MONUMENTAL RECKONINGS AND IMPOSSIBLE PLACEHOLDERS

Introduction to *Gender and the American West*

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Part 1: Monumental Reckonings

On June 13, 2020, the Pioneer Mother statue on the University of Oregon campus was toppled over by unidentified activists (see Figure 0.1). This action came in the immediate wake of a white police officer's murder of George Floyd in Minneapolis, the public act that both encapsulated and escalated the nationwide Black Lives Matter movement for racial justice. Yet this Pioneer Mother's fall from its pedestal, like that of its campus companion, "The Pioneer," and numerous monuments across the United States in the first quarter of the twenty-first century, was long in the making. Campus and community members, Indigenous students and allies, had worked for decades to draw meaningful attention—and institutional action—regarding these monuments.[1] Fitting Ruth B. Phillips' definition of a monument as "a deposit of the historical possession of power," "The Pioneer" and "The Pioneer Mother" memorialized white pioneers' possession of Indigenous homelands now known as Oregon.[2] Highly visible as markers of genocidal erasure to the Indigenous community members and allies that repeatedly called for their removal, yet "hiding in plain sight" on the campus grounds for generations, the monuments are part of the "hidden history" that gave name to the campus project surfacing the "historical stories of underserved and underrepresented communities on the UO campus."[3]

In 2019, in recognition of the centennial of "The Pioneer's" official dedication, University of Oregon doctoral student Marc James Carpenter shared his archival research that not only highlighted the explicit white supremacist rhetoric of state-building in that day's celebratory speeches, but also documented famed western sculptor Alexander Phimister Proctor's "intent to celebrate pioneer violence."[4] In "Report on 'Reconsidering *The Pioneer*, One Hundred Years Later,'" Carpenter addresses Proctor's autobiographical writing—much of the racist language redacted before posthumous publication—that details the inspirations behind the "nine-foot tall bearded Euro-American man in buckskins and a wide-brimmed hat, striding purposefully forward with a gun over his shoulder and a whip in hand."[5] Proctor's anti-Indian racism, Carpenter argues, "inflected the creation and composition of *The Pioneer*," and as his description of the statue underscores, Proctor's ideas about white masculinity and nation-building.[6] As celebrants in 1919 commonly understood, "The Pioneer" heroizes the still iconic image of the white westering man taking possession of the US West—its lands and peoples—by force. Yet Proctor's

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Figure 0.1 The Pioneer Mother. University of Oregon campus, June 13, 2020. Photograph courtesy of Kirby Brown.

"The Pioneer Mother" is just as deeply racialized and gendered a figure, its violence less direct than a whip and gun but no less devastating in its impacts.

Pioneer monuments, as historian Cynthia Culver Prescott examines in her book, *Pioneer Mother Monuments: Constructing Cultural Memory*, "used gendered imagery to enshrine white settlers on the landscape."[7] In her foundational study of western US monuments ("185 explicitly honoring pioneers"), Prescott shows how "Americans used public art to embrace frontier mythology and grapple with modern life, and the extent to which historical memory of the frontier remains central to American national identity."[8] Hundreds of monuments to white settlers were erected across the American West in the late nineteenth and first decades of the twentieth century. Like their University of Oregon counterparts, these monuments tried to set in stone local and regional variations on a common chord: the American West—and by implication, the United States—as triumphal story of settler colonial entitlement, white supremacy, and patriarchal heteronormativity.[9]

If "public monuments mark space, make meaning and exert power," then pioneer monuments in their rise *and* in their fall offer a powerful entryway to this volume, *Gender and the American West*.[10] Placed across the West to install particular claims on space, meaning, and power, the monuments assert a permanence that has always been precarious. The intention (and implications) of western monuments has always met with resistance and refusal by the peoples and communities excluded or excised from belonging in a whitewashed US West. As with the making of memorials to a West that never was, the rise of white pioneer organizations and civic groups underscores an excessive preoccupation with mythologizing recent state origins. Like the still prevalent "fantasy heritage" of Southern California that contributors Luhui Whitebear and Eddy Alvarez address, founding histories hinged on naturalizing what was not.[11] From its very creation as both imagined and lived space—and contrary to the fact that, as Lisa Tatonetti says, "the West has always been queer," the American West was "made" heteronormative.[12] For example, years before Oregon's statehood, US Congress passed the Oregon Donation Land Act (DLA) in which "white American men already living in Oregon [territory] could claim 320 acres of land for themselves and another 320 acres in the name of their wives"; "settlers

who later moved there could claim half as much."[13] Western historian Peter Boag notes that this "double allowance" of land "encouraged marriage in early Oregon" and that the "extraordinarily large land grants available through the DLA privileged male-female couples in mid-nineteenth-century Oregon."[14] In turn, this patriarchal and "heterosexist" "political ideology" reshaped the land from meadows into forests, a major shift after millennia of Indigenous seasonal land management that included cultural burning.[15] Queer ecology scholar Catriona Sandilands extends this insight, noting that

> because of the comparatively large size of these allotments and the popularity of the program, not only did the DLA encourage heterosexual marriage along with the settlement of the west, but it imposed a monolithic culture of single heterosexual family-sized lots on the land, with significant effects on the economic and environmental history of the region from nuclear family farming patterns, the inhibition of town development, and even increased forestation.[16]

Put another way, white patriarchal heteronormativity was *the* organizing principle of the American West, the literal grounds for property ownership, for social and political power, and for perceptions of nature and land management.

At the national level, the Homestead Act of 1862 similarly distributed expropriated Indigenous homelands to whites, a move western historian Margaret D. Jacobs describes as "gendered engineering to promote the settlement of white families in the West."[17] No wonder, then, as contributor William Handley puts it, that "the romanticized heterosexual gender binary has always been central to the frontier imaginary, serving to justify and motivate conquest." Moreover, anti-miscegenation laws, in concert with federal immigration racial and gender exclusion laws such as the 1875 Page Act that explicitly barred Chinese women—portrayed as sex workers—from entering the United States were, in contributor Jayson Sae-Saue's words, "instrumental in how the US has strategized white protections and the formation of an exclusive national body." Those strategies, coordinated by white locals, officials, and political leaders, encompassed the violent expulsions, or what Jean Pfaelzer terms ethnic cleansing, of Chinese from 300 communities in northern California and the Pacific Northwest in the late 1800s. The "driving outs," largely erased from public memory, were followed decades later with President Roosevelt's signing of Executive Order 9066 in 1942 that deemed Japanese Americans a "security threat," prompting their mass removal from their homes on the West Coast and incarceration in internment camps hastily built in several western states. These histories of racial othering of Asians and Asian Americans and what Ryan Wander calls the "violence of belonging" are variously addressed in chapters here by Wander, Jayson Sae-Saue, Jennifer S. Tuttle, and Florence D. Amamoto.[18]

The Pioneer Mother monument was dedicated in 1932, just six years after voters repealed the founding state constitution prohibiting Blacks from living in Oregon; the Eugene area, like much of the state, had a vocal KKK presence. Prominent Eugene landmark Skinner Butte [named for city founder Eugene Skinner] was another local "public monument," its hilltop the site of repeated cross burnings, KKK letters etched on its side.[19] Prescott states that:

> In the late 1920s and early 1930s, Americans had achieved widespread agreement that pioneer monuments should commemorate white settler women as the embodiment of white civilization. These Pioneer Mothers were consistently depicted as women clad in sunbonnets, armed with rifles with which to defend their innocent children, or Bibles symbolizing their role in carrying Anglo civilization to the western frontier. At the height of what I call the Pioneer Mother movement (1927–1939), western view-

> ers did not tolerate sculptures that deviated from that dominant iconography. Around 1900, towers of social Darwinism predominated; twenty-five years later, adherence to accepted pioneer motherhood imagery became a popular and powerful way to inscribe racial hierarchy onto western lands.[20]

"The Pioneer Mother" was commissioned by attorney and UO Vice President Burt Brown Barker to honor his pioneer mother.[21] Unlike the more common visual representation of young white pioneer motherhood, this statue—featuring a seated elderly woman gazing down at a half-open book—fulfilled the donor's desire to memorialize "pioneers of the true type, in the sunset of their lives, after the hardships and battles and sorrows of pioneering were past."[22] The seemingly benign image of this white woman, reinforced by the caption, "Pax" [peace] below its inscription, is heightened by the struggle and sorrow demonstrated by bronze bas relief images of the westward trail—a sun-bonneted woman, a man cracking a whip at oxen pulling the covered wagon, a family burial on the trail. A more recent monument to westering white mothers is the beloved wife and mother Caroline Ingalls, from the popular TV series, *Little House on the Prairie* (1974–1983), itself an adaptation of Laura Ingalls Wilder's perennially popular autobiographical series of pioneering life when the Midwest was "West." This series was popular outside the United States, shaping public imagination of the American West, as contributor Amaia Ibarraran-Bigalondo's chapter here on its reception in Spain demonstrates. It was also the "sunbonneted woman" whose diaries, letters, and memoirs of westering and living on the "frontier" inspired early western women's history in works such as Lillian Schlissel's *Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey* (1982); Sandra L. Myres' *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience, 1800–1915*; and Glenda Riley's *The Female Frontier: A Comparative View of Women on the Prairie and the Plains* (1988).

Over centuries and across the shifting geographical terrain and shifty geopolitical coordinates of the American West, white women, bonneted and not, have served crucial roles in advancing what Amy Kaplan termed "manifest domesticity."[23] Whatever the medium, and whatever the era, the message of gendered settler innocence endures. Consider that the plotline of a vulnerable, virginal white female captive needing to be rescued from the "savagery" of Indigeneity has been a sustaining story in the US imaginary, spanning the seventeenth century to the present day, from early captivity narratives in New England to classic westerns such as *The Searchers* and contemporary ones such as *News of the World*, set in iconic southwestern and borderlands Texas settings.[24] Its counterpoint narrative is what M. Elise Marubbio terms "celluloid maidens," Indigenous women whose cinematic fate is to fall in love with a white hero, and then die so that he can marry a white woman and build a monoracial national future.[25] One of the most famous images of US manifest destiny—the ideology that white Americans were divinely sanctioned in their westward occupation of land and genocidal displacement of Indigenous peoples—is John Gast's painting entitled "American Progress" (1872). Commissioned for a publisher of a "popular series of western travel guides," the painting features a monumental figure of a white-robed white woman leading a westering movement of trains, stagecoaches, and covered wagons.[26] Holding a book and trailing telegraph wire, she beckons forward the forces of "light," a visual argument reinforced by the bright skies and tilled soil on the right side of the frame, as Indigenous peoples and animals flee into the darkened west, or toward the left side of the frame. This image of visual and ideological oppositions, of temporal and spatial notions of civilization and savagery, echoes and encapsulates generations of similar visual and literary works that naturalized the systemic, eliminatory work of US settler colonialism. Its central conceit—white woman as inspiration and motivation for the making of the West and the nation—underscores a long-overdue reckoning with white women's

complicity in US settler colonialism. The Pioneer's whip and gun after all, made possible the Pioneer Mother's repose.

White scholars have long tackled the toxic white masculinity celebrated by "The Pioneer" in works such as Richard Slotkin's *Regeneration through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600–1860*; *Gunfighter Nation: Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America*; and Richard Drinnon's *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire-Building*. Contributors to this volume including William Handley, Sylvan Goldberg, and Joshua Anderson continue that scholarly legacy with nuanced analyses of white masculinities, desire, and violence that queer and unsettle the US West imaginary. If the West, as contributor Krista Comer states, is "founded on an aggressive white masculinity that always is up in one's face," then "a claim on the significance or existence of women's experience, therefore, has served as a critical starting point." Decades of recuperative scholarship—historical, literary, and otherwise—have worked to mark and make meaning of the lives of diverse communities and peoples who moved in or through, or who always situated themselves in lands in the US West. Yet too often, that scholarship has either focused exclusively on white women, equated women with whiteness, or used gender as a synonym for women, heteronormatively defined. In 1993, western historian Susan Johnson observed that "the field of western women's history has developed with western-history-as-usual as its reference point, deriving part of what legitimacy it *has* achieved from its oppositional relation to the presumed white male subject of the history of the American West.[27] In a similar vein Tejana feminist historian Antonia I. Castañeda's "Women of Color and the Rewriting of Western History: The Discourse, Politics, and Decolonization of History," critiqued 1980s scholarship, epitomized by Joan M. Jensen and Darlis A. Miller's "The 'Gentle Tamers' Revisited: New Approaches to the History of Women in the American West."[28] Castañeda argued that they

> kept middle-class white women as the subject and the normative group for description, analysis, interpretation, and comparison. They neither challenged nor altered the standard Eurocentric focus, methodologies, or paradigms of women's history.[29]

She offers counter-examples of women of color scholarship centering the agency, creativity, and cultural knowledges of minoritized women in how they "responded to the alien, hostile, often violent society of the nineteenth-century American West … how they subvert and/or change the environment, and how they adopt or create new cultural forms."[30] In sketching out a different genealogy for gender, race, and sexuality in women's Wests, Castañeda not only refused the field's limited frameworks but suggested how generations of women of color had already been doing the work no matter their invisibility. Castañeda closes her essay with a call-out especially fitting for the year of its publication, the Columbus quincentenary:

> Historians, including feminist historians and other feminist scholars, must examine their assumptions as well as their racial, class, and gender positions as they redefine historical and other categories of analysis. The structures of colonialism are the historical legacy of the United States and, as such, inform the profession of history and the production of historical scholarship as much as they do any other human relationship and endeavor. If western history is to be decolonized, historians must be conscious of their power and ideology within the structures of colonialism, and conscious as well of the ways in which historical scholarship has helped to sustain and reproduce those structures.[31]

Castañeda's imperative for scholarly accountability is as timely now as it was 30 years ago: in naming colonialism as a structure (like Patrick Wolfe's characterization of settler colonialism as

"a structure not an event") that undergirds US higher educational institutions and academic disciplines, she anticipates the guiding premise and purpose of this book.[32]

Her particular call to accountability for white feminist scholars—also the subject of Comer's chapter on feminist frameworks, relationality, situated knowledge, and critical regionalism—forms the central, and oft-quoted argument of Margaret D. Jacobs' 2010 essay, "Getting out of a Rut: Decolonizing Western Women's History":

> the accrued overarching narrative of western women's history still sidelines women of color and advances a triumphalist interpretation of white women's presence in the West. If this narrative could be visualized, the image that comes to mind is a Conestoga wagon lumbering along in a well-traveled trail—a rut actually. A sunbonneted Madonna of the Prairie holds the reins of the oxen … the master narrative of western women's history is a colonial account that serves to justify and buttress U.S. colonial aims in the region.[33]

Jacobs, along with historians such as Cathleen D. Cahill (in *Federal Fathers and Mothers*) has focused on the white women who worked as missionaries, teachers, and Indian Service employees, those who "hitched their maternalist wagons to the train of the settler colonial state."[34] In *White Mother to a Dark Race*, Jacobs examines white women's participation in the policy and practice of the removal of Indigenous children from their homes and families during the boarding school era. White women were at the forefront of Indian "reform," forming the Women's National Indian Association in 1879; they found agency in the public sphere by shepherding federal Indian policy and making settler colonialism *work*. Agents of what Jacobs aptly terms "maternal colonialism" wielded deficit assumptions about Indigenous homes, families, and gender roles to legitimate their work on reservations (for example as field matrons), and the removal of Indigenous children to boarding schools.[35] In her autobiographical story, "School Days of an Indian Girl," writer-activist Gertrude Bonnin (Zitkala-Ša) expressed her greatest contempt for the white women who worked at the boarding school and "who in a halo of authority" presided over the students.[36]

The long-overdue national reckoning of the atrocities of Indian boarding schools, their gendered violence and violent gendering practices, and their intergenerational impacts on Indigenous families, has not yet come in the United States. Six years before the Pioneer Mother dedication, Chemawa Indian School 70 miles to the north of Eugene had its peak enrollment of 1000 students. In the 1920s the campus grew to 400 acres and 70 buildings.[37] On Indigenous People's Day 2021, researchers SuAnn Reddick and Eva Guggemos shared 35 years of work with the public. "The Deaths at Chemawa Indian School" website:

> contains the names, burial locations as well as notes about students who died at the school between 1880–1945. About 270 students died while in custody at Chemawa; 175 are buried in the school cemetery … the remains of approximately 40 students were returned home; the locations of at least 50 students' remains are unknown.[38]

Kimberlé Crenshaw observes that "the chronic failure to confront the monsters of our past is not destiny; it's a daily choice to accept American myth in the face of so much countervailing evidence."[39] The toppling of the Pioneer Mother, the Pioneer, and other monumental figures in the origin stories and mythologies of the United States (Junipero Serra; Christopher Columbus; Confederate heroes) forces that confrontation. Such public engagements with "the monsters of our past" inform the objectives of this volume. In considering the "question" of gender and the

American West, we herald the power of what Emma Pérez calls the decolonial imaginary. In looking to the past anew, we reframe different futures for the West.[40]

Part 2: Impossible Placeholders

The project of this book is to wrestle with, recover, and reimagine the American West through gender and its always interrelational categories including race, ethnicity, sexuality, class, and nationality. As such, it's an impossible task. Impossible because "the West" is an impossible placeholder. In a virtual keynote for the 2020 Western Literature Association conference, Mojave poet Natalie Diaz summed it up: "The West of course is a very problematic term."[41] The very word "West" carries such negative connotative weight that it challenged the premise of this volume. Historian Karen J. Leong noted in 2010 that "scholars … whose work focuses on the US West as a geopolitical location and historical process may see their work as ideologically distinct from "the history of the American West."[42] Scholars whose identities and communities have been the subject of the "West's" violent erasures, removals, and ongoing trauma may find little use value in engaging the term. Or for Tejanx and Chicanx scholars who can say, "we didn't cross the border, the border crossed us."[43] In 1999, Krista Comer's formative articulation of feminist critical regionalism confronted this challenge of relevance by situating Gloria Anzaldúa, Wanda Coleman, and other women of color writers in the places they called home.[44] The slippage between white and West, however, remains, as does the constitutive problem of defining the place of the West. Consider the definitional claims made by the two national academic organizations explicitly focused on the West: the Western History Association and the Western Literature Association:

> The Western History Association strives to be a congenial home for the study and teaching of all aspects of North American Wests, frontiers, homelands and borderlands. Our mission is to cultivate the broadest appreciation of this diverse history.
>
> Founded in 1965, the Western Literature Association (WLA) is a non-profit, scholarly association that promotes the study of the diverse literature and cultures of the North American West. Since its founding, the WLA has served to publish scholarship and promote work in the field; it has gathered together scholars, artists, environmentalists, and community leaders who value the West's literary and cultural contributions to American and world cultures; it has recognized those who have made a major contribution to western literature and western studies; and it has fostered student learning and career advancement in education.[45]

These two descriptions invite questions. Where is the North American West, if, as Lisa Tatonetti notes, "the West as a place and an ideological concept expanded with each successive wave of contact and colonization?"[46] How to make meaning from the fractious complexity of history, continental scale, and US geopolitical orientations conveyed by "Western" and "America"?

Essays in this volume explicitly engage with the West and its constellatory terms as fraught categories of analysis. For example, Audrey Goodman confronts the visual dominance of the landscape genre as "thoroughly entangled in complex global histories and gendered Anglo-European practices of seeing." Cathryn Halverson contends she has "always been ambivalent about using the term "the West," for its "default eastern orientation." She rightly observes that "the questions of what counts as the West and western have been endlessly rehearsed," determining that the "critical paradigm [of western women writers] continually breaks down, and yet … it persists." Contributor Margaret Noodin addresses a different form of persistence: since time immemorial. She reclaims "the western region of North America [is] as the nexus of Algic,

Siouan, Uto-Aztecan, Salishan and Plateau languages and cultures." In doing so, Noodin shows how:

> shifting away from these settler terms to reclaim the original identities and ontologies of these Indigenous communities leads to a view of the continent as a living and changing body where a variety of beings and ways of being are equally present.

In a related vein, writer Cristina Rivera Garza, born in Matamoros, Mexico, on the southern bank of the Rio Bravo (or Rio Grande), across from Brownsville, Texas, asks "what it means to belong to someplace, to some land, to some area on Earth." She says the question "has led me to greater consideration about notions of territory, notions of materiality, about bodies being positioned in specific sites on the crust of the earth."[47] The US–Mexico borderlands exemplify how the West does not stay in place. Contributor Anna M. Nogar addresses the life and afterlives of abbess, writer, and mystic Sor María de Jesús de Ágreda, whose fame in early seventeenth-century New Spain—across Texas, Colorado, New Mexico—extends the frame for western women writers. Her complexity as a figure erased by early white historians of Texas, revered into the present day in Mexican American communities in the Southwest, and contested for her role in Spanish colonization, underscores what several contributors call the "palimpsestic" histories of western places. Jackie Cuevas, for example, surfaces the Texas Gulf Coast as a richly complex, yet unnoted region of the West, far from Texas's iconic arid land and cowboy aesthetic. Cuevas writes that the Gulf Coast "has been a nexus of natural and unnatural disasters, both sudden and generational, that shape the experiences of Indigenous, Tejanx, and other peoples in the region." Florence Amamoto's multi-sited genealogy of Japanese American writers in Hawaii, western Canada, and the West Coast similarly argues for attending to situated knowledge given the "vast differences in their relations to the land and in their stories." Kirby Brown's focus on the dissolution of Indian Territory to usher in Oklahoma statehood in the early 1900s underscores that the West is always also transnational: hundreds of sovereign Indigenous nations are situated within the borders of the United States; for many others, homelands and kin networks extend across geopolitical borders with Canada and Mexico.

Part 3: Staying Power

The quintessential gendered genre of the West—the western in its myriad popular, literary, and televisual forms—drives the staying power of US West mythologies but also has a long history of disrupting and displacing them. Writer Percival Everett says, "You have to remember that Westerns are complete mythology. If you talk about the historic West, a third of the cowboys were black. The railroad was built by the Irish and the Chinese."[48] Black experience is "integral to foundations of the American West," notes Kalenda Eaton.[49] "Yet," Emily Lutenski writes, "the very presence of a black West comes as a surprise, and it is thought to consist of only scattered individuals such as, in the words of historian Quintard Taylor, 'rowdy, rugged black cowboys gallant black soldiers, and sturdy but silent black women … stereotype[s] of the black westerner as a solitary figure loosened from the moorings of family, home, and community.'"[50]

Christine Bold's *Frontier Club: Popular Westerns and Cultural Power, 1880–1924*, excavates how "America's most popular form was shaped by a group of influential easterners who were prominent in politics and professional life—and who inhabited the most privileged class in Victorian America."[51] Figures such as Theodore Roosevelt, Owen Wister, George Bird Grinnell, and Frederic Remington had an outsized influence on the racialized and gendered mythology of the US West. That influence extends from the federal government's dispossession of Indigenous

peoples to establish national parks, and legacy of whiteness today in national parks and wilderness areas, to the ubiquity of tropes of white cis masculine mastery over nature.[52] In Peter Bayers' chapter on climbing culture and films, he identifies the "white masculinist, imperial ideologies that have forged the national imaginary of the American West, in this case: Yosemite National Park, a supposed ahistorical wilderness preserved to perpetually satiate settler colonial desire." Theodore Roosevelt formed the Boone and Crockett Club, a group of "self-styled 'gentleman hunters' … who wanted to reserve western lands for their sporting pleasure. The club became a powerful lobby group, promoting several congressional bills concerning hunting, conservation, and forestry."[53] The Club, Bold writes,

> strategized about how to popularize without "vulgarizing" their vision of the West. … their writings model the western's fundamental features: the tenderfoot narrator, the laconic hero, the stylized violence, the exclusive right of white men to carry the gun, and the vast, beautiful landscapes that become enclaves of whiteness, emptied out of women and threated by savage forces.[54]

Wister's *The Virginian* (1902), the iconic US western, codifies these features and the genre's seeming synonymity with white cis masculinity.

Yet contributor Victoria Lamont flips the script: "The idea of the popular western as a male-authored genre is a fiction." With her feminist genealogy of the popular western, Lamont demonstrates how

> At every turn in the history of the development of the popular western, long believed a genre invented by and for men, women writers were active participants, inscribing their own perspectives on American western colonial expansion and shaping one of America's iconic national mythologies.[55]

Susan Kollin's *Captivating Westerns* unseats the western further, stating it "was never a quintessentially or uniquely American form … but rather an imitative one that revised, adapted, and extended elements found in other national literatures."[56] Kollin's account of the "more complicated transnational history of the Western in fiction" resituates the circulation and reception of cheaply produced western dime novels in global markets such as Spain, as discussed in Amaia Ibarraran-Bigalondo's chapter.[57] In her chapter for this volume, Kollin shares how writers such as Valeria Luiselli, Fernanda Melchor, Solmaz Sharif, Nicole Chung, Cristina Rivera Garza, Lauren Francis-Sharma, Octavia Butler, and Louise Erdrich reconfigure the American West through "global perspectives that center the lived experiences of children, women, and families harmed by US geo-political policies." Their texts signal both the porous and policed borders of the American West, while anticipating added urgency in how we make bridges instead of barriers in an era of climate change's globally differentiated impacts.

In *Westerns: Making the Man in Fiction and Film*, Lee Clark Mitchell states that "the Western has been a peculiarly flexible form, available to an array of ideological issues."[58] April Anson's chapter addresses how Christine Quintasket (Colville), in her milestone 1927 novel, *Cogewea*, leverages the western frontier romance genre to excoriate "extractive violences of white frontier masculinity." Anson details how *Cogewea* is "both a metacommentary on the ways the genre whitewashes extraction and fraud, and a powerful intervention into the violent realities of the time the novel was drafted and revised."[59] Christine Bold's chapter engages Quintasket's contemporaries, "Indigenous women performers in live stagings of the wild west, theatrical melodrama, and vaudeville" who are the "least historically recovered and most subject to violent

voyeurism." Bold's archival and relational research shows that even amid the representational violence of wild west shows and related performative labor, "when individually or in groups, Indigenous women performers enacted their liveness, presentness, and connectivity with others, they gave the lie to caricatures and vanishing Indian tropes over and over again." Generations later, the diverse Native filmmakers considered in Jacob Floyd's chapter "seek to recover Native bodies that have been rendered ghostly by film and settler colonial history." Like Bold, Floyd addresses the long history of "visual fascination with Native bodies," through forms of surveillance, "visual taxidermy," and ghosting that link "precinematic mediums of display" to twentieth-century ethnographic films, horror films that feature the Indian burial ground trope, and classic westerns. In asserting "continual Native presence through a medium in which that has often been denied," the filmmakers in Floyd's analysis bring to mind contemporary Indigenous westerns, such as Ramona Emerson's 2012 narrative short, *Opal*. A Navajo feminist western that explicitly repurposes visual tropes and stylistic markers of revisionist westerns, *Opal* reclaims the overdetermined southwestern settings of classic westerns.[60] At the same time, its story of girls who take on—and take over—boys' bullying control of the local bike jump, refuses the intergenerational legacy of colonization whose gender hierarchies inform this conflict. A western on bikes, *Opal* carries the message of Indigenous filmmakers, artists, and writers who refuse to vanish as prescribed by the western and US national imaginary and instead ride into futures of their own making.

The uncertainty of the future given present conditions gave urgency to *Gender and the American West*. The volume's conception and co-creation spanned the Trump regime and its agonizing endgame. At every turn, we were reminded of the need for this book. This era of atrocities at the US-Mexico border, separation of children from their families, religious and racialized immigrant bans, sinophobia, open glorification of white supremacy, anti-Blackness, and misogyny affirmed the connections between the "here and now" with the "then and there" threading our chapters. Trump's administration was informed by two searing episodes in 2016, part of the ongoing story of US settler colonialism and Indigenous resistance: the 41-day armed occupation of Malheur National Wildlife Refuge by white militia and Indigenous and ally protection of waters and lands threatened by the North Dakota Access Pipeline. The dramatically different outcomes of these two movements underscore what's at stake in this volume: full acquittal for the white militia; inhumane arrests, jail, and prison sentences for Indigenous protectors. Private security forces and local law enforcement used water cannons, tear gas, rubber bullets, and attack dogs against them.[61] The day after the January 6, 2021 attempted coup at the US Capitol, Jennifer Rokala, executive director of the Center for Western Priorities, called the 2016 [Malheur] refuge occupation a "dress rehearsal for what we saw at the Capitol."[62] Donald Trump chose highly charged US Western sites for his 2020 campaign rallies during the COVID-19 pandemic: Tulsa, Oklahoma, on June 20 and Mt. Rushmore on July 4. Trump's rally in Tulsa was held a year shy of the 100th anniversary of whites' massacre of hundreds of African Americans in then thriving "Black Wall Street." Only in recent years has this suppressed atrocity been given national attention. Mt. Rushmore is a daily reminder of the violence of US settler colonialism on Indigenous homelands and peoples; the massive carved heads of US presidents reshaped sacred, unceded space. In national speeches, Trump reiterated hyperbolic paeans to manifest domesticity, lines virtually identical to the speeches given at the dedication of the Pioneer Father, such as the 2020 State of the Union address:

> The American Nation was carved out of the vast frontier by the toughest, strongest, fiercest, and most determined men and women ever to walk the face of the Earth. Our ancestors braved the unknown, tamed the wilderness, settled the Wild West.[63]

At both an elemental and existential level, the US West is burning: catastrophic wildfires have become the norm, fueled by climate change and generations of US Forest Service fire suppression. Every day, those of us in the West are living the consequences of extractive capitalism and suppression of Indigenous land management.

Part 4: Genealogies, Bodies, Movements, Lands

As a feminist and anti-racist project, *Gender and the American West* gathers scholars from fields that though affiliated, are not always in direct conversation with one another. These interdisciplinary fields include Queer Indigenous Studies, Queer Studies, masculinity studies, environmental studies, Indigenous Studies, Jotería or Queer Latinx Studies, Chicanx/Tejanx and Latinx Studies, western American Studies, American Studies, African American Studies, Western history, Western literature, Asian American Studies, Feminist and Gender Studies. As a settler scholar, I wanted to foster a space, both in the co-creation and format of the book, for contributors' lived experiences, including what Dian Million calls "felt theory" and what Cherríe Moraga in *This Bridge Called My Back* calls "theory in the flesh": "where the physical realities of our lives—our skin color, the land or concrete we grew up on, our sexual longings—all fuse to create a politic born out of necessity."[64] At the same time, I recognized that as in any edited collection, there are vital absences and gaps, including in Black masculinities and Pacific Islands Studies, that make visible the limits of this project. Fitting the book's focus on gender, the format attends to intersectionality, or what Crenshaw describes as "a lens through which you can see where power comes and collides, where it interlocks and intersects."[65] Essays in this volume affirm Audre Lorde's insight that "there is no such thing as a single-issue struggle because we do not live single-issue lives."[66] Clearly, there is no single-issue West.

Rather than reproduce the very frameworks under critique here, this volume is not compartmentalized by historical period, genre, subregion, or field. Organized instead by four core concepts—Genealogies, Bodies, Movements, Lands—the book invites readers to think relationally across fields, theoretical orientations, and situated knowledges. Across diverse, divergent methodologies, we tend to the constitutive relationship between gender and genre, considering visual art, film, memoir, popular culture, archives, literature, laws. Contributors were asked to choose which word most resonated with their chapter. The result is an extended thought experiment in framework and methodology, designed to highlight the productive messiness of thinking across terms, disciplines, and positionalities. Although each chapter can stand alone, they also work in relation: the sequencing in each section is intended to highlight juxtapositions but also animate unexpected connections. For example, Linda Karell's chapter in "Genealogies" builds on and reframes Bayers' preceding chapter on "the regeneration of white masculinity," while anticipating the next chapter's attention to the unexpected archive of popular feminist westerns. In turn, Karell unfolds a striking reading of Ivan Doig's undernoted memoir *Heart Earth*, showing how he contributes to a contemporary vision of masculinity defined by emotional risk-taking and foregrounded intimacy. Doig's feminist constructions of masculinity anticipate later critiques of the toxic versions of masculinity and white supremacy that were dominant in the writing of his peers.

Part 2, "Bodies," centers on a core message of this book: gender and sexual violence is the beating heart of the US settler colonial project. Across differences, these chapters find common ground in embodied experiences to systems of power relations, social dynamics, gender roles, and land relations. The first three chapters assert, in Kirby Brown's words, the histories and legacies of "state-sanctioned gender violence perpetrated upon Indigenous bodies." Jean Pfaelzer asks us to bear witness to T'tc~tsa's (Lucy Young's) account of surviving the genocidal campaigns of

early statehood, including sexual slavery, in northern California. As with the volume as a whole, we need to consider how to read the archive, in this case, through the mediation of the editor to whom Young shared her story. Brown's chapter moves us to questions of justice and bodily and tribal sovereignty in early Oklahoma statehood; Liza Black takes us to the present day in her account of the murder of Savanna Greywind, a searing analysis that highlights the urgency of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women (MMIW). A throughline in this section is how gendered colonialism, undergirded by the US legal system, works to "undermine Native families," in the words of Liza Black.[67] Ryan Wander invites relational readings through his analysis of how

> Asian immigrants and Asian North Americans have long provided key "others" against which normatively white North American genders and sexualities have gained shape and coherence, particularly as that shape and coherence emerge out of frontier tropes associated with the North American West.

He considers the costs of racialized others "belonging to" the West, measuring what he calls "overlapping but non-equivalent oppressions" for people of color, both in the late nineteenth century and now.[68] Another pair of chapters in this section reckons with the relationship between white masculinity, labor, and power in the Anthropocene, arriving at, in Joshua Anderson's words, "the ways male fragility is camouflaged with fortitude and vulnerability is masked with violence." For Sylvan Goldberg, "extractive masculinity" exposes the ruinous precarity, rather than the strength, of western US white masculinity in the Anthropocene. William Handley highlights the elided queer origins of the West, while also considering how contemporary writers Emma Pérez and Sebastian Barry query the western with "queer protagonists whose gendered and racial in-betweenness allows them to survive violence." Taken together, these chapters in Part 2 hold the tensions of how to reckon with a past that is present, of how to witness and withstand the settler state, of how to imagine different kinds of futures.

Part 3, "Movements," like the other three sections, does not stay in its place. The West, after all, has always been in motion, crossing borders and national imaginaries. Jayson Sae-Saue's chapter moves between past and present to show how racist and misogynist "othering" of Chinese and Chinese Americans, especially of women, gets reproduced across the West and today at the US–Mexico border. Jennifer S. Tuttle addresses a little-known travelogue by Edith Maude Eaton, "Wing Sing of Los Angeles on His Travels," that interrupts the "prevailing orientation of an American empire looking west," by transforming "the railway from an instrument of colonization and white supremacy to a vehicle for setting Chinese bodies in motion across contested boundaries and fraught cartographies." Refusing to be put in his place by punitive racial surveillance, Wing Sing, like his train travel and like the protean author's text, highlights "a nexus of vibrant, mobile, invested Chinese subjectivity in North America that counters and exceeds prevailing mythologies of the West." Kalenda Eaton's chapter is similarly reclamatory, detailing how African American women writers' historical fiction set in the West "creates new spaces for … conversations absent in the historical record." Eaton also addresses the broader charge of her essay:

> The work of confronting whitewashed regional histories and advocating for fuller representations of Black American lives exists within grassroots educational movements, but cannot remain in the margins. For literary scholars, writers, and activists there must also include a demand and continued emphasis on narratives representing the complexity of these moments, the regional histories that inform the present and a multiethnic West that rejects constructed omissions.

The final three chapters in "Movements" brilliantly echo Eaton's call for moving us to "fuller representations." Daniel Enrique Pérez unfolds the decolonial, generative iconography of the mariposa (butterfly), metamorphosing from homophobic slur into decolonial site for art and activism by queer and trans people of color (QTPOC), women of color, the undocumented, immigrants, and Chicanx/Latinx people. The mariposa, migrating each year between the US and Mexico, exemplifies the fierce beauty of movement across imposed, policed borders of all kinds. Ho'esta Mo'e'hahne positions queer Indigeneity "as a mode of perception, spatiality, and decolonial critique" by focusing on Kumeyaay poet Tommy Pico's first book, *IRL*. In poems that speak to complex migrations between the poet's home in New York City and homelands in southern California, Pico "creates queer literary maps that locate Kumeyaay people in their homelands while also crafting personal affective modes of return as he traverses the continent." Such movements inform the very concept of gender as a category of analysis in Alicia Carroll's chapter, identified here as a "complex that coheres land, body, spirit, relations hips, and responsibilities." Carroll begins with a queer reading of the Indian Removal Act of 1830, linking the mass forcible removal of Indigenous nations from their homelands in what is now called the Southeast, to "how settler-colonizers set out to destroy expansive Indigenous gender systems … by forcefully and systematically imposing the heteronormative sex/gender binary." Like Whitebear and Mo'e'hahne, Carroll also emphasizes how queer Indigenous Studies scholars and Two-Spirit and queer Native peoples "work to uncover, recover, and revitalize the histories and legacies of expansive Indigenous gender systems."

The chapters in the book's final part, "Lands," ask us to look in all directions, both back through the previous sections, and toward questions of futurity. They model ways of looking, imagining, questioning, and re-making. In "A Crowded Wilderness: Women, Homemaking, and Federal Bureaucracies in the American Southwest, 1920-1968," Nancy Cook looks for the overlooked—the quotidian lives of white women working and trying to make a home where they are transients. Focusing on Dama Margaret Smith, author of *I Married a Ranger*, Cook addresses how she navigated rigid hierarchies of governmental bureaucracies, of gender, class, and race, as well as the ways she negotiated power within such hierarchies. Amy Hamilton looks instead to the ground, demonstrating how "both the domesticated lawn and the swirling prairie are highly mediated, controlled, and gendered." Her analysis of Indigenous writers Simon Ortiz, Layli Long Soldier, and Mona Power "provide another lens through which to interrogate the complex legacy of grass in United States history and ideology." Audrey Goodman generates striking new frameworks for engaging meaningfully with contemporary women artists whose work "envisions spatial relationships as emerging through gendered bodies in place and over time." Karen R. Roybal's chapter turns to another way of seeing the land: through legal documents about gender, property, and possession. In "The Alternative Archive and Gendered Dispossession" Roybal recovers depositions, which she renames as testimonios, provided by Mexicano/as during land adjudication proceedings in late nineteenth-century New Mexico. She shows how this "alternative archive" makes visible stories "rendered invisible" in the institutional archive. In working with an archive where nearly all depositions are provided by men, Roybal identifies the "archive" as this book's fifth core concept.

The archive emerges as a refrain in this book, engaging us in questions of scholarly accountability, relationality, and ethics, in access and legibility. The recovery of little-known, out-of-print, forgotten archives—the common legacy for white women and people of color—surfaces unexpected histories, and critical moments of witness, survivance, and disruption in the American West. Liza Black speaks of the "un-archive," her act of refusal in engaging with the official record that is a record of indifference and racism toward Indigenous families.[69] In reckoning with California mission records, Whitebear writes: "the records will never be straight, neither in the

clear linear path they are often told, nor in the ways in which Two-Spirit people are erased in them." Eddy Alvarez, Jr. honors the archives of the future, created by Latinx and Chicanx artists in Los Angeles, remapping and queering the urban western borderlands. Lindsey Schneider's chapter asserts rivers such as the Columbia *as* archives:

> much like traditional archives, riverine archives are implicated in heteropatriarchy and other colonial technologies of rule, yet at the same time, the river has always been a nexus of Indigenous technologies of place-making, knowledge production, and relationships with the more-than-human world.

Across our differences, we find common ground. These chapters make unexpected connections across archives of knowledge, witness, and resistance. From reading between the lines of testimonios and recovering vernacular and print stories, to "unsettling" California mission records and documenting that state's genocidal campaigns, to creating archives of mythologies and the sacred, they reveal alternative archives that affirm resistance and survival; belonging and resilience.

The volume's final two chapters express a powerful message of futurity for the spaces currently called the American West and echo the opening chapter by Margaret Noodin, who remaps the West through interconnecting waterways and languages. Alvarez's mapping of Los Angeles shows how "queer Latinx or *jotería scholars*, activists, and artists pose critical questions about gender, sexuality, race, land, and language that reshape the West as always queer, as always jotería." The queer sacred kinship he finds in Hector Silva's art—a kinship of bodies, gestures, and ornamentation; a kinship of land and body—creates new mythologies that like the mariposa, speak to transformative belonging. Like Alicia Carroll, Schneider affirms that land back is the future tense for Indigenous peoples. Schneider writes:

> It is only through the restoration and flourishing of the complex web of Indigenous relationships with land, water, and our more-than-human-kin that we can hope to recover from the damage that settler colonial notions of land-as-property—with all their attendant conceptions of gender, heteropatriarchy and domination—have done to the land and to Indigenous peoples.

Amid the urgency of environmental devastation in the US West and its imperiled rivers, Schneider coalesces a refrain throughout this book: the reparative imperative. The imperative is to unlearn and learn, to be accountable and reciprocal, to confront injustice, and to engage in transformative world-renewal and world-making.

Through innovative methodologies, reclaimed and emergent archives of knowledge, contributors to *Gender and the American West* model fresh frameworks for thinking about relations of power and place, gender and genre, mythologies and futurities, settler colonization, and decolonial actions. Even as they reckon with the gendered and racialized violence at the core of the American West, contributors forge new lexicons for imagining alternative Western futures.

Together, the intersectional, provocative pathways these chapters forge help us arrive at a profoundly complex, dynamic, and always ongoing engagement with gender and the American West.

Notes

1 For more background on the activism that preceded the unauthorized removals of the statues, ongoing institutional inaction, and commentaries by UO faculty, see for example, K. Rambo, "University of

Oregon ignored calls for removal of racist statue, student group says." The article states, "The University of Oregon faculty senate called for a presidential advisory group to look into such statues on campus in 2018. But the Committee on Recognizing Our Diverse History was ultimately precluded from making recommendations for removals of statues found to be racist or otherwise harmful." President Schill of the University of Oregon was quoted as stating, "I will not consider recommendations that move or remove any of the existing structures on campus (e.g., artwork, statues, building names). It is critical that we learn from our history and not hide it from ourselves or future generations." *The Oregonian*, June 23, 2020. "Why They Had to Go: Statement on the Fall of the Pioneer Statues," Guest Viewpoint. *Eugene Weekly*, June 25, 2020. The statement was written by faculty of the UO Native American Studies Program and the Department of Indigenous, Race, and Ethnic Studies: Brian Klopotek, Kirby Brown, Michelle Jacob, Leilani Sabzalian, Jennifer O'Neal, Jeff Ostler, Gabriela Pérez-Báez, Charise Cheney, Lynn Fujiwara, Courtney Cox, Sharon Luk, Laura Pulido, Ernesto Martínez, Michael Hames-García and Alai Reyes-Santo. They write: "Professors introduced a measure to the faculty senate to remove the statues as far back as 1992. Faculty and staff likewise contested the pioneer narrative in general in 2015 and called for a review of campus statuary in 2017. Graduate student Marc Carpenter delivered a report to President Michael Schill in May 2019 that irrefutably established "The Pioneer's" white supremacist intent. No response." http://eugeneweekly.com/2020/06/25/why-they-had-to-go/ The UO president's message to the community following the removal of the statues condemned the actions: "On Saturday, what some consider to be symbols of racism and oppression on our campus were targeted by an anonymous group of protestors. Both the Pioneer and Pioneer Mother statues were torn from their pedestals and vandalized in dramatic fashion. While I strongly believe in the power of peaceful protest and the right to free expression and dissent, I condemn these acts of destruction. What happened Saturday evening was unacceptable." Quoted in "UO President Condemns Vandalism of Pioneer Statues - but won't put them back up." News staff, June 15, 2020. KTVL News. https://ktvl.com/newsletter-daily/uo-president-condemns-vandalism-of-pioneer-statues-but-wont-put-them-back-up.

2 Phillips, "Settler Monuments, Indigenous Memory," 340.

3 In 2013, faculty members Jennifer O'Neal (enrolled member Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde) and Kevin Hatfield started the Hidden History project at University of Oregon: https://hiddenhistory.uoregon.edu/ In a piece that predates the removal of the statues, Cynthia Culver Prescott notes that "The Pioneer Father is considered an important campus landmark and is included in campus tours for prospective students. The *Pioneer Mother*, though located only about 100 yards away, was in a less heavily traveled part of campus and few students know she exists." "Pioneer Mother statue (Eugene, Oregon)."

4 Marc James Carpenter, "Report on 'Reconsidering *The Pioneer* One Hundred Years Later,'" 2. Also see Carpenter's essay, "Pioneer Problems: 'Wanton Murder,' Indian War Veterans and Oregon's Violent History," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 121, no. 2 (Summer 2020): 156–85. In 1919, *The Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society published Fredrick V. Holman's purportedly "impromptu" speech at the dedication of "The Pioneer." Holman was President of the Oregon Historical Society, former President of the Oregon Pioneer Association and of the Sons and Daughters of Oregon Pioneers. His speech was entitled, "Qualities of the Oregon Pioneers: An Address at the Unveiling of the Statue "The Pioneer" on the Campus of the University of Oregon, at Eugene, Oregon, May 22, 1919." 20, no. 3 (September 1919): 235–42. The tropes, narrative arc, and ideologies are identical to those deployed by Donald Trump in key speeches during his presidency, including the State of the Union in 2020: "They ['Anglo Saxon race which is part of the Teutonic race'] soon adapted themselves to conditions and learned self-reliance and how to overcome the difficulties of establishing themselves in a new country, theretofore peopled only by Indians. They continued to push on westward and occupied what are now the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri and other western lands, now the Central States of this country. Their courage, their powers, their self-reliance, and their ideals increased as they moved westward. They fought Indians; they cut down forests; they reclaimed wild lands; they established homes, schools and churches. It is of this people that most of the early Oregon pioneers are a part. The instincts and traditions of the Anglo-Saxon race have ever been to move westward. The star it had followed, which showed the westward course of empire, at last stood and shone over Oregon. Here was a wild land to be made useful and become a part of the civilized world. It was about two thousand miles west of the forefront of civilization in the United States at that time. Between that forefront and Oregon there are great plains, rugged mountains and large rivers to be crossed, a road to be established for them and for others, coming after them, to travel successfully to Oregon, 'the land where dreams come true.' There were great numbers of savage Indians to be encountered and forced to respect the rights and property of these immigrants (236–7).

5 Carpenter, 2.
6 Carpenter, 7.
7 Prescott, *Pioneer Mother Monuments: Constructing Cultural Memory*, 5.
8 Prescott, 5.
9 A helpful essay for providing frameworks and terminology used in this volume is Maile Arvin, Eve Tuck, Angie Morrill's "Decolonizing Feminism: Challenging Connections between Settler Colonialism and Heteropatriarchy," *Feminist Formations*. They write: "Because the United States is balanced upon notions of white supremacy and heteropatriarchy, everyone living in the country is not only racialized and gendered, but also has a relationship to settler colonialism," 9.
10 Emily Eliza Scott, Stephanie LeMenager, Marsha Weisiger Sarah D. Wald, Erin Moore, and Amanda Wojick, "Guest View: History-Reckoning as Future-Building."
11 This concept comes from Carey McWilliams's *North from Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States*.
12 The full sentence is: "Whether we are talking about literature or history, the West has always been queer." "Teaching Queer and Two-Spirit Indigenous Literatures, or The West Has Always Been Queer," 120. That this is still newsworthy can be seen in the exclamatory critical reaction to the award-winning 2021 western, *The Power of the Dog*.
13 Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally*, 78. The chapter, "Configuring Race in the American West" further details how the Oregon Donation Land Act's generous distribution of land privileged white men, who then "built a legal and economic structure that privileged the White farmers, merchants, and miners who were soon streaming into the territory" (78).
14 Boag, "Thinking Like Mount Rushmore: Sexuality and Gender in the Republican Landscape," 47; 48. For an extended analysis of generational shifts of gender norms and roles for pioneering white families in Willamette Valley of western Oregon, see Cynthia Culver Prescott, *Gender and Generation on the Far Western Frontier*, Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2007.
15 Boag, 48. See Dina Gilio-Whitaker, quoting ethnobotanist Kat Anderson that "much of the landscape in California that so impressed early writers, photographers, and landscape painters was in fact a cultural landscape: not the wilderness they imagined" (97). The park-like settings of places like Yosemite Valley had been shaped by controlled burns, part of seasonal Indigenous land management systems across what is now called California. In the early twentieth century, fire suppression became official US Forest Service policy, leading to problems of monoculture, overgrowth, and eventually, increased disastrous western wildfires. The consequence of banning cultural fires is finally getting more attention and even participation from non-Indigenous agencies as climate change and catastrophic wildfires devastate the West. See the work of Bill Tripp and the Karuk Tribe's Natural Resources Department in northwestern California, https://www.sciencefriday.com/segments/indigenous-fire-prevention/. Also see the Yurok Tribe's work: https://nwcasc.uw.edu/2021/10/28/traditional-learnings-into-the-field-with-yurok-and-usfs-experts-on-cultural-burning-of-forested-lands/ In Oregon, see Brian Bull, "Ancient Native American Forest Practices Demonstrated in Burn near Eugene," *KLCC News*, October 19, 2021. https://www.opb.org/article/2021/10/19/ancient-native-american-forest-practices-demonstrated-in-burn-near-eugene/.
16 Mortimer-Sandilands, "Unnatural Passions?: Notes toward a Queer Ecology."
17 Jacobs, "Reproducing White Settlers and Eliminating Natives," 16. The Homestead Act of 1862 stipulated that "Any U.S. citizen, or intended citizen, who had never borne arms against the U.S. Government could file an application and lay claim to 160 acres of surveyed Government land. For the next 5 years, the General Land Office looked for a good faith effort by the homesteaders. This meant that the homestead was their primary residence and that they made improvements upon the land. After 5 years, the homesteader could file for his patent (or deed of title) by submitting proof of residency and the required improvements to a local land office." National Archives, Educator Resources. https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/homestead-act#background. With the Homestead Act, single women over 21 were eligible to claim 160 acres, like single men.
18 See Pfaelzer's milestone book of historical recovery, documenting the atrocities committed against Chinese and Chinese Americans in the American West between 1850–1906, as well as their resistance and resilience: *Driven Out: The Forgotten War Against Chinese Americans*. She writes that, "With most Chinese women then barred from entering the country, descendants from the generations who endured the roundups are few" (xxvii).
19 See, for example, Andrew Theen, "Ex-Klan Leader's Name Should Be Removed 'as Soon as Possible' from UO Building, President Says," *The Oregonian*, September 1, 2016. https://www.oregonlive.com

/education/2016/09/uo_president_building_named_fo.html. Numerous crosses were placed on the Butte in the twentieth century; a massive 51-foot-tall metal cross was in place on the Butte from 1964–1997.

20 Prescott, *Pioneer Mother Monuments*, 50–1. Prescott also addresses how the pioneer monuments served differentiated progressive and conservative gender norms: "As American women gained new political, economic, and social opportunities and increasingly embraced their sexuality—and as concern with new immigration from southern and eastern Europe and from Asia grew widespread—monuments erected by conservative groups such as the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) and western pioneer organizations celebrated an earlier golden age of clearly defined gender roles and Anglo-American dominance. In fact, the nativist DAR embraced pioneer monuments as a means to resist rapidly changing gender norms and to celebrate white civilization simultaneously" (52–3).

21 For details on Proctor's "Pioneer Mother" monuments and the context informing their public display, see Prescott, chapter 2, "Bibles, Rifles and Sunbonnets: Venerating Pioneer Motherhood, 1920–1940," in *Pioneer Mother Monuments* and "Pioneer Mother statue (Eugene, OR)."

22 Burt Brown Barker, quoted in Prescott, *Pioneer Mother Monuments*, 60–1.

23 Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity," *American Literature.*

24 There is a long scholarly record on whiteness, gender, and Indian captivity narratives. See for example, *Bound and Determined: Captivity, Culture-Crossing, and White Womanhood from Mary Rowlandson to Patty Hearst* by Christopher Castiglia; *Captivity and Sentiment: Cultural Exchange in American Literature, 1682–1861* by Michelle Burnham; *The Captive's Position: Female Narrative, Male Identity, and Royal Authority in Colonial New England* by Teresa A. Toulouse. For a contemporary perspective, see Adam Piron, "New Tom Hanks Western Minimizes Indigeneity," *High Country News*, March 26, 2021. https://www.hcn.org/articles/culture-new-tom-hanks-western-minimizes-indigeneity.

25 Marubbio, *Killing the Indian Maiden*. Contributor Jacob Floyd addresses this sexual and racial trope in US film history. Before the film era, Mohawk writer Pauline Johnson published "A Strong Race Opinion on the Indian Girl in Modern Fiction" in 1892 for the *Toronto Sunday Globe* in which she scathingly addresses the "Indian girl in fiction," both her "suicidal mania," and the "inevitable doom that shadows her love affairs. She is always desperately in love with the young white hero, who in turn is forever grateful to her for services rendered the garrison in general and himself in particular during red days of war. In short, she is so wrapped up in him that she is treacherous to her own people, tells falsehoods to her father and other chiefs of her tribe and otherwise makes herself detestable and dishonourable. Of course this white hero never marries her!" Reprinted in E. Pauline Johnson, *Tekahionwake: Collected Poems and Selected Prose*, edited by Carole Gerson and Veronica Strong-Boag, 177–83, Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2002.

26 Quoted in Martha A. Sandweiss, "John Gast, American Progress, 1872." Artist Charles Hilliard has reimagined this painting, and the settler colonialism driving it with the painting, "Reversing Manifest Destiny," commissioned by the Indian Land Tenure Foundation, whose objective is "Indian Lands in Indian Hands." An Indigenous woman in white (White Buffalo Calf Woman) reverses the directional and violent terms of manifest destiny for Indigenous peoples and their other-than-human kin. This image does not just reverse the history of westering; it visually confronts the legacy of environmental and climate devastation wrought by US structures of extractive capitalism.

27 Johnson, "A Memory Sweet to Soldiers: The Significance of Gender in the History of the American West," 498. Johnson's own foundational work in gender history of the American West includes *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush* (Norton, 2000), which aims to "foreground the lives of women of color, men of color, and white women, and to 'mark' the categories of Anglo and male experience—to show them to be as historically and culturally contingent, as deeply linked to understandings of gender and race" (52).

28 Joan M. Jensen and Darlis A. Miller's influential 1980 article, "The 'Gentle Tamers' Revisited: New Approaches to the History of Women in the American West," challenged the formulaic reduction of western women to "four major categories: "gentle tamers, sunbonneted helpmates, hell-raisers, and bad women," (178-9) and called for a a "new multicultural framework as a focus for western women" (185).

29 Castañeda, "Women of Color and the Rewriting of Western History: The Discourse, Politics, and Decolonization of History," 514.

30 Castañeda, 533.

31 Castañeda, 533. See also Suzan Shown Harjo's cautionary address at the first Women's West Conference in 1983. She did a similar "call out" to [white] western women's historians to "avoid the mistakes and biases of men of the West" and "remember that what some called hard times settling in a foreign land

was home, life, and daily living for others … And that the frontier mentality extends through today in white America's fight against Indian America for precious resources and against Hispanic Americans for immigration and voting rights."

32 Seven years after Castañeda's article was published, Linda Tuhiwai Smith published her milestone work, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (Zed Books, 1999; 2020). Her chapter entitled, "Imperialism, History, Writing and Theory" offers an extended Indigenous critique of Western knowledge systems, most especially western historiography, while addressing the challenges and needs for reclaiming history as a tool for decolonization. See Patrick Wolfe's well-known articulation of settler colonialism in "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (December 2006): 387–409; *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology* (London and New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 1998). For an essay cautioning against a reductive reading of Wolfe's work, that "explore[s] why it is that the same locution often seems to stand-in for a serious engagement of his theory and is also perhaps the most neglected aspect of his theory," see J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, ""A Structure, Not an Event": Settler Colonialism and Enduring Indigeneity," *Lateral* 5, no. 1 (Spring 2016). http://csalateral.org/issue/5-1/forum-alt-humanities-settler-colonialism-enduring-indigeneity-kauanui/.

33 Jacobs, "Getting out of a Rut: Decolonizing Western Women's History," 586–87.

34 Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race*, 148.

35 See my introduction to *In the Land of the Grasshopper Song*: *Two Women in the Klamath River Indian Country in 1908–09*, where I describe the paradox of white middle-class women "finding personal fulfillment and professional fulfillment outside their own homes by entering the homes of Native families" (xi). Although Mary Arnold and Mabel Reed, the co-authors of *Grasshopper Song*, were deeply skeptical of field matron work (technically they were teachers but performed field matron duties) and offer a striking reverse assimilation narrative of their time with Karuk communities, they were still placed there to eliminate Indigeneity. See Jean Pfaelzer's chapter in this volume for detailed survivor accounts of genocidal campaigns in northern California.

36 Bonnin (Zitkala-Ša) 52; 65.

37 Natalie Pate, Capi Lynn, and Dianne Lugo, "Chemawa Indian School Families Seek Answers, Healing through Federal Investigation," *Salem Statesman Journal*, October 24, 2021.
https://www.usatoday.com/in-depth/news/nation/2021/10/24/native-american-assimilation boarding-schools-chemawa-salem-oregon-deb-haaland/6165318001/.

38 Pember, "Deaths at Chemawa," *Indian Country Today*.

39 Crenshaw tweet, February 20, 2021.

40 Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History*.

41 Diaz, *Plenary*, Western Literature Association, 2020.

42 Leong, "Still Walking, Still Brave: Mapping Gender, Race, and Power in U.S. Western History," 627.

43 This phrase is a common one in the Chicanx/Mexican immigrant rights movement and appears in various forms in Chicanx scholarship and arts.

44 In *Landscapes of the New West: Gender and Geography in Contemporary Women's Writing* (1999) Comer writes: "It is a fair and related challenge, moreover, to ask whether the process of so labeling these writers [as western writers] constitutes a kind of colonizing act. I should say in response to this legitimate concern that one goal of this study is to engage critics whose attitude may be, quite understandably, that western regionalism is a 'white thing,' a critical category that, like the Wild West or conquest stories it is assumed to mimic, offers little relevance to the literature and concerns of contemporary people of color" (9).

45 "About the Western History Association," https://www.westernhistory.org/; "About WLA, the Western Literature Association," http://www.westernlit.org/about/.

46 Tatonetti, "Teaching Queer and Two-Spirit Indigenous Literatures, or The West Has Always Been Queer," 117.

47 Cristina Rivera Garza with Francisco Cantú, "Belonging across Borders: A Conversation." https://orionmagazine.org/article/belonging-across-borders/.

48 "Percival Everett: On diversity in the Western genre and in the real-life West."
https://www.kunr.org/post/prolific-author-percival-everett-wilderness-place-clarity#stream/0.

49 Eaton, "Teaching the Black West."

50 Lutenski, *West of Harlem: African American Writers and the Borderlands*, 8. Michael K. Johnson's books offer critical genealogies and recover vital archives of the African American west, including Black men's experiences in and of the West. Lil Nas X's hit song "Old Town Road" and the 2021 black western

The Harder They Fall (Netflix) speak to contemporary Black artists and filmmakers' reflexive engagements with Black masculinities and mythologies in the US West. The director, Jeymes Samuel, says in an interview: "I hate when people say I re-mixed, re-envisioned, reimagined the western. I haven't. You guys reimagined the Old West. I just brought balance to the force, like Luke Skywalker." This richly interreferential film, however, does not directly engage with Indigenous peoples or homelands, a missed opportunity to explore Black-Native histories in the West. Quoted in Helena Andrews-Dyer, "Casting Black Actors in Period Pieces isn't Diversity. It's History." *The Washington Post*, November 7, 2021.

51 Bold, *Frontier Club: Popular Westerns and Cultural Power, 1880–1924*, 2.

52 There has been increased public attention in recent years to the whiteness of US wilderness and outdoor recreation spaces. The *LA Times* reported on a 2018 study by the Society of American Foresters that "found that between 2010 and 2014, 94.6% of visitors to national forests identified as white. People who identified as Latino made up 5.7%, and those who identified as Black made up 1.2%" (quoted in Chace Beech, "Want more Diversity in Camping?: Start with the Gear," August 10, 2020). For the tenacious power of particular versions of gendered nature, "wilderness," one need only to look at such enduringly popular television series as "Man vs. Wild," "Deadliest Catch," and numerous wilderness "reality shows" set in Alaska.

53 Bold, *Frontier Club: Popular Westerns and Cultural Power, 1880–1924*, 2.

54 Bold, 3.

55 Also see Chapter 3, "Women in the Frontier Club," for Bold's account of how the "women around Owen Wister influenced his authorial sensibility in layered ways" (105).

56 Kollin, *Captivating Westerns*, 35.

57 Kollin, 36.

58 Mitchell, *Westerns: Making the Man in Fiction and Film*, 5.

59 See Michelle H. Raheja's milestone study of early Indigenous actors, directors, and spectators, *Reservation Reelism: Redfacing, Visual Sovereignty, and Representations of Native Americans in Film* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2008). Raheja's work on visual sovereignty is foregrounded in contributor Jacob Floyd's chapter. Joanna Hearne's *Native Recognition: Indigenous Cinema and the Western* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2012) also addresses how Indigenous people have been participants and shapers of the film industry, as well as how Indigenous filmmakers from the silent era onward engage "a particular history of colonization in which Hollywood's representational thefts repeated and reproduced U.S. genocidal programs of land expropriations, cultural interruption, and familial rupture" (14). Also see contributor Liza Black's *Picturing Indians: Native Americans in Film, 1941–1960* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2020); *Seeing Red: Hollywood's Pixeled Skins,* edited by LeAnne Howe, Harvey Markowitz, and Denise K. Cummings (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2013). Contributor Jacob Floyd writes: "Native American film history is not confined to that genre [the western]; however, the genre's outsized place in popular culture has greatly informed the portrayal of Native Americans in screen media of all kinds." Cree filmmaker Neil Diamond's documentary, *Reel Injun: On the Trail of the Hollywood Indian* (2010), powerfully encapsulates how Indigenous media-makers both confront the representational harm of westerns for Indigenous people while also creating new cinematic genres that tell their stories and imagine their futures.

60 See my essay, "It's a Good Day to Bike: Indigenous Futures in Ramona Emerson's *Opal*," (*Western American Literature*) for a longer analysis.

61 See contributor Kirby Brown's powerful piece published in *The Oregonian*: "Outrage at Malheur, Standing Rock is predictable." November 2, 2016. In Fall 2016, the continuum linking state-sanctioned violence against Indigenous peoples at Standing Rock with endemic representational violence was evident with the Cleveland Indians in the World Series. Despite notable changes of team names from decades of Indigenous-led activism (Cleveland team; Washington R**), a stadium of Atlanta Braves fans did the "tomahawk chop" during the 2021 World Series. Meanwhile, problematic names of other professional sports teams persist, such as the San Diego Padres, Texas Rangers, and San Francisco Forty-Niners. Their names reference suppressed histories of genocidal and territorial occupation in Texas and California.

62 Quoted in Maxine Bernstein, "Armed Occupation of Malheur Refuge was 'Dress Rehearsal' for Violent Takeover of Nation's Capitol, Extremist Watchdogs Say," *The Oregonian*, January 7, 2021. She states: "The extremist ideologies and tactics that led to the violent occupation of public lands in Oregon are the same ideologies that President Trump has stoked among his supporters"; "You can

draw a straight line from the Bundy Ranch standoff and Malheur takeover to the Trump insurrection in Washington."

63 For a transcript of this speech, see, https://time.com/5777857/state-of-the-union-transcript-2020/.

64 Million, *Therapeutic Nations*, 46. Also see "Felt Theory: An Indigenous Feminist Approach to Affect and History," in which Million argues "that academia repetitively produces gatekeepers to our entry into important social discourses because we *feel* our histories as well as think them" (54). In *Wíčazo Sa Review* 24, no. 2 (Fall 2009): 53–76. Moraga, "Introduction." *This Bridge Called My Back*, 19.

65 "Kimberlé Crenshaw on Intersectionality, More than Two Decades Later," Columbia Law School, June 8, 2017.

66 Lorde, "Learning from the 60s," 138.

67 These essays, as well as those by Whitebear and Carroll, underscore Beth Piatote's refrain in her book, *Domestic Subjects: Gender, Citizenship, and Law in Native American Literature* that "Indian wars are wars on Indian families … Indian wars are wars on Indian family structures."

68 Wander shared this insight at the Western History Association Conference Roundtable, "Gender and Settler Colonialism," October 19, 2021.

69 Black shared this insight at the Western History Association Conference Roundtable, "Gender and Settler Colonialism," October 19, 2021.

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