anishinaabe language and landscapes, see Margaret Noodin, *Bawaajimo: A Dialect of Dreams in Anishinaabe Language and Literature* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2014), 22–24; Jennifer Elise Foerster, “Bamewawagezhikaquay: Jane Johnston Schoolcraft’s Postpastoral Poetics,” *Ecotone* 15, no. 1 (2019): 129–39; Susan Berry Brill de Ramírez, “The Anishinaabe Eco-Poetics of Language, Life, and Place in the Poetry of Schoolcraft, Noodin, Blaeser, and Henry,” in *Enduring Critical Poses: The Legacy and Life and Anishinaabe Literature and Letters*, ed. Gordon Henry Jr., Margaret



- Noodin, and David Stirrup (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2021), 79–106; and Steven Petersheim, “Jane Johnston’s Literary Contributions: Transcribing Ojibwe Folklore as Short Stories,” *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes, and Reviews* 29, no. 1 (2016): 21–25.
18. Margaret Noodin, Gordon Henry Jr., and David Stirrup, introduction to *Enduring Critical Poses: The Legacy and Life of Anishinaabe Literature and Letters*, ed. Margaret Noodin, Gordon Henry Jr., and David Stirrup (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2021), 1–15, quotation on 5.
  19. On Anishinaabe medicinal traditions, see Mary Sisiip Geniusz, *Plants Have So Much to Give Us, All We Have to Do Is Ask: Anishinaabe Botanical Teachings*, ed. Wendy Makoons Geniusz (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015); and Wendy Makoons Geniusz, *Our Knowledge Is Not Primitive: Decolonizing Anishinaabe Botanical Teachings* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2009). On Keewaydinoquay, see also Dylan Miner, “Stories as *Mshkiki*: Reflections on the Healing and Migratory Practices of Minwaajimo,” in *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understanding the World Through Stories*, ed. Jill Doerfler, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesik Stark (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2013), 317–339.
  20. On Anishinaabe archives as alive, see Eva Marie Garrouette and Kathleen Dolores Westcott, “‘The Story Is a Living Being’: Companionship with Stories in Anishinaabeg Studies,” in *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understanding the World through Stories*, ed. Jill Doerfler, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, and Heidi K. Stark (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2013), 61–80.
  21. De Ramírez, “The Anishinaabe Eco-Poetics of Language,” 79–81.
  22. Parker, “Introduction,” 90.
  23. Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, “A Sovereignty of Transmotion: Imagination and the ‘Real,’ Gerald Vizenor and Native Literary Nationalism,” in *Stories through Theories/Theories through Stories: North American Indian Writing, Storytelling, and Critique*, ed. Gordon Henry Jr., Nieves Pascual Soler, and Silvia Martínez-Falquina (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2009), 123–48, quotation on 148.
  24. Stirrup, *Picturing Worlds*, 13.
  25. Jodi Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), xv.
  26. Bamewawagezhikaquay, “To the Pine Tree,” trans. Margaret Noodin, *Ecotone* 15, no. 1 (Fall/Winter 2019), <https://ecotonemagazine.org/poetry/to-the-pine-tree/>.
  27. On pines and conifers, see Geniusz, *Plants*, 83–95.
  28. Geniusz, 83–84.
  29. Geniusz, 84.
  30. Robin Wall Kimmerer, “Learning the Grammar of Animacy,” *Anthropology of Consciousness* 28, no. 2 (2017): 128–34, quotation on 131. For Anishinaabe verb forms, see also Louise Erdrich, *Books and Islands in Ojibwe Country: Traveling through the Land of My Ancestors* (New York: Harper, 2003) 69–70.
  31. Geniusz, *Plants*, 85. As Peter Linebaugh further argues in *The Magna Carta Manifesto: Liberties and Commons for All* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009): “The expansion of the British empire was by means of wood products and it was to the end of acquiring wood products” (90).

32. Kim Tallbear, "Caretaking Relations, Not American Dreaming," *Kalfou: A Journal of Comparative and Relational Ethnic Studies* 6, no. 1 (2019): 24–41, quotation on 25.
33. Erdrich, *Books and Islands*, 40. Chris LaLonde, "Louise Erdrich's *Books and Islands in Ojibwe Country*: Writing, Being, Healing, Place," in *Enduring Critical Poses: The Legacy and Life of Anishinaabe Literature and Letters*, ed. Gordon Henry Jr., Margaret Noodin, and David Stirrup (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2021), 19–32. LaLonde observes that Erdrich prefers "Ojibwe" over the more commonly used "Anishinaabe" because she argues that the term derives from the verb *Ozhibii'ige*, which means "to write."
34. Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 66.
35. Schneider, "Not for Citation," 138.
36. Schneider, 138; emphasis in original.
37. Stirrup, *Picturing Worlds*, 68.
38. Édouard Glissant, *Poetics of Relation*, trans. Betsy Wing (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 189.
39. Dylan Robinson, *Hungry Listening: Resonant Theory for Indigenous Sound Studies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2020), 61. For Indigenous literature as a form of "imagining otherwise," see also Daniel Heath Justice, *Why Indigenous Literatures Matter* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2018), 57.
40. Heid E. Erdrich, "Name': Literary Ancestry as Presence," in *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understanding the World through Stories*, ed. Jill Doerfler, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, and Heidi K. Stark (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2013), 13–34, quotation on 13–14.
41. Heid H. Erdrich, 14.
42. Robert Warrior, *The People and the Word: Reading Native Nonfiction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), xxix.
43. Melissa K. Nelson, "Getting Dirty: The Eco-Eroticism of Women in Indigenous Oral Literatures," in *Critically Sovereign*, ed. Joanne Barker (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017), 229–260, quotation on 232.
44. Nelson, "Getting Dirty," 232.
45. Bamewawagezhikaquay, "Corn Story," in *The Sound the Stars Make Rushing through the Sky: The Writings of Jane Johnston Schoolcraft*, ed. Robert Dale Parker (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 184–88, quotation on 184.
46. Bamewawagezhikaquay, 184.
47. Bamewawagezhikaquay, 185.
48. Bamewawagezhikaquay, 185.
49. Bamewawagezhikaquay, 186.
50. For Barbara McClintock, geneticist of corn, knowing corn required an "intensity . . . of absorption." A scientist "must feel it." See Sharon Bertsch McGrayne, "Barbara McClintock," in *The Sweet Breathing of Plants*, ed. Linda Hogan and Brenda Peterson (New York: North Point Press, 2001), 157–80, quotations on 164.
51. Drew Lopenzina, *Red Ink: Native Americans Picking up the Pen in the Colonial Period* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2012), 5.

52. On Indigenous women and farming, see Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indigenous Prosperity and American: Indian Women of the Ohio River Valley, 1690–1792 Conquest* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018).
53. Robin Wall Kimmerer, *Braiding Sweetgrass: Indigenous Wisdom, Scientific Knowledge, and the Teachings of Plants* (Minneapolis: Milkweed, 2013), 122.
54. J. Gerald Kennedy, ed., *The Life of Black Hawk* (London: Penguin Books, 2008), 50.
55. Bamewawagezhikaquay, “Corn Story,” 186–87.
56. Qtd. in Geniusz, *Our Knowledge*, 15–16.
57. Geniusz, 6 and 95.
58. Jessica Hernandez, *Fresh Banana Leaves: Healing Indigenous Landscapes through Indigenous Science* (Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books, 2022), 59–63.
59. Bamewawagezhikaquay, “Corn Story,” 186.
60. Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), 151.
61. Linda Hogan, *The Woman Who Watches Over the World* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2001), 137.
62. Heid E. Erdrich, “Name’,” 20.
63. Megan Peiser, “Citing Seeds, Citing People: Bibliography and Indigenous Memory, Relations, and Living Knowledge Keepers,” Special Issue: “New Approaches to Critical Bibliography and Material Texts,” ed. Lisa Maruca and Kate Ozment, *Criticism* 64.3-4 (Summer/Fall 2022): 523–31.
64. Bamewawagezhikaquay, “Corn Story,” 187.
65. On the epistemological and ontological separations within settler knowledge systems, see Kathryn Yusoff, *A Billion Black Anthropocenes or None* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018), 3–7; and Elizabeth Povinelli, *Geontologies: A Requiem to Late Liberalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016), 13–15.
66. I draw from Māori poet Robert Sullivan’s point that “Māori knowledge brings many / together to share their passed down wisdom / in person to verify their inheritance,” in *Star Waka* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999), 59. On citing teachers, see also Wendy Geniusz, *Our Knowledge*, xi–xvi.
67. For decolonial bibliography and reading material objects as alive, see Stephanie Fitzgerald, “The Cultural Work of a Mohegan Painted Basket,” in *Early Native Literacies in New England*, ed. Kristina Bross and Hilary E. Wyss (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008), 52–56; Daniel Radus, “Margaret Boyd’s Quillwork History,” *Early American Literature* 53, no. 2 (2018): 513–37; and Caroline Wigginton, “An Indigenous Pipe Bibliography,” in *The Unfinished Book*, ed. Alexandra Gillespie and Deidre Lynch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).
68. In this article, I turn to reading and citation as dynamic processes, drawing from Lisa Brooks’s argument that a “critical concept in the Abenaki language” is “*awik̄higawôgan*,” which she defines as “the activity of writing [and] energy in motion.” For Brooks, “until an *awik̄higawôgan* has taken shape as an instrument, the process of *awik̄higawôgan* is ongoing. . . . I am absorbed in this process now, perhaps you are, too” (xxii). See *The Common Pot: The Recovery of Native Space in the Northeast* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

