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INTRODUCTION

Material Matters

MORE THAN ANY other object, the book takes up the language of the body as well as the mind: as teachers we refer to the “body” paragraph; as critics we acknowledge a shifting literary canon or “corpus”; and as readers we recognize a book’s “face,” hold its “spine,” and pour over its pages populated with typed “characters” made by “type-faces.” It can be no coincidence that the physical features of the book correspond to the physical features of the body; in fact, bibliography commonly labels its descriptions as “book anatomy.” Recalling Foucault’s concept of bodily self-discipline in modernity, reading and writing also teach the body to engage with the printed word in specific disciplinary ways, involving hands, eyes, and body posture. The book, in other words, embodies discipline, power, agency, and control in both physical and imaginary worlds, and it materially carries our humanity, as well as our human stories—from the stains and marginalia of its readers to the socially, culturally, institutionally embedded means of its production.

Book Anatomy theorizes the material connection between books and bodies to argue that the reprints, editions, and paratextual elements of Indigenous books matter: they embody a frontline of colonization in which Indigenous authors battle the public perception and reception of Indigenous books and negotiate the representations of Indigenous bodies.¹ While Daniel Heath Justice offers in *Why Indigenous Literatures Matter* (2018) that Indigenous writings matter for the ways in which they teach readers about past, current, and future relationships, I add that the *materiality* of Indigenous literatures also matters, not only in the transmission of the stories they contain but also as a documentation for the material conditions of Indigenous relationships, corporeal existence, and structures of power. Renée Bergland’s *The National Uncanny* (2000) and Joshua David Bellin’s *The Demon of the Continent* (2001), for example, foreground the power relations at stake

in the presence, or liminal presence, of Indigenous bodies as nationalist textual representations in early American books. Representations of bodies also figure prominently in Indigenous writing, as Native authors struggled to be perceived within American society as living, modern, and embodied intellectuals while using their writing to speak out against injustice. Yet while numerous scholars find the ideas expressed in books to be a source of Indigenous power, I claim books themselves as a source of *embodied* power. Books contain more than corporeal representations and symbolism; whether fiction or nonfiction, books facilitate bodily encounters. Their words invoke bodies as actors of agency and as the inevitable outcome of ideas—words *create* imaginary bodies, and words imaginatively act *upon* bodies of the past, present, and future. As Michelle Coupal, Aubrey Jean Hanson, Sarah Henzi, and many Native literary scholars continue to attest, “stories are inseparable from the sovereignties, bodies, and traditional territories from which they arise,” and as such books act in relationship with, and bear witness to, the material worlds in which they circulate.² Accordingly, my project looks to the book itself and its paratextual elements—its graphic design, illustrations, typefaces, prefaces, appendices, copyright, frontispieces, and so forth—as an embodied expression of print culture power relations.

Paratexts rise as the neglected spaces of Indigenous literature. As mediators of their texts, paratexts speak to the complex nature of the literary marketplace for Indigenous books and attest to what I contend must be the political nature of bibliography, despite, and because of, its historical neglect in the study of marginalized literatures. A book’s textual content might undergo revisions, but paratexts often undergo the most drastic changes over time and between editions, revealing what the Multigraph Collective describes as the “layered sites that bear the traces of ongoing change and of the various interactions they have experienced and enabled—like humans, perhaps.”³ The paratext documents, for example, whether or not an Indigenous writer retained legal copyright, as I discuss in my first chapter with Cherokee author John Rollin Ridge’s *The Life and Adventures of Joaquin Murieta* (1854). An introduction or preface speaks to a text’s reception among readers and the dynamics of the literary marketplace, and changing cover images can reveal the ongoing tensions in marketing Indigenous literary products and representations of Native peoples, as the texts discussed here demonstrate. Rather than mere wrapping, paratexts not only frame the text but signify its meaning.

My research advances book history and bibliography by joining other scholars in revising the field’s relationship to multi-ethnic and Indigenous

literary studies, what Beth McCoy describes as “forging a crucial coalition between bibliographic scholars and those studying the intersections of race, power, and culture.” Bibliography took a cultural turn in the late twentieth century with the aid of D. F. McKenzie’s *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (1985): originally given as a series of lectures, McKenzie urged book history scholars to “consider anew what bibliography is and how it relates to other disciplines,” a consideration that more thoroughly places texts within their cultural, social, and historical contexts. McKenzie reflected upon the paradigm shift that had occurred during his time from the practice of bibliography as a book science concerned with “signs” to the concern of “meaning” in a practice of bibliography as necessarily informed by historical context. Later research such as Round’s *Removable Type* (2010) answers McKenzie’s call to demonstrate the productive application of book history to Indigenous studies, and scholars such as Marcy J. Dinius, Brigitte Fielder and Jonathan Senchyne, Jacqueline Goldsby, Leon Jackson, Kinohi Nishikawa, Dan Radus, and Caroline Wigginton continue to transform the study of books in relation to its negotiations of race and power, inspiring my own scholarship here.⁴ Yet much work remains in fully realizing the relationship between the paratext, book production, and Indigenous authors. My research takes up the interdisciplinary work of conjoining the paratext and body studies with Indigenous literary studies to make the case that Indigenous books themselves embody the marks, traces, and scars of coloniality and survival within Indigenous literary history.

As an example, the surrounding paratextual elements that accompany the published text of *Pretty-shield: Medicine Woman of the Crows* (1932) wage war over representations of Pretty Shield’s body: while the book’s illustrations depict Indigenous women’s bodies in primitivist black-and-white drawings, one of the opening paratextual pages of the book stresses Pretty Shield’s agency over her own body with an inked impression of her thumb and the assertive caption, “I told Sign-talker the things that are in this book, and have signed the paper with my thumb”⁵ (Figure 1). Pretty Shield’s thumbprint marks the text that follows as her own, imprinting her body on the very pages of what could have been an ethnographic exploitation under other circumstances. Pretty Shield draws from her body’s experience not only as a means of sharing her life story, but also as a source of authority, and she inserts an impression of her body as a paratextual element in order to proclaim her authority over the written word.

While the paratext is intended to be the “non-story” of the book, a means to highlight the narrative, it nevertheless tells a story of its own

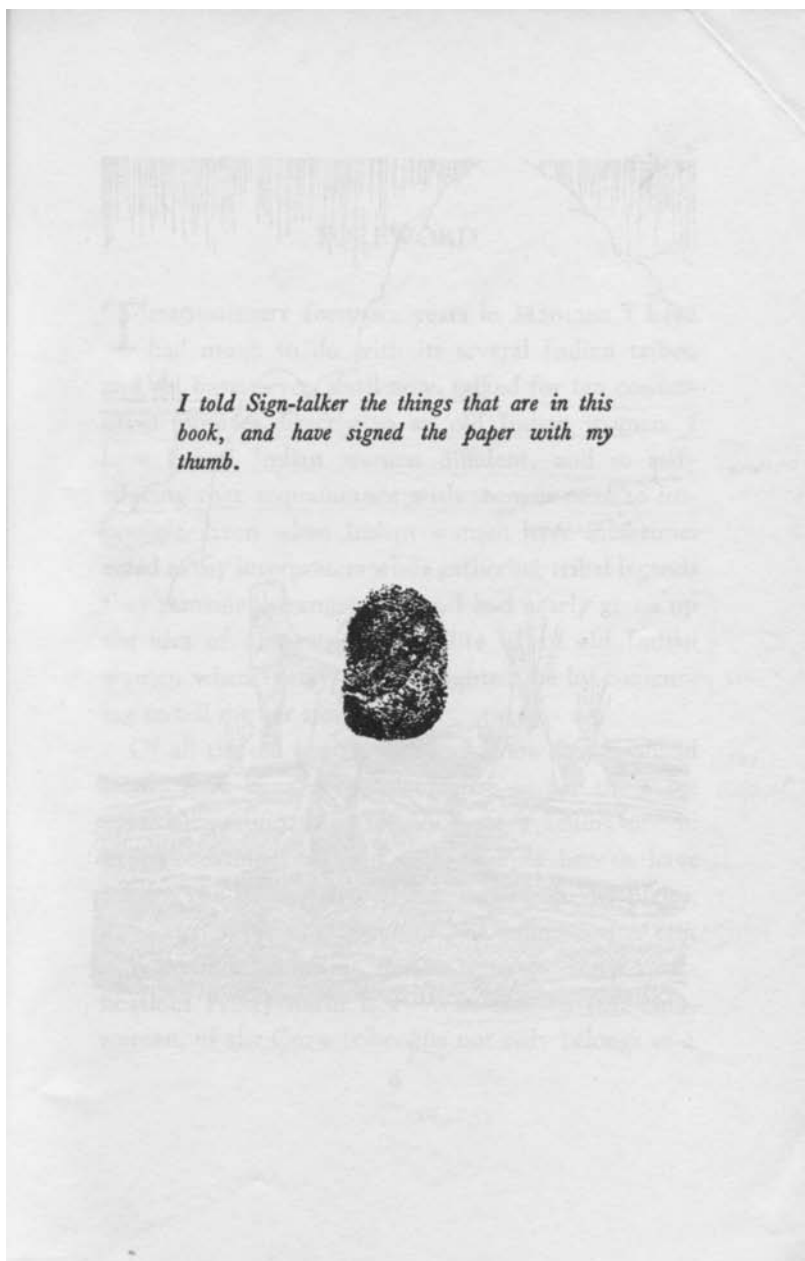


FIGURE 1. Pretty Shield's thumbprint from the 1972 facsimile edition. Author's collection.

that must be present for the narrative to exist. The paratext often remains outside the purview of literary criticism; however, my research joins a growing number of scholars who consider the paratext to hold essential meaning for the interpretation of literature and its historical context, especially in regard to race and gender. John Matthews provides a helpful explanation of the paratext's undervalued function as he writes, "[The frame] is at once outside the reader's field of concentration and the determinant of that field, beneath one's notice yet the foundation of it. By indicating all that is not-the-story, the frame's marginality becomes indispensable to providing the ground which defines the figure of the narrative." Rather than tangential or supplementary elements in relation to the text proper, the paratext provides a critical framing meant to instruct the reader's reception of the text. Elements such as the acknowledgments, foreword, preface, and introduction set the tone of the text and the authority of the author(s). Any of these elements may also imply the text's genre (fiction, nonfiction, scholarly, popular) and, most significantly to my project, the paratext may also signify the author's race or gender. Whatever the combination, paratextual elements initially invite the reader and provide the book's opening overture, functioning as "always that which is first to be passed through or beyond." The paratext thus becomes the reader's first encounter with a text and the reader's first engagement of their imagination, influencing their perception and reception of the narrative. In short, to borrow a term from Butler, the paratext provides "normative constraints" on the text, subtly telling the reader how to interpret and receive it.⁶

In looking to the paratext I examine the mutual negotiations, transactions, and perceptions that took place not only in the moment of print but also in a book's continuing reverberations across time. I do not attempt here a comprehensive study of Indigenous book history during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries: many Indigenous books by authors such as Samson Occom, William Apess, George Copway, Black Hawk, Joseph Nicolai, Gertrude Bonnin, Luther Standing Bear, Mourning Dove, Ella Deloria, Charles Eastman, and John Joseph Matthews, to name a few, do not appear in the following pages. Instead, *Book Anatomy* concentrates on five books published during an era of Native literary history, the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century, that has arguably received relatively less attention in Native literary scholarship than other eras. Each book marks a significant milestone—John Rollin Ridge's *The Life and Adventures of Joaquin Murieta* (1854), Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins's *Life among the Piutes* (1883), and S. Alice

Callahan's *Wynema* (1891) are the first and only books published by their authors, and they each represent some of the first known entries in Indigenous book history, including the first novel (*Murieta*) and the first autobiography and novel published by Native women. The collaboration of Frank Linderman and Pretty Shield, titled *Red Mother* (1932) and later renamed *Pretty-shield*, represents one of the earliest as-told-to narratives of a Native woman that highlights her own words, using quotes in a dialogue format, and it is one of only two books in Native history to include an inked thumbprint. Like Pretty Shield, D'Arcy McNickle's *The Surrounded* (1936) was the first book he ever produced, and while he would go on to publish a young adult novel and several works of nonfiction in his lifetime, his debut novel and its experiments with modernism made a lasting impression on Indigenous book history.⁷

For each book, *Book Anatomy* focuses thematically by chapter on one paratextual element, highlighting one's particular significance in relation to the book's embodiment over time—copyright with Ridge's *Murieta*, blank space with the first entries of Winnemucca and Callahan, Pretty Shield's thumbprint, and footnotes and citations with McNickle's *The Surrounded*. Crucially, each book I examine here also received at least one reprint or second edition, allowing me to examine the paratextual negotiations present not only within one edition but in multiple editions over time. Reprints reveal interlocutions of power and ongoing relationships, and as such the temporal nature of Indigenous reprints invites an accounting. For better or for worse, the paratextual elements of Indigenous books mediate between author and publisher, reader and writer, past and present, and as such they matter, in the sense of both cultural meaning and materiality, as the largely overlooked frameworks of Indigenous literary history.

Although paratexts may be mediated spaces, they also become spaces of readerly interaction that teach us about a text's social and historical relationships. For Indigenous writers, the paratext often presents their bodies for public viewing in association with their status as authors, exemplifying Michael Warner's claim for publication as "a political condition of utterance." Because publication is political, Warner continues, "No one had a relation to linguistic technologies—speaking, reading, writing, and printing—unmediated by such forms of domination as race, gender, and status." As a result, the paratexts studied in *Book Anatomy* often highlight the author's race and historically tie the narratives with ethnography rather than literary art or talent, as I discuss in Chapter Five

with McNickle's *The Surrounded*. For example, the paratexts of Indigenous literary history have often utilized stereotypical images such as a tomahawk or feathers in the book's graphic design, and many included "authenticating" introductions or prefaces from white associates.⁸ Yet other paratextual elements may simultaneously emphasize an Indigenous author's intellectual networks, rhetorical skill, multilingualism, advanced education, and literary talent. Later editions of their works may also display changing social attitudes towards Indigenous writers and document these historic contexts and transformations. Through the paratext, then, readers of Indigenous literature encounter the contested space of the corporeal book.

In the following pages I combine bibliographical analysis with the cultural training and critical analysis of Indigenous literary studies to uphold the value of Indigenous book history as an act of witnessing. *Book Anatomy* stands against what Drew Lopenzina describes as the historic *unwitnessing* of Indigenous literary contributions: their dismissal or disregard, their marginalization, and the concomitant "rhetorically erasing [of] the inconvenient truth of the persistence of Native peoples and their cultures."⁹ *Book Anatomy* also works against the historically ubiquitous Indigenous "deficiency" model, which gives the impression that Native peoples did not produce storied objects, only produced oral literature, or did not write very many books, and probably not in English, until around the 1970s. My book seeks to correct some of that misinformation by tracing the history of Indigenous books well before the misleadingly named Native American Literary Renaissance. Bringing Indigenous book history more firmly into conversations with mainstream narratives about the history of the book, I join the work of previous and ongoing scholarship to counter the "illegibility" of Indigenous achievements in regard to the printed word.

Although the critical witnessing of Indigenous literatures and print culture remains the overall project of Indigenous literary studies, such scholarship faces a new challenge with the advent of twenty-first-century digitization. In the early stages of digitization, many primary records reproduced in electronic form, oftentimes imperfectly, were subsequently deaccessioned by institutions as no longer needed. Printed newspapers, academic journals, and duplicate copies and reprints of books continue to be discarded or undervalued when a single copy or even a sole digital reproduction exists, resulting in a massive reversal in cultural preservation. While institutions must grapple with the persistent and increasing strains of space and funding, books written by Black, Indigenous, and

people of color remain especially at risk: although some of these and other print culture items currently appreciate at a high market value for collectors, the legacy of canonization and the manifestation of white supremacy in library collections already leave behind vastly inequitable material representations.¹⁰ Single copies, first editions, or a digitized edition instead stand in as representational, obscuring the richness and complexities of Indigenous book history as its books reiterate through time and place.

Such practices prompted the MLA to produce a statement in 1995 on the “Significance of Primary Records,” entreating librarians and scholars of the humanities to consider the value of primary documents as irreplaceable and the reproductions as supplementary to archival research and as an incomplete “substitute for the actual physical objects in which those earlier texts were *embodied* at particular times in the past.” Their statement holds even more significance for the emergent field of Indigenous book history, as Miriam Fuchs attests: despite the initial ease of digitization, she cites the potential danger to Indigenous book history when researchers come to rely on digitization without examining the original documents. In the case of Queen Lili’uokalani’s *Hawaii’s Story by Hawaii’s Queen* (1898), which Fuchs describes as Lili’uokalani’s final attempt to intervene in the political process of the United States that forced the abdication of her throne and the overthrow of Hawaiian sovereignty, Fuchs began to examine reproductions of the diary and began to be convinced by the argument of Lorrin A. Thurston, who discredited Lili’uokalani’s authorship. She reflects, “To my regret, the typed copies seemed at first to confirm Thurston’s charge” and only after deciding to examine the highly restricted original volumes of Lili’uokalani’s diaries did she discover that the odd inconsistencies of the entries were due to corrupted reproductions, not Lili’uokalani’s hand.¹¹ Fuchs’s warning reminds scholars of the potential threats, as well as the potential benefits, to Indigenous book history and the political assertions of Indigenous authors from the digitization of Indigenous primary documents, and she implicitly challenges scholars to review the value of print in the midst of digitization. My work answers her call to demonstrate the value of physical copies and reprints to Indigenous literary history and, more broadly, the value of print documents in a digital age.

As the chapters that follow demonstrate, Indigenous literary history remains intertwined within a broader context of American literary production, especially in light of its similar concerns and connections regarding books and bodies. The authors examined here—John Rollin Ridge, Sarah

Winnemucca, S. Alice Callahan, Pretty Shield, and D'Arcy McNickle—did not seek such a separation between literary productions; in fact, they actively sought inclusion into mainstream literary history and readerships in order to join the conversations happening over Indigenous bodies, lands, sovereignty, and human rights. Thus, although the myriad connections between books and bodies begin to make their association look natural and ingrained, the political stakes of their association grow immense. In fact, the “naturalness” of the connection should trigger a critical awareness—as the human body, and specifically the Indigenous body, becomes embedded in the bibliographical object, it reckons with the exploitation of the human subject as an object.

My project rejects the connections between books and bodies as an intellectual exercise divorced from social and political realities. Instead, the trope demands a historical grounding in the nineteenth-century developments of race, challenges readers to probe the boundaries between subject and object, and bridges nineteenth-century with twenty-first-century concerns over changing conceptions of the body as well as the changing technologies and receptions of print. Ultimately, books and bodies provide insight into historical, social, and political movements that impact Indigenous literature and lives. Therefore, through a cultural, historical, and bibliographical examination of Indigenous texts from the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, I demonstrate that the composition of the book testifies to the physical and social violence inflicted upon Indigenous bodies and, in many cases, also creates the space for Indigenous assertions of their bodily sovereignty and bodily experiences under colonization.

Marginalized Bodies and Mediums of Power

Nineteenth-century Indigenous writers did not stand apart from the power of the printed word; rather, they harnessed the skills of reading and writing to produce books that attempted to counter adverse representations and to promote Indigenous communities and advocacy, all the while negotiating the difficult and often prejudicial publishing world. William Apess's autobiography, for instance, continually expresses an alienation of self from body under colonization, and his book testifies to the way in which the construction of “empire was a significantly corporeal process.”¹² As Apess's body and psyche bore the scars of his brutal beating by his grandmother, his poverty, the racial prejudice of his religion, and his indoctrinated childhood fear of Indians,

the editions of his books bear the marks of the colonial encounter of Indigenous stories in the mainstream marketplace: for example, his first edition vehemently accuses the Methodist Episcopal Church of refusing his ordination due to racial prejudice, while his second edition edits out his accusations as “parts which some persons deemed objectionable.”¹³ As Barry O’Connell documents, the differences between Apress’s editions bring to the fore tensions of power and voice in American society and letters, and his social scars and their healing transfer to the page as they become embodied within the material manifestation of his life story.¹⁴ As such, *Book Anatomy* advances beyond Indigenous representations in texts to stress the work of empire as a corporeal process: while colonialization most evidently and immediately attempted to control bodies through the violence of war, enslavement, genocide, gender roles and binaries, and assimilation, it also attempted to control bodily sovereignty through the cultural work of the embodied book.

The book—more generally, reading and writing—was conceived as a medium of power for those with socially designated bodies. Colonization inflicted oppression upon certain types of bodies, and its agents enlisted paper as the means to do so—empirical proclamations of “discovery,” treaties, laws and legal documents, slave advertisements, wanted notices, and the popular press. As Sandra Gustafson summarizes, European intellectuals created a hierarchical distinction between written and oral literacy, and they enforced their distinction to justify the oppression and persecution of colonized subjects. “Producing Western literacy as a technology of power,” she writes, “many European colonialists perceived the lack of alphabetic writing as a fundamental cultural inadequacy that justified the enslavement of Africans and the domination of Native American peoples.” While enslaved African Americans were legally prevented from reading and writing, and by extension, owning books, they were concomitantly prevented from legally owning bodies, having a right to their own or those of their family. In contrast, from first contact Indigenous peoples were not only encouraged, but forced, to learn to read and write in English as a means of assimilating and thus “disappearing” the bodies of those who had sovereign rights to the land. As one example, after the Pequot War of 1636–37 in which American settler colonials burned alive, slaughtered, and beheaded a staggering number of Pequot men, women, and children, the 1638 Treaty of Hartford attempted to use the colonial power of paper to destroy the existence of the Pequot Nation by forbidding any official recognition of their continued existence and the use of their name on any documents. Many

remaining Pequot survivors were sold into slavery within settler colonial families, and any Pequot runaways who were caught were branded on the shoulder to safeguard against further runaway attempts.¹⁵ The colonial encounter traumatized bodies, set them at war with one another, and indelibly scarred them, all while using paper as an attempted means to destroy tribal sovereignty and Indigenous personhood.

While the power of the popular press may seem to pale in comparison to the impact legal documents may have upon the body, the ubiquitous popular press crafted the imagination, sentiment, and political movements of nineteenth-century American society, which in turn directed the treatment of bodies. In this light, the power of books in general, including captivity narratives, historical romances, sentimental novels, and dime novels, cannot be underestimated. For example, Francis Meynell's book *Typography* (1923) begins with an introduction titled, "With Twenty-Five Soldiers of Lead I Have Conquered the World," a quote that he claims is French in origin and refers to movable type. His title speaks to the power of the printed word in the implementation of colonization, a claim that Febvre and Martin repeat in their foundational contribution to the field of book history as they assert that their primary aim is "to prove that the printed book was one of the most effective means of mastery over the whole world." These provocative statements position the book not only as a method of colonization, but simultaneously as a material manifestation of Indigenous resistance against systemic oppression. Indigenous authors are well aware of the connection between books and colonization: as Vine Deloria famously stated, "when they arrived they had only the Book and we had the land; now we have the book and they have the land."¹⁶ Not only, then, does the materiality of books connect to physical bodies, but books also contain an immense political influence upon the treatment of bodies and the extended physical world.

When Native peoples utilized print materials in their anticolonial struggle, they did so by, to use Warner's phrase, "implicitly locating power on different grounds." This did not necessarily entail an abandonment or assimilation of Native traditions, but a bold engagement in a battle that was not created on their terms. Put another way, when Indigenous authors published, they neither replaced nor undermined Indigenous oral literature and other Indigenous literary aesthetics; rather, they added another venue, one that was neither more nor less authentic, to the already prolific options for Indigenous communication. Yet the printed word simultaneously promotes and erases expressions

of power, a process Indigenous writers grappled with as they published into mainstream American literary production, a realm designated as white. In *The Letters of the Republic* (1990), Warner describes the establishment of printing in America as a process that incorporated readers into a system of ownership over book property that intended conceptually to block or limit literary access for nonwhite citizens, especially enslaved Black (who, designated as property, could not own property themselves) and Native peoples (who, designated as participants in oral cultures, could not have a “literary” tradition).¹⁷ Books became key players in the process of the “racialization of print,” which Joseph Rezek describes as “the centuries-long, non-inevitable procedure through which printed objects became powerfully associated with white supremacy and ideologies of racial hierarchy.” The ability of white writers to produce literature acted as a characteristic of white identity that inducted individuals into higher education, defined them as civilized Christians, and became their ticket into white power and the concerns of a white community.¹⁸ Race often dictated who could access the privilege of writing, whose writing became published, how the publication became marketed and to whom, whose writing became canonized, and who could read it. In short, as Warner puts it, “to do reading was a way of being white” and of establishing white supremacy in what Lauren Berlant identifies as the “anatomy of national fantasy.”¹⁹ By publishing, Native authors gained access to power but also contended with the book’s embedded associations of whiteness.

While bodies and literary publishing became embedded within white supremacy, I follow the lead of other scholars in referring to the operation of whiteness at the level of power. As John Young explains in *Black Writers, White Publishers: Marketplace Politics in Twentieth-Century African American Literature* (2006), scholars should proceed cautiously with generalizations about marginalized authors in the white-dominated American literary marketplace, for to paint a picture of “oppressive white editors and publishers and ultimately powerless black authors would be both simplistic and inaccurate.” Publishing a book is not a “black and white” undertaking—rather, to use Michaël Roy’s description, publication is a “product of ‘gray’ interactions that took place outside the pages of the printed book and that, for that reason, are hard to reconstruct.”²⁰ Similarly, I maintain that we should not understand Indigenous authors as powerless in the production of their books or their editors as singularly oppressive. Rather, my project seeks to parse through the complex relationships revealed through the paratextual pages of Indigenous

book history, relationships that do not offer up simplistic understandings of resistance and oppression but instead reveal nuanced interactions of strategy, collaboration, and negotiation.

The racialization of print in the American literary marketplace reflects only one facet of white supremacy. As the operation of racism at work in society, the intensity to mark bodies of difference exposes an underlying anxiety of whiteness and the push to establish white, especially male, bodies as “normal,” the unmarked standard explicitly established through anatomical charts and textbooks and implicitly established through the discourse and the act of marking others. In other words, as Jennifer Putzi asserts, “the white male attempts to escape or conceal his own marked body by marking another, by *making an other* out of a noncitizen, a nonperson.” To mark bodies of difference, either on the physical body with letters or symbols or through the printed word, perpetrates an act of objectification. Rendering someone or something as an object politically promotes its loss of agency and sentience. In other words, objectifying forms of life limits their qualitative value and makes them disposable. Yet ironically, whiteness also acts as a means of objectification in spite of its attendant white privilege, for, as Cheryl Harris argues, the American legal system “converted an aspect of identity into an external object of property, moving whiteness from privileged identity to a vested interest.”²¹ Therefore, whiteness as a property to be possessed objectifies one’s body, as well as the bodies of others, and adds another layer of complexity to the tension between humans and objects.

The slippage between physical subject and material object comes in part from the uncertain categorization of the human body itself. Are we our bodies, the most intimate and tangible evidence of our being? Or do we transcend our bodies, relegating the body as an important but mere container for our personhood? Ultimately, is the body itself a subject or an object, and what might be the political implications of our answer? These questions hold foundational implications on all levels of our existence—political, spiritual, material, ontological—and have often been used as a means to create hierarchies, to deem some human and animal bodies as expendable, and to disenfranchise. Elizabeth Grosz’s *Volatile Bodies* (1994) summarizes the difficulty of the body’s categorization between subject and object as she writes:

The body is a most peculiar “thing,” for it is never quite reducible to being merely a thing; nor does it ever quite manage to rise above the status of

thing. Thus it is both a thing and a nonthing, an object, but an object which somehow contains or coexists with an interiority, an object able to take itself and others as subjects, a unique kind of object not reducible to other objects. . . . If bodies are objects or thing, they are like no others, for they are the centers of perspective, insight, reflection, desire, and agency.

Her insights of the body as both a thing and a nonthing applies to the special status of the book, the uniquely endowed object invested with our cultural records. Yet the problematic implications of the book and the body's special status come to light through the course of human history and the ways in which society deploys these special entities in relationships to each other. As Jean Bethke Elshtain and J. Timothy Cloyd point out, "We are never *not* our bodies. But we neither own our bodies nor are they simply our own. From birth, indeed well before birth, our bodies are entangled with those of other bodies that, for better or for worse, help to make our body-self what it is, what it becomes, what it may remain."²² As the entity through which one constructs a personhood or an individuality, bodies embed us in society, and in turn, society constructs the body in relationship to itself and to other bodies.

As increasingly racialized subjects, nineteenth-century Indigenous and other marginalized peoples experienced an acute awareness of their bodies as "the epicenter of political conflict."²³ Print culture portrayed Indigenous peoples in hyper-corporeal ways—their physical strength and resilience, their sexuality, their "savagery" apart from the body-disciplining ways of European societies, and the "exotic" manifestations of culture on their bodies (piercings, tattoos, head and hair shapings, etc.). Perhaps the most famous example of an exoticized Indigenous body occurs within Melville's *Moby-Dick*, as the enigmatic Queequeg displays Polynesian tattoos all over his body, tattoos that Birgit Brander Rasmussen points out as illegible to Ishmael but literate to Queequeg himself.²⁴ Drew Lopenzina also cites the trauma that alphabetic literacy inflicted upon Native bodies during the practice of branding enslaved Native peoples. He writes,

But the Natives of New Spain were indoctrinated into alphabetic literacy by having it burned into their very flesh, an inscription of their condition of servitude that could not be erased, even as ownership changed hands and new inscriptions were added on top of the old making a palimpsest of Native flesh. The European letter manifested itself as trauma. The marks of alphabetic literacy, seared on the skin, must have appeared as a sign of

contagion, a virulent reinscribing of identity transcendent of the mere scars on the surface.²⁵

Yet for Indigenous peoples, and for many marginalized groups, the act of authorship became one way in which to assert their humanity and self-advocacy in a society that attempted to categorize their bodies as inferior or subordinate, as nonhuman or subhuman, as savage, or as “three-fifths” of a human being. Flying in the face of these racisms, books evinced logic, reason, artful rhetorical articulation, the full range of human emotions, and the author’s authority over their own narratives. In other words, the act of writing oneself into subjectivity in many cases comes ironically through the object of the book and other forms of the printed word.

The language of “book anatomy” reflects a long cultural investment in the link between books and bodies. The bibliographical terms of spine, appendix, header, and footnote permeate the book with human endowments, but they also reflect the significant social and material reality of books as made out of the bodies of plants, animals, and sometimes even other humans, as Sarah Key’s *Animal Skins and the Reading Self* (2017), Joshua Calhoun’s *The Nature of the Page* (2020), and Megan Rosenbloom’s *Dark Archives: A Librarian’s Investigation into the Science and History of Books Bound in Human Skin* (2020) provocatively evaluate.²⁶ Many have considered the book to extend the life of the human body beyond the grave, and we may even expect books to do what bodies cannot: “transcend the invisible forces of time and distance and death.”²⁷ Simultaneously, what Andrew Piper identifies as the “tremendous cultural investment in the corporeal identity of the book” falls back on the faulty ability to “read” the human body, which often rested on false assumptions of race and ability.²⁸ Taken together, the paratextual examination of Indigenous books across editions remains long overdue for its potential to speak to the multifaceted relationships embodied within Indigenous book history. My project contributes to the scholarly knowledge of Indigenous literary production during the long nineteenth century, speaks to contemporary debates over the value of print, connects Indigenous literary production to colonization’s persecution of bodies, and sets the stage for the later outpouring of Indigenous literature in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

The Paratextual Condition of Indigenous Book History

Book Anatomy concentrates on Indigenous prose narratives written in English and published as books between 1854 and 1936, a timeframe

that spans nearly one hundred years of changing attitudes toward Indigenous bodies during the simultaneous epoch of print culture. The nineteenth century witnessed some of the earliest Indigenous writers in English, and it includes some of the most intense years of Indigenous history under colonization—bedrock decisions of federal Indian law and policy, removal, boarding schools, reorganization, chronic war, and by acreage the greatest land loss. As such, I emphasize early Indigenous authors as founders, not forerunners, of Indigenous written literature. In addition, the long nineteenth century fixated on the body as a site of difference, experimentation, and proof of an innate hierarchy, to which “scientific” movements such as phrenology attest. In the midst of widespread and diverse debates on the body, American society enlisted print culture as a key means of corporeal persecution. In particular, Indigenous women bore the brunt of hyper-corporeality: for example, in the midst of Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins’s literary and political circuit in Washington, D.C., that hoped to influence the U.S. legislative session in favor of Native rights, two regional newspapers attacked her physical appearance by describing her as stunted in stature with unwashed hair, mud-encrusted feet, and “scales of greasy dirt” on her face from which they pretended to calculate her age.²⁹ Thus not only does the era represent a crucial time frame for Indigenous literary production and book history, it also contains vital context for the way Indigenous books battle both political and corporeal representations.

By focusing exclusively on the book, I acknowledge that I focus on Indigenous authors who had privileged access to certain forms of social, cultural, and/or financial power that enabled the longer form rather than those who published in the often more immediately accessible newspapers, magazines, and other mediums of print culture. Early Indigenous writers engaged much more frequently in newspaper and magazine print culture than book publication, in addition to the numerous types of communication media across Indian country. I also position my project in a different direction than other Indigenous literary scholarship of the long nineteenth century that have brokered new perspectives on the relationships created by print culture and other media, such as Lisa Brooks’s *The Common Pot* (2008) and *Our Beloved Kin* (2019), Matt Cohen’s *The Networked Wilderness* (2009), Jean O’Brien’s *Firsting and Lasting* (2010), Drew Lopenzina’s *Red Ink* (2012), Cari Carpenter and Carolyn Sorisio’s *The Newspaper Warrior* (2015), and Jacqueline Emery’s *Recovering Native American Writings in the Boarding School Press* (2017). This cluster of recent scholarship paves the way in reconsidering early settler colonial

and Indigenous exchanges through the printed word, for as Cohen suggests, “If Natives and English were both oral and inscribing peoples, then they constituted each others’ audiences in ways scholars have only begun to consider.” My project supplements these scholarly movements in finding print culture broadly as an important yet still underdeveloped locus through which to decipher the impact of the printed word on Indigenous lives. Newspapers, too, are meant to interact with the body and represent a crucial medium of Indigenous literary history, one that scholars such as Robert Dale Parker, Carpenter, Sorisio, and many others labor to reveal. Nor do I wish to imply that Indigenous books “spontaneously enter[ed] into print” as isolated events, as Carpenter and Sorisio rightly critique.³⁰ Rather, books speak in relation to each other as well as many other forms of Native communication. Moving, within, behind, and in front of nineteenth-century Indigenous books were broader Indigenous print cultures and storied media that Indigenous studies scholars continue to put forward in ways that reinvigorate, reexamine, and remap the field.

However, the relative infrequency of early Indigenous books should lend greater weight to those that do appear, as they represent milestones in Indigenous literature. The racial, cultural, and literary breakthrough publications accomplished by these Indigenous authors deserve special recognition, especially as many perceive there to be a dearth of Native literature before 1970.³¹ Yet I address Indigenous literary firsts with several factors under advisement: the archival turn of the last several decades in Indigenous literary studies led to the recovery of many of these texts, which cautions us to the ever-changing nature of any literary canon. The field of Indigenous literary studies continues to see tremendous growth in the recovery of all manner and material of Indigenous literature, and I anticipate that what the field now identifies as a “first” may very well change in the coming years.³² However, the limitations of the field’s current knowledge do not diminish the importance of the texts I examine, whether or not they had precedents. I welcome the coming scholarship that may upend any of the current milestones of the known book history, and I see such future recoveries as strengthening and complementing my current endeavors.

My research remains indebted to two foundational works of scholarship: Round’s *Removable Type: Histories of the Book in Indian Country, 1663–1880* (2010) and McCoy’s “Race and the (Para)Textual Condition” (2006). Round’s work surveys the development and importance of Indigenous books and print culture, tracing the power relations enabled

through Indigenous deployments of the written word. *Book Anatomy* parallels Round's book in its focus on Indigenous-authored writings during a similar timespan, but my research focuses on the book specifically rather than print culture broadly. My work also inserts the body as a crucial component in the discussion of Indigenous book history and offers one of the first examinations of paratextual elements as a means of understanding Indigenous book production, marketing, and reception. McCoy's article draws upon Gérard Genette's *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (1987, English translation 1997) in which he invents the term and exhaustively lists its elements, yet McCoy departs from Genette's evaluation of the paratext as ancillary, a "spatial servant" to the text itself, to argue that "its marginal spaces and places have functioned centrally as a zone transacting ever-changing modes of white domination and of resistance to that domination." Furthermore, she claims, "the American spatial imaginary, after all, still understands white domination almost solely as a series of public, bodily, and, indeed, *textualized* confrontations between white and black. Yet careful attention to texts by and about African Americans challenges this understanding and reveals the hidden, indirect, and *paratextualized* forces impelling and complicating those confrontations."³³ While McCoy focuses exclusively on African American cultural production, I position my scholarship in relation to Indigenous book history and its cultural negotiations over the embodied book.

Chapter by chapter, my project begins with John Rollin Ridge's *The Life and Adventures of Joaquín Murieta* (1854), a book that opens the door to ongoing issues of the printed word, disembodiment, and dispossession within a crucial turning point in nineteenth-century American history. Ridge's novel, which holds the distinction of being the first known novel to be published by a Native man, records a riveting publication history of plagiarism, copyright, and property rights for both Ridge as a Native author and for Indigenous nations during an era of removal and dispossession. Despite Ridge's protests in his author's preface of a later edition, his literary property became appropriated with impunity for over one hundred years after his original publication, at the same time that the property rights of land and labor for the Cherokee Nation, for Mexican Americans, and for California tribal nations also experienced illegal seizure. The multiple editions and plagiarisms of *Murieta* contain paratextual elements that work to alienate or dispossess the author from his novel, and they speak to the difficulties the author of the first known Native American novel encountered when joining the literary marketplace.

My second chapter looks at the political use of blank space in book production, taking up the first two books authored by Indigenous women writers, Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins's autobiography *Life among the Piutes* (1883) and S. Alice Callahan's novel *Wynema: A Child of the Forest* (1891). I begin with the significance of blank space in Indigenous history, often used on colonial maps as an erasure of Native bodies and nations, and then look specifically at the way Indigenous female authors work from within the double-bind of race and gender to repurpose blank space not as erasure but as an invitation to their readers for reflection and alliance. Indigenous women writers faced even greater obstacles on the path to book publication, as evinced by their late entry in the mainstream literary marketplace. Appearing over one hundred years after the first book and over fifty years after the first autobiography published by Indigenous men, Winnemucca's autobiography chronicles not only her activism during the U.S.–Paiute conflict, but also her negotiations to publish within the American literary marketplace. As the first novel published by a Native woman, Callahan's *Wynema* follows soon after to engage with the sentimental genre and record the horrors of genocide. The book history of Indigenous women writers reflects their struggles, under patriarchy and white supremacy, to enter into and control the dominant discourses representing their bodies, and I argue that the authors utilize the blank spaces of their books to work toward a spatial justice in reclaiming lands and bodies.

The subject of my third chapter, *Pretty-shield: Medicine Woman of the Crows* (1932), features a thumbprint in its opening pages that Pretty Shield uses to assert both the veracity of the text and her agency over her body in telling her “woman's story.” The marketing, reprinting, reception, and royalties of her narrative may have escaped Pretty Shield's control, but her paratextual thumbprint claims ownership over the text that follows in order to remind readers of her agency. Through the contemporary critical reframing of Native autobiographies, I seek to advance the current autobiographical criticism by conceiving of the paratextual elements in Pretty Shield's life narrative as contested and negotiated bibliographical territory. As such, I offer a theoretical framework that connects spatial theories of the American West to the materiality of the book and argue that the paratextual elements of *Pretty-shield* shine new light on debates over the text's production when examined as a bibliographical territory in which bodies collaborate, battle for agency, and forge new relationships.

Lastly, D'Arcy McNickle's *The Surrounded* (1936) challenges the white gaze through its covers, footnotes, epigraph, and other paratextual

elements. Aligning the reader's perspective with a white ethnographic and tourist gaze, McNickle's novel challenges the visual and literary consumption of Native bodies and cultures perpetuated by the twentieth-century tourism of the American Southwest and the rise of primitive modernism. McNickle sought trade presses for his books and published in other national literary venues, urging his mainstream audience of non-Native readers to revise their stereotypes of Indians and reminding them that their perceptions of Native peoples come almost exclusively from Euroamerican rather than Native perspectives. Reinforced by paratextual elements that situate the novel uneasily within ethnographic literature and revise ethnography's citational relations, the narrative of *The Surrounded* redirects the white ethnographic gaze by exposing its failures of vision.

My conclusion extends my analysis into the advent of digitization and its implications for nineteenth-century Indigenous book history scholarship. The process of digitization continues to jeopardize the print record when it is viewed as a replacement for, not a supplement to, the printed word. As a result, the cultural legacy of Indigenous books, not to mention Indigenous print culture broadly and the print culture of other disenfranchised communities, becomes exponentially precarious due to their already underrepresented preservation. Moreover, digitization often neglects to process and make accessible more than one copy or even edition, which then hinders or prevents the comparison of paratextual elements and the work of Indigenous book history itself. I caution against the continuation of these practices, cite ongoing concerns of accessibility and preservation within digitization, and advocate for the future of Indigenous book history.