The Frontier Is Our Home

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The contemporary American city is often represented as a frontier. From the vast literature on the imaginal place, the frontier, three themes are addressed that reveal the power of the imaginal in making and subverting places. First, the frontier was invented rather than discovered, and second, it is the landscape for sanctioned violence. The third theme is the reminder that the space on which the frontier is enacted, whether the wild West or urban America, is and always has been someone's home. It is this masked aspect, frontier as home, that offers a standpoint of resistance and hope for our cities.

THE IMAGINAL PLACE OF THE FRONTIER IS AN enduring and powerful myth that is critical to the history of the Americas and Europe. The idea of and shifting beliefs about this imaginal place not only have been enacted in the settlement of the Americas, but are evident today in many ways: in our attitudes about land, community, and adult responsibility, in our space program and the practice of international politics, and in daily experiences of the media, advertisements, fashion, film, and fiction.[1] Furthermore, the imaginal place of the frontier continues to shape our thinking about material places in the United States—places like the city. The underlying structure of imaginal places is not excluded from our daily world making; on the contrary, "Imagination is, after all, an intensely practical activity."[2]

The imaginal, conceptual, and material aspects of the world overlay and intersect one another to construct, structure, and interpret the world in which we live.[3] We live not only in a physical, material world, but in a world structured by our ideas of it and our fantasies about it.[4] In this way, a powerful imaginal construct frames what we understand to be the world around us; indeed, the imaginal at times is confused with the world underfoot, in front of our faces, and over our heads. An imaginal place often embraces multiple and contradictory knowledges of the world, permitting them to exist simultaneously. This is demonstrated in the conflicting myths of the frontier: It is sometimes represented as a garden receptive to the cultivation and the husbandry of new settlers, and sometimes as a savage wilderness in mortal battle with human beings.[5] The frontier, like many imaginal places, can be more than one thing because the imaginal does not give us a truth, but a context of imaginative possibility. Annette Kolodny writes that imaginal fictions "represent symbolic forms (often repressed or unconscious) that clarify, codify, organize, explain, or even lead us to anticipate the raw data of experience. In that sense, fantasy may be mediating or integrative, forging imaginative (and imaginable) links between our deepest psychic needs and the world in which we find ourselves."[6]

In this paper, I wish to explore some aspects of the imaginal place, the frontier, as they relate to another imaginal place: the city. In the United States, the city is increasingly represented as a frontier, a place where self-reliant and vigilant cops combat "outlaws" and "savages" and where courageous and righteous urban pioneers risk settlement in the landscape of violence and otherness. In an attempt to understand this pervasive imagery, I will try to uncover the idea of frontier and the ways in which it is overlaid on the city. Although the world today demands new ways of thinking and being, we continue to replicate the dominant themes of the frontier. Until we are aware of the power of this imaginal place to frame the contemporary American urban context, we appear destined to reproduce it—to the detriment of our cities and the people who inhabit them.

From the extensive scholarly and fictional literature on the American frontier, I have selected a few aspects that reveal the power of the imaginal in making and subverting places.[7] First, the frontier (the New World, the wild West, the city, or outer space) is an invention rather than a description of any place. Its emergence as a dominant mythic structure since the European settlement of the Americas is an important fiction for the national psyche. Second, the myth of the frontier both reveals and conceals a landscape for sanctioned violence, a place to express conquest and domination. Third, the same space on which the frontier is enacted is and always has been someone's home. It is this masked aspect, the frontier as home, that offers a standpoint of resistance to the dominant imaginal place.

If the United States as a people decides that it does want to live in and love its cities, it will be necessary to uncover and dissect the imaginal places and ideas that currently mask and deny other imaginal places—places like community and home. It is my hope that doing imaginal work on the frontier and the city as frontier will reveal the ways that we repress our relationship with the city and will suggest new constructions of imaginal fictions that will make it possible to inhabit the city as a place of dwelling.[8]

Inventing and Representing the Frontier

The frontier was invented, not discovered. The idea has been expanded, transformed, and modified over the last four hundred years to accommodate changing cultural requirements for its meaning and to respond to the transforming material world.[9] The very earliest writings of New World explorers spoke of a paradise, a garden. They often used the language of a receptive woman who welcomed the new masters into her bounteousness, a nurturing mother who would endlessly provide. Alongside this maternal image was one of the virginal

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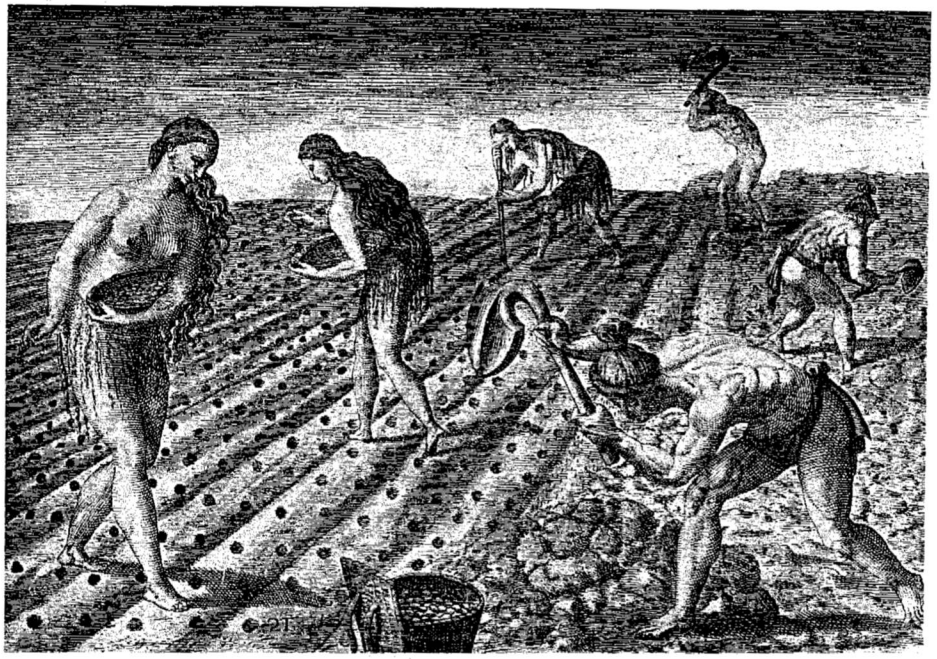
young Indian maiden greeting the white male arrivals with open arms and loving kindness.[10] In this representation of the frontier, the New World was seen as already full and eager to meet the demands and desires of the new discoverers (Figure 1).

However, the frontier was also seen as a wilderness, as an uncivilized and violent place that needed to be filled with the superior European culture and the Christian religion. It was represented as inhospitable and alien, often filled with strange and unholy creatures. It was incomplete as it existed and was therefore in need of the civilizing forces of the Old World. That the frontier embraced contradictory images—fertile and harsh—sustained different needs of the immigrants, who were desperately trying to justify the leaving of the Old World for the new and unknown land and, at the same time, were confronting the underlying fear of the endless, dark forests and the people who greeted them at their arrival. Further, the garden image reflects cultural ambivalence toward both the maternal and virginal images, which were used as metaphors for the new land as paradise. The landscape might be represented as the mother who provides, yet she also can smother, and the virgin land invites rape or, at least, seduction and impregnation. The expansive myth of the frontier imaginally facilitated the settlement of the entire continent by luring people into its generous arms, its forever green grasses on the other side of the mountain; at the same time, its uncivilized aspect justified the brutal conquest that marked the settlement of this land.

One very important aspect of the frontier imagination is that it was not created primarily by people who actually moved into and settled the Americas, but by people outside the frontier—in Europe and on the East Coast of the United States. Many of these writers had never visited the land described by their writings or had spent only a brief time on the shifting edge of the frontier. The frontier was created by the media of the day—fiction writers, essayists, artists, and promoters—both those anxious to sell property and those wrestling with the emergence of the American consciousness.[11] The frontier was the textual field on which Europeans and later Easterners explored issues of concern to them in a creative and figurative sense. Perhaps one of the reasons the frontier as an imaginal place is so fertile and rich, and at the same time so illusory and slippery, is that it is not grounded primarily in the experience of people who struggled and lived in these places at the edge of the forest, the deserts, mountains, or prairies, but by those outside who imagined what life might be like.



1. Image of a welcoming New World as a land of plenty tended by scantily clad fair-haired natives. This engraving from the sixteenth century was based on a watercolor by John White, who had been governor of Roanoke in 1587. Theodor de Bray Europeanized the Native Americans for his audience. Plate XXI from Theodor de Bray, *America*, Part II (Franfurt am Main, 1591). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University.

The mythic story of the frontier lured many to the New World and across the continent for four centuries of white settlement. Yet the image of the frontier as generous garden was often tragically different from the lived experience of the people who actually moved into and settled the place called frontier. Settlers with high expectations of fertile bounty met with heartbreaking reality and unending labor. This gap does not undercut the power of the myth; rather, it demonstrates its power. "The fact that a fantasy is frustrated by intractable realities does not mean it loses either force or vitality. In the face of a disappointing daily reality, fantasy may still continue to link us to the possibilities of our world."[12] The world into which the settlers moved was filled not only with toil,

vision, and view cult films like *Blade Runner* or *Brazil.* If exceptionally brave, some suburbanites may participate in the city as tourists, transgressing into the wild zone as a way of recapturing a sense of youth and vitality. Those few who are willing to move in and settle in the city are viewed as pioneers. "Newspapers habitually extol the courage of urban homesteaders, the adventurous spirit and rugged individualism of new settlers, brave pioneers, presumably going where no (white) man has ever gone before."[15]

The frontier, whether it refers to the American continent (Europe's frontier) or the wild West (the frontier of the East Coast), has been the conscious invention of a people concerned with the making of a collective identity to separate the New World from the Old, and the new settlers from the heathen Indians.[16] It has been argued that in the absence of a long shared history, traditions are often invented for purposes of distinction. In the case of the United States, the creation of a unique history emerged in part from the material culture that developed in response to the new land and peoples; this invented tradition was greatly facilitated by the proliferation of widely diffused forms of communication and mass media.[17] The tradition of the frontier as a driving force for the country served national purposes well. It was a vision that empowered millions of former Europeans (and later Asians) to march into an unknown land to make it theirs. It also offered a veil that shadowed and recast the brutality of that same act.

The frontier has captured and sustained the American psyche; it is our myth, our collective history. We have never let it disappear but have constantly dislocated and relocated it into new realms, new discourses, and new places. But why the city? What purposes are served by reinventing and representing the city as frontier? Who are the actors, and what is rendered invisible?

4. Image depicting the slaughter of native people as the triumph of good over evil. "A Magnificent Charge," illustration in William F. Cody, *The Life and Adventures of Buffalo Bill* (New York, 1927). Courtesy of the Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

The Landscape of Sanctioned Violence

In American mythogenesis the founding fathers were . . . those who . . . tore violently a nation from the implacable and opulent wilderness—the rogues, adventurers, and landboomers; the Indian fighters, traders, missionaries, explorers, and hunters who killed and were killed until they had mastered the wilderness; the settlers who came after, suffering hardship and Indian warfare for the sake of a sacred mission or a simple desire for land.[18]

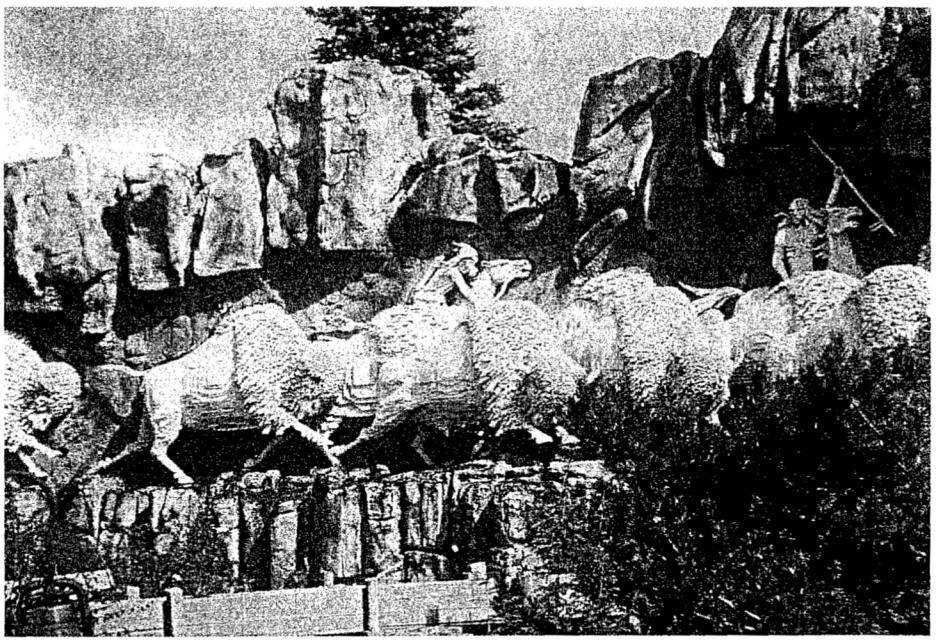
The frontier has always been a land belonging to strong, often solitary men of will who are intent on transforming it through rituals of violence and the power of their intimacy with the dark forests, the open range, or the mean streets. In the settlement of the Americas in which heroes were pictured as representatives of godly civilizations and the Indians as uncivilized heathens, acts of violence and conquest were transformed into a holy mission, the American version of the mythic struggle of good and evil (Figure 4). The apparently contradictory myths of the garden and wilderness both served the purpose of justifying the means by which the American continent was transformed: "The myth of the garden . . . attempts to hide the American legacy of violence, and the myth of the frontier . . . celebrates it."[19]

The new Adam rode into the frontier in many guises. Among the most compelling early heroes were the hunters and Indian fighters portrayed by John Filson's Daniel Boone, Natty Bumppo of James Fenimore Cooper's *Leatherstocking* novels, or characters from the popular novels of Zane Grey. Later, it was the western cowboy from Louis L'Amour, the Lone Ranger, Wyatt Earp, and the Cartwright men of the television series "Ponderosa" who captured the hearts of America. John Wayne and Clint Eastwood in their various roles repre-

through property ownership.[21] The material land of the new continent—the forests, the prairies, the people—became the canvas on which the imaginal world of the frontier was painted, rendering the physical landscape and inhabitants invisible.

What happens to real cities when our dominant images are of the city as frontier? The city, like the old West, becomes a field, an empty landscape on which the heroes and the lawless battle—not so much for territory as for a sense of themselves. An examination of the way in which the frontier has worked in our culture suggests that the real city—Detroit, Buffalo, Sioux City, San Francisco, Washington, D.C.—is somehow irrelevant and inconsequential: only a stage set for the cosmic drama of good and evil. The city becomes not a place of dwelling, but the backdrop for the American myth of "regeneration through violence."[22] This is not to suggest that the space of the city is not critical to our experience of this imaginal landscape, only that the material world that is the city is overlayed, and at times supplanted by the imaginal one.

Because people and cultures become dependent on their imaginal worlds and landscapes, they find ways to reenact and thereby justify them. Children all over the world play cowboys and Indians (or cops and robbers), and the frontier is the imaginal landscape of much science fiction literature, film, and television, whether located in the future, on another planet, in a wilderness, or in the city.[23] There appear to be at least two ways in which the imaginal place of frontier/city as the location of violence is maintained: (1) through the domestication of it and (2) through the sequestration and preservation of it in a safe and distant place. Both of these processes—domestication and sequestration—continue to hide one of the major underlying themes of the frontier, that of the role of land, capital, and profit.



6. Image of the frontier as part of the landscape theme at Legoland, Biland, Denmark. The frontier scene of Indians chasing buffalo is constructed in Legos. Photo by author.

Domestication

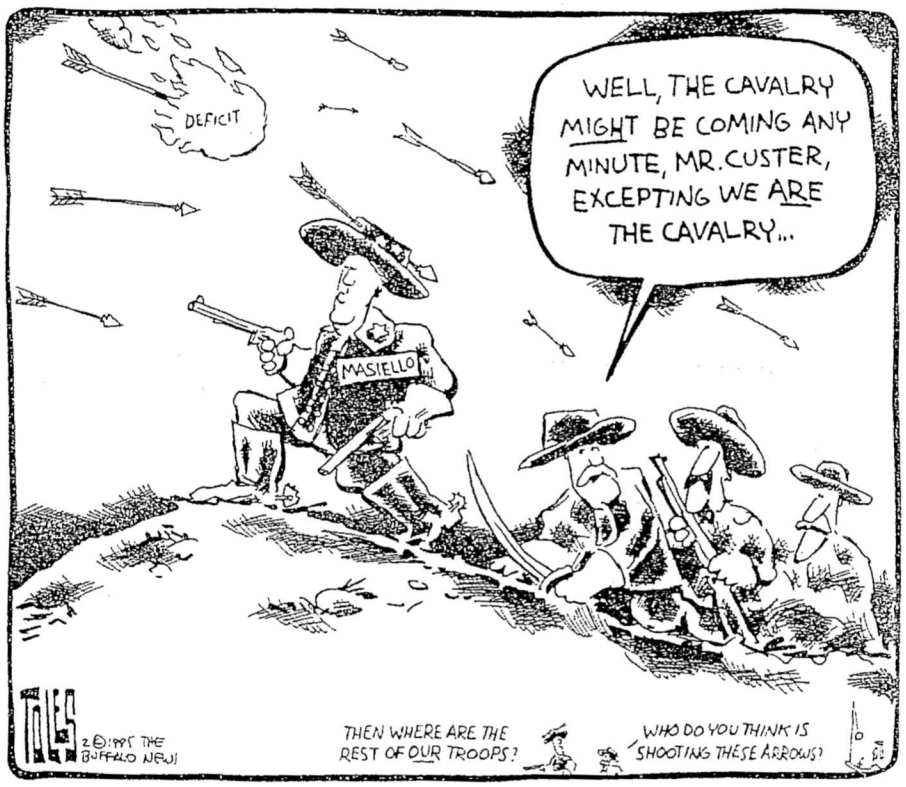
We have domesticated the violent conquest of the continent through our casual and constant use of the frontier theme—in novels, films, television, comic books, cartoons, and advertisements. An image of a lone Indian paddling down a clean river advertises a product that is destroying the environment and our health; the Marlboro Man, cowboy par excellence, sells cigarettes that will somehow make one tough. Each decade sees new cowboy movies, from the sixties' release of *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly* to *Unforgiven* and *Tombstone,* released in the early nineties. Domestication is also seen in theme park versions of this imaginal place: Paying crowds observe the previously savage Indians perform formerly sacred rituals for tourists hungry for spectacle and a sense of history. Frontier Land exists not only in the various Disney theme parks in the United States, but abroad as well, as seen in Legoland in Denmark and Disneyland in France and Japan (Figure 6).

The legacy of violent conquest in this domesticated form does not challenge our self-image as people standing on the side of the good and righteous. The continual enactment of the story of the settling of the frontier provides the setting for the reconstruction of that story, editing it, erasing uncomfortable pieces, adding doses of heroism, bravery, and victimization.

Patricia Nelson Limerick argues that there were two conditions in the history of the United States that seriously tested stated democratic ideals: the conquest of the country, particularly the West, and the legacy of slavery.[24] These two conditions have not been treated in the same way in our historical accounts or in contemporary thought and theory. To people of the twentieth century, slavery is a serious issue, and the nation is still struggling, however hesitantly,

Land, Property, and Capital

Imaginal worlds as powerful as the frontier in the context of American culture often conceal as much as they reveal. In this case, the frontier myth hides the critical and, I might suggest, creative role of capitalism. The West was settled for economic motives, the attachment not to the land but to the exchange value of the land as a resource. The strength of the frontier myth to conceal the violence of the history of conquest suggests that it must be critical to the national self-image. Richard Dyck calls it a fantasy of denial that hides underlying race and class conflicts and also the cultural loss of a more urban community life.[32] Perhaps more important, it denies the important consequences of capitalism—land as commodity, the exploitation of natural resources, the essential role of European and Eastern money in the settlement of the West, and governmental support to "free enterprise" through the distribution of land and the control of the Native Americans. "If Hollywood wanted to capture the emotion center of Western history, its movies would be about real estate. John Wayne would have been neither a gunfighter nor a sheriff, but a surveyor, speculator, or claims lawyer."[33]



Tom Toles

7. Frontier imagery used by Tom Toles in a cartoon that shows the mayor of Buffalo, New York, leading the charge against the forces working to destroy U.S. cities. *Buffalo News* (Feb. 13, 1995).

An entire continent was "discovered" by the governments of Europe, and later the federal government of the United States won, stole, or bought huge parcels of land. The settlement of the United States is a history in which property, more than any other imaginal fact, is given credence. The struggles were not about the nature of property or whether land could or should be owned. Even though different forms of people-land relationships were a part of European history and were certainly in evidence in the way Native Americans inhabited the continent, the concept of the ownership of land ("real" estate) was not debated. Rather, the arguments and battles about property were about who would be the owner and who would have the right to decide on the use of the land.

Property is the foundation of the story of conquest and violence that is concealed under the fantasy of the frontier. The acquisition of property resulted in consistent violence against the native people who were already living on the land that the immigrants wanted and felt it their right to have. Violence was also evident in the anger and frustration of new and poor settlers, directed toward land speculators and the wealthy, who effectively denied new settlers a place on the frontier and part of the American dream. Further, the violence over property also erupted over competing uses of the land—"the farmers and the cowboys should be friends," as sung in the musical comedy *Oklahoma*. The frontier was the line that separated the wildness of uneasy and contested ownership of land and resources from the clarity of agreed-on lines on the map. The battles were intense and violent.

The country was founded on the myth of free enterprise. This myth has always concealed the role of the government in creating and maintaining the separation between the economic and political spheres and the collusion by the citizens through the acceptance and reinforcement of the myth. The new land was supposed to be distributed to "the people" to settle and farm according to the Jeffersonian ideal of the independent yeo-

The Frontier as Home

The frontier has always been someone's home, whether we are referring to the American continent, the wild West, or the city. What are the implications of the myth of the frontier for the many for whom it was or is home, including indigenous people and female settlers? The merging of home and frontier might inform our thinking about the imaginal overlay of the frontier on cities. Further, if we can imagine frontier and home to exist simultaneously rather than oppositionally, we have the imagination of a different and new kind of place.

Native Americans

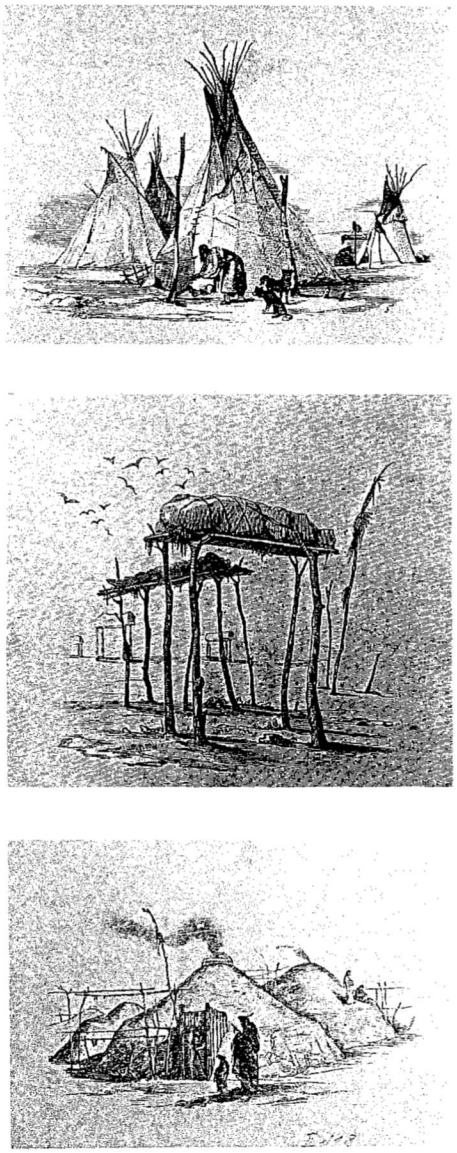
Native Americans lived comfortably for centuries in the world that the Europeans referred to as the frontier and viewed as a void to be filled or a wilderness to be conquered (Figure 9). The Indians were, frankly, in the way of white settlement. The idea of the meeting of different cultures was not conceptually accessible to early settlers or writers about the frontier; the idea of culture was only developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[38] Rather, it was the dualism of civilization and savagery that dominated the discourse on the relationship of Europeans to Native Americans. In this dualism, it was civilization and its needs that took priority, even if the romantic idea of the noble savage could be accommodated.

Although the U.S. federal government facilitated the colonization of the continent through speculation and the settlement of Native American homelands,[39] there were those who opposed U.S. action toward Native Americans and were sympathetic to their cause. Philanthropists sought to help the Indians and hoped to assimilate them rapidly into civilization, saving them from their previous savage existence, "completely misjudging the Indians' loyalty to their own ways of life."[40] The philanthropists were repeatedly disillusioned by the lack of successful assimilation. The failure to Americanize the Indians made it easier to justify and enforce other, perhaps more violent, solutions to satisfy the hunger for land.

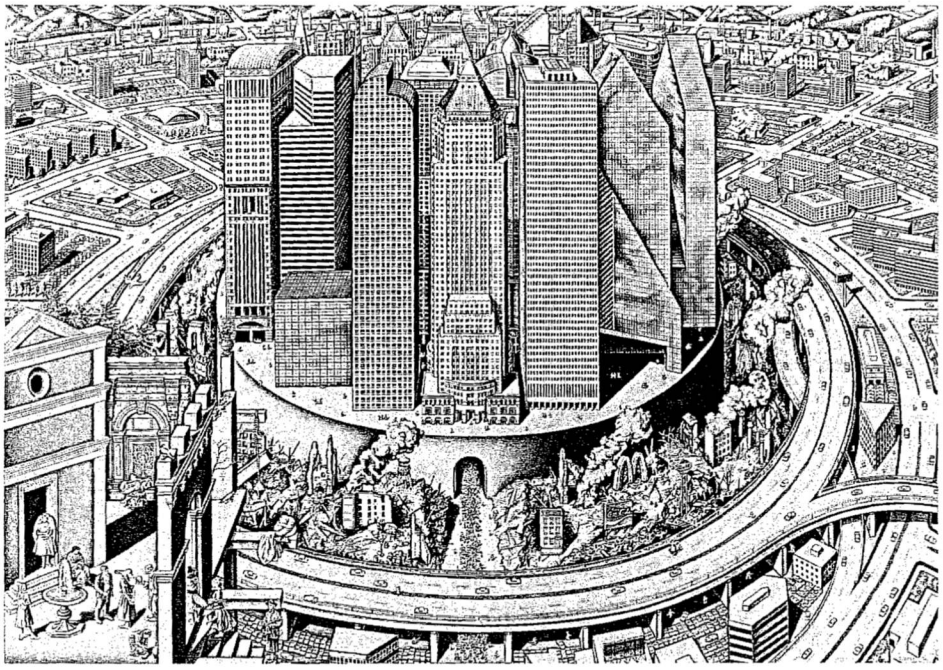
United States policies toward Native Americans changed frequently and included treaty negotiation and land purchase; warfare and military force, concentration and confinement on reservations, and enforced relocation—for example, the Trail of Tears. There was also an attempt to assimilate Indians through mechanisms like the General Allotment Act of 1887, which forced the division of communally owned native land into private parcels and legitimated the selling of "nonassigned land" to speculators and adjacent wealthy landowners. The General Allotment Act offered, or perhaps forced, U.S. citizen status on Native Americans and stipulated what constituted "an Indian," defining Native American status on racial grounds (how much "Indian blood"), rather than on the basis of group or tribal membership. It was anticipated that through successive intermarriages the classification "Native American" would simply disappear, solving once and for all the "Indian problem."

Of course, Native Americans have not gone away, nor is there such a person as a Native American, but many diverse cultures and languages. The U.S. government and the majority of citizens have been unable to imagine a just way to interact with the people who had inhabited the continent before we arrived. Furthermore, the struggle over land continues, as is clear through the current battles over Four Corners (Hopi and Navajo lands), the Mohawks along the Saint Lawrence Seaway, the James Bay Hydro project, and many more disputes.[41]

In addition to various mechanisms of physical appropriation, the process of coloni-



9. Images of Native American life. Woodcuts by Karl Bodmer: "Tents of the Dakotas," "Burial Scaffolds, Crow Indians," and "Mandan Lodges." Permission of Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska; gift of the Enron Art Foundation.



10. "First Circle," drawing by New York artist Nancy Wolf, depicting the abyss that separates the developer's city from the surrounding suburbs. Used by permission of the artist.

This critique is not intended to offer a romantic view of what urban life is like in many late-twentieth-century American cities. On the contrary, it is with good reason that people in many inner cities wish to escape. Instead, I am suggesting that "frontiering" the city is just another way of denying choice to urban dwellers and the possibility of making their own lives. The city is already someone's home, and many people, especially women, who live in cities work ceaselessly to make communities, in spite of the deterioration that surrounds them and the violence that is a part of their everyday lives.

Women on the Frontier

We hear little about these attempts at homemaking in our cities, partly because women play such a small role in the representations of city as frontier, serving as little more than props. Women on the original frontier were just as invisible because the New World was given over early to the mythology of the new Adam—a lone hunter, intimate with nature and free of social trappings (Figure 11). "We now know that women, indigenous and immigrant, participated in all stages of western development, in numbers far larger and roles more varied than their appearances in catalogs and exhibitions of western art would suggest. The scarcity and marginality of female subjects in western imagery is arguably a creative fiction that contravenes historical fact."[47]

Early female writers challenged the nation's infatuation with the frontier myth, particularly the view of the frontier as savage wilderness to be conquered. They spoke instead of the making of home and community. A few attempted to describe the harsh conditions of pioneer living, but most used the vehicle of the domestic novel set in the West, employing the romantic notion of finding and making a garden for the family and setting in place the community of which the family was a part. "The problem facing the domestic fictionists when they took up their western relocation stories . . . was that the terrain into which they wanted to insert a domesticating Eve was the same terrain already imaginatively appropriated by 'the most significant, most emotionally compelling myth-hero' of the American culture, the isolate American Adam."[48]

Although fictionalized, the domesticated western story provided a fantasy about the possibility of a relationship to a new land for women immigrants who were faced with isolation and endless hard work. Pioneer women's fantasies, known to us through popular literature, diaries, and letters, were an evolving attempt to make a place for themselves in the new land, to transform the frontier into home. They set about to plant gardens in the wilderness, to domesticate and tend the landscape. Kolodny writes, "Massive exploitation and alteration of the continent do not seem to have been a part of women's fantasies. They dreamed, more modestly, of locating a home and a familial human community within a cultivated garden."[49] Literally and imaginatively, women carried their roots with them in taking cuttings for their new gardens as they followed their men across the continent.

Women's fantasies of a home in the new land were not compatible with the dominant frontier myth. The arrival of the schoolmarm (although not the prostitute) or the marriage of the hero was seen as the destruction of the imaginal frontier, the domestication and erasure of the male fantasy of the woodsman or cowboy, self-sufficient and independent. It provided a justification to move on to a new location. However, the description of erasure comes from the stand

outside of civilized law and customs. However, what we called the frontier on this continent was home to indigenous people, and many immigrants from Europe transformed this frontier into their home.

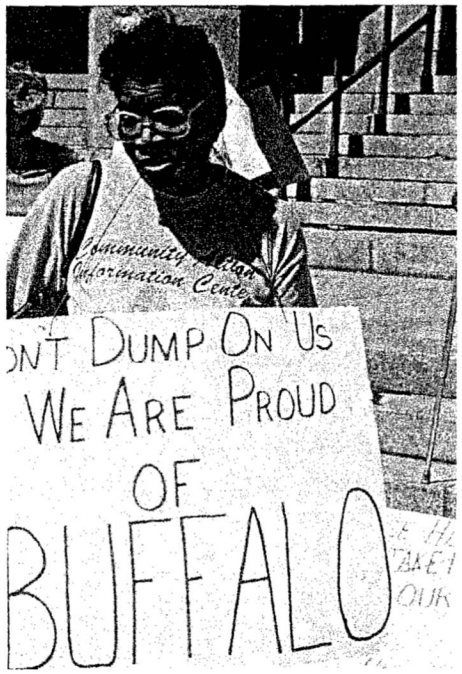
The question before us is this: Can the imaginal place of the frontier contain the idea of home, comfort, and community as well as wilderness, the unknown, adventure, and darkness? Can it happen together? Can we reinhabit the cities that are both frontier and home? Just as important, can our home also be the home of the Others? Can we find a better location for the imaginal landscape of violence than the inner cities, recognizing that the desire for violence need not be literalized but can perhaps be a part of our imaginal life?

This is urgent and critical work. The overlay of the imaginal frontier on American cities may satisfy some national psychic need to locate the Other and the landscape of violence, but it is at a high cost not only to those who try to live in cities, but to all of us. "A people unaware of its myths is likely to continue living by them, though the world around that people may change and demand changes in their psychology, their world view, their ethics, and their institutions. . . . Myths reach out of the past to cripple, incapacitate, or strike down the living."[53]

It is instructive to remember that there were many in the settlement story of the Americas whose lives did not conform to the dominant themes of the frontier, who confounded the carefully constructed boundaries of the imaginal worlds. Mary Jamison was one of these, a woman who engaged the frontier as wilderness, who lived in two worlds and made a home with the Other. She was captured by the Seneca at age fifteen, was adopted into the tribe, married and had children by Native Americans—the typical Indian captivity narrative—but Mary Jamison did not need to be rescued. Rather, she formed a very different relationship with the wilderness and native people.[54] It is important to note, also, that in developing a relationship with the land and Native Americans, she did not reject white culture. Scheckel suggests that the narrative of Jamison speaks of the frontier as a space to be inhabited, not simply a shifting line between civilization and wilderness. It was "a space in which a variety of attitudes and experiences arising from the contact between white and Indian, between progress and wilderness, can be examined, tested and played with; a space in which to explore new ways of imagining and dealing with the issues and challenges associated with the American frontier."[55] This is a different vision of the frontier, one that opens a space for questioning, for imaginal explorations of Self, Other, and the relationships between.

The mythic story of the founding of the Americas does not forbode well in an endeavor to reimagine the frontier because we have not yet been able to open a space for home and community in the frontier as an imaginal structure. The imaginal place of the frontier has been claimed metaphorically by cowboys and Indians and cops and robbers; it is a terrain controlled by men and boys from which women are excluded. It seems that the experience of many urban dwellers who struggle to make a home, garden, and community in the contemporary city cannot vie for mythic status [or television time] any more than the stories of Mary Jamison and others or the experiences of millions of Native Americans have been able to capture our attention. Theirs remain the inconsequential and unheard stories of the settlement of the Americas.

The difficulty in our attempting to insert home and community into the urban frontier is our unwillingness to engage it as more than one place. To live in a place that is more than one place is to acknowledge that all of our experiences are multifaceted and to refuse to reduce them to a single



12. Woman participating in a public demonstration to clean up her neighborhood in Buffalo, New York. Photo by author.

imagination. All events, people, and places contain aspects of the Other. "A close understanding of the West's relationship to its imaginative Others has an importance that transcends the apparent exoticism of its individual subject matter. Otherness does not simply imply geographical distance but rather psychological intimacy. Otherness is not a negative phenomena but one that is essential to imaginative life. As Jung wrote: 'In the darkness of anything external to me I find, without recognising it as such, an interior or psychic life that is my own.'"[56]

The unwillingness to open a space that embraces conflicting ideas, including Self and Other, is particularly problematic in the late twentieth century, when the boundaries between types of places and conditions have been so disrupted. We live at the intersection of the city and the frontier. Distinctions between city, country, suburbs

is telling that there is no word in English, such as *United Statesian,* which would permit one to talk about the people of this one country, although many other languages do have such a word.

14. John Rennie Short, *Imagined Country: Environment, Culture and Society* (New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 48.

15. Neil Smith, "New City, New Frontier: The Lower East Side as Wild, Wild West," in M. Sorkin, ed., *Variations on a Theme Park* (New York: Noonday Press, 1992), p. 69.

16. Dyck, "Frontier Violence," p. 56.

17. See particularly Jack Weatherford, *Indian Givers: How the Indians of the Americas Transformed the World* (New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1988) for a discussion of the gifts of Indian culture adopted, or perhaps appropriated by, the American culture and material life. Also, for a discussion of the influence of Iroquois political structure of the making of the U.S. Constitution, see Donald A. Grinde, Jr., and Bruce Johansen, *Exemplar of Liberty: Native America and the Founding of Democracy* (Los Angeles: UCLA American Indian Studies Center, 1991).

18. Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence,* p. 4.

19. Dyck, "Frontier Violence," p. 55.

20. Madelon Heatherington, "Romance without Women: The Sterile Fiction of the American West," in B.H. Meldreum, ed., *Under the Sun: Myth and Realism in Western American Literature* (Troy, NY: Whitston Publishing, 1985), pp. 75–89.

21. Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1962).

22. Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence.*

23. The settlement of the Americas was a major event in the history of most European countries, and the people of Europe sought ways to maintain a connection to those who left to settle in the Americas. A contemporary manifestation is the existence of frontier comics in many languages and the various theme parks.

24. Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1987).

25. Ibid, p. 19.

26. Ward Churchill reports that by the end of the nineteenth century, the indigenous population was only 2 percent of what it had been when the Europeans first arrived. The policy of extermination, which resulted in this drastic decline, set a chilling precedent. Churchill writes, "Admiring its effectiveness, barely fifty years later, Adolf Hitler would explicitly anchor his concept of *lebensraumpolitik* ('politics of living space') directly upon U.S. practice against American Indians." Ward Churchill, *Struggle for the Land: Indigenous Resistance to Genocide, Ecocide, and Expropriation in Contemporary North America* (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1993), p. 47.

27. Jerry Adler, "Kids Growing Up Scared," *Newsweek,* Jan. 10, 1994: 37–43, reporting data from the American Psychological Association.

28. It is interesting to look at the trends in these popular television series—for example, the movement from "Hill Street Blues" to "N.Y.P.D. Blue." The current conditions reject the hero in the guise of Frank Ferrillo of "Hill Street Blues" for more conflicted and less perfect human beings. Also witness Clint Eastwood's almost anti-hero roles in both *Unforgiven* (the West) and *In the Line of Fire* (the city), in which he has personal doubts about his toughness and ability to perform the acts of violence required of him.

29. Smith, "New City, New Frontier," p. 77.

30. Adler, "Kids Growing Up Scared," p. 38.

31. Eric Heyne, ed., *Desert, Garden, Margin, Range: Literature on the American Frontier* (New York: Twayne, 1992), p. 6.

32. Dyck, "Frontier Violence."

33. Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest,* p. 55.

34. Smith, "New City, New Frontier," p. 84.

35. Smith, "New City, New Frontier."

36. See, for example, M. Christine Boyer, "Cities for Sale: Merchandising History at South Street Seaport," in Sorkin, ed., *Variations on a Theme Park,* pp. 181–204.

37. Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest,* p. 27.

38. Ibid., p. 190.

39. The initial context of European-Indian relations was the Discovery Doctrine, developed by the early sixteenth century (and supported by papal decree), which recognized the right of indigenous people to their land, and stated that acquisition of "discovered" land could only occur with the consent of indigenous people. However, Native Americans were not sufficiently cooperative in deeding their land to white settlers, and this doctrine had to be reinterpreted to keep up with the pace of settlement. It was Chief Justice Marshall in the early nineteenth century who transformed the Discovery Doctrine into a legal framework more hospitable to white settlers by invoking the Norman Yoke, based on the idea that "vacant land" that was "improved" gave a legal claim to the improver. This interpretation was the beginning of a long series of court cases that justified not only the taking of land and the breaking of treaties, but also many forms of cultural invasion, including relocation policies and the removal of children from families to be educated in government boarding schools. Much of the discussion in this section is based on Churchill, *Struggle for the Land;* Ward Churchill with M. Annette Jaimes, eds., *Fantasies of the Master Race: Literature, Cinema and the Colonization of American Indians* (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1992); and Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest.*

40. Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest,* p. 191.

41. Ward, *Struggle for the Land;* and Jerry Mander, *In the Absence of the Sacred* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1991).

42. Susan Scheckel, "Mary Jamison and the Domestication of the American Frontier," in Heyne, ed., *Desert, Garden, Margin, Range,* p. 107.

43. Although not addressed in this article, it is instructive to read accounts of what Native Americans thought or think about *us,* meaning white America. See Churchill with Jaimes, eds., *Fantasies of the Master Race;* Churchill, *Struggle for the Land;* Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest,* chap. 6; and James Ruppert, "'Difficult Meat': Dialogism and Identity in Three Native American Narratives of Contact," in Heyne, ed., *Desert, Garden, Margin, Range, pp. 143–155.* For a similar presentation from a black perspective, see bell hooks, *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (Boston: South End Press, 1992).

44. Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest,* p. 195.

45. Nicholas Lemann, "The Myth of Community Development," *New York Times Magazine,* Jan. 9, 1994, pp. 27–31.

46. Ibid.

47. Susan Prendergast Schoelwer, "The Absent Other: Women in the Land and Art of Mountain Men," in Prown, ed., *Discovered Lands Invented Pasts,* p. 135.

48. Kolodny, *The Land before Her,* p. 224.

49. Ibid., p. xiii.

50. Wendell Berry, "Writer and Region," in *What Are People For?* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1990), pp. 75–76.

51. Laura Ingalls Wilder, *Little House on the Prairie* (1935) (New York: Harper Trophy Edition, 1971).

52. A. Bookman and S. Morgan, *Women and the Politics of Empowerment* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988); R. Feldman and S. Stall, "Residents' Activism in Public Housing: A Case Study of Women's Invisible Work of Building Community," in R. Selby et al., eds., *Coming of Age* (Oklahoma City: Environmental Design Research Association, 1990), pp. 111–119; and J. Leavitt and S. Saegert, *From Abandonment to Hope: Community-Households in Harlem* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990).

53. Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence,* pp. 4–5.

54. Kolodny, *The Land before Her;* and Scheckel, "Mary Jamison."

55. Scheckel, "Mary Jamison," p. 97.

56. Bishop, *Dreams of Power,* p. 1