Landscape and Race in the United States

Edited by Richard H. Schein

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
New York London

Routledge is an imprint of the
Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

Published in 2006 by
Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
711 Third Ave,
New York NY 10016

Published in Great Britain by
Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
2 Park Square,
Milton Park, Abingdon,
Oxon, OX14 4RN

Transferred to Digital Printing 2008

International Standard Book Number-10: 0-415-94994-7 (Hardcover) 0-415-94995-5 (Softcover)
International Standard Book Number-13: 978-0-415-94994-1 (Hardcover) 978-0-415-94995-8 (Softcover)

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Catalog record is available from the Library of Congress

informa
Taylor & Francis Group
is the Academic Division of Informa plc.

Visit the Taylor & Francis Web site at
http://www.taylorandfrancis.com

and the Routledge Web site at
http://www.routledge-ny.com

Contents

CHAPTER 1

Race and Landscape in the United States

RICHARD H. SCHEIN

Introduction

This book on race and landscape in the United States begins with a simple image.[1] Figure 1.1 presents a portion of a 1903 fire insurance map.[2] Fire insurance maps became popular with insurance underwriters in the nineteenth century as a way to write policies without having to visit a site—they record building sizes, construction materials, proximity to water lines and fire hydrants, potentially flammable and combustible materials, and so on. They also carry a wealth of information that is useful beyond fire insurance underwriting—information that is factual even as it might shed light on American social and cultural attitudes extending well beyond a concern for fire in urban settings. This particular map depicts a small portion of the small village of Midway, in central Kentucky. It more specifically shows my house and yard as central, several other adjoining properties, my garage, and an ice house (ICE HO.) that was torn down long ago to make way for a new driveway. I start with my own house for two reasons. The first reason is prosaic, to make the point that this book intends to get the reader thinking about race and the cultural landscape in everyday places, such as one's own backyard. The second reason follows from the first but makes a somewhat broader claim that it is *always* possible to think about race and the American cultural landscape, *even* in one's own backyard.

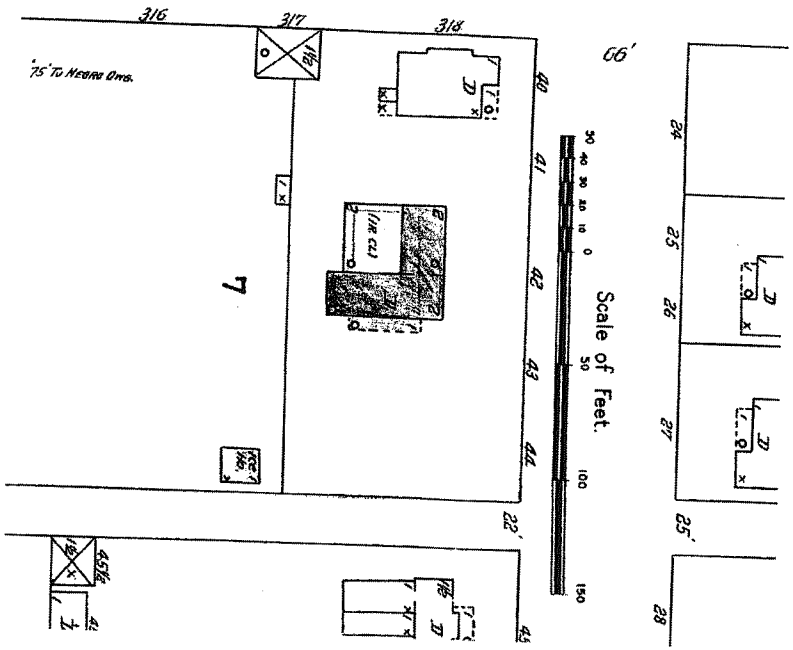

Figure 1.1 "Negro Dwg," or African American residences, are off the map, as indicated by a notation in the margins of this 1903 map from central Kentucky.

The argument begins with the words printed in the map's upper-left-hand corner: "75' to Negro Dwg" (Seventy-five feet to Negro dwellings). Clearly these words mark the presence of "race" in the landscape. Midway is in Woodford County, the majority of whose population on the eve of the Civil War had been African American, and the vast majority of them had been slaves in this rich, southern agricultural region. Even at the turn of the twentieth century, many of those slaves' descendants remained, and many of them had moved to town and lived, in 1903, in several small frame dwelling houses just "off the map" to the east, houses that sat next to a railroad line connecting Midway with the county seat. You might imagine this picture of race and landscape—the small African American neighborhood at the edge of (a southern) town was a regular feature of the Reconstruction South, even as that nascent urban residential pattern was solidifying through the aegis of Jim Crow into the kinds of segregated urban settings we can take for granted today. Midway was no exception. By the mid-twentieth century, there were "black" parts of town and "white" parts of town, a distinction that extended even to the one-block-long retail district running along both sides of the railroad track in the middle of town. We can perhaps imagine this scene, even as there is no map evidence (in 1903) of its wholeness—for the so-called Negro dwellings, the residences of African

Americans in Midway, were not mapped. I suspect the immediately utilitarian explanation for this absence, marked only by marginal notation, might be that African Americans were not expected to buy insurance. But this only deflects the larger questions of power in the economy (as in why weren't African Americans expected to buy insurance?) and in the landscape (as in why is it necessary to mark "Negro dwellings" even as they are absent from the map proper?). Those questions lead to interrogating the intersection of race and landscape in everyday American places, the first of my reasons for invoking the example. And they entail a certain bringing of race back onto the map—that is, if by race we mean the presence of Negro dwellings. And we often do, for "race" generally is treated as a marker for "people of color." It is a long-standing practice in American life that those deemed to have race are the ones who seemingly do not fit within the (white) majority.[3] Although it certainly is important to bring back to the map the presence of those small, African American neighborhoods as a central feature of Midway's landscape at the turn of the twentieth century, I also want to go a step further and do so through the claim that race already is present on the map, in other, not so obvious ways, even before we note the proximity of "Negro Dwg."

My house predates the Civil War. I know from the deed record and will books in the local county courthouse that the fellow who "built" the house in 1849 owned at least eight slaves, whom he passed on to his wife after his death shortly after the house was built.[4] I suspect that the house was built with slave labor, and I know that there were slaves living in and around the property, certainly during the antebellum period, but also free African Americans lived there well into the twentieth century. A little digging might uncover a wage-labor relationship between the people who used to live in my house and the people who used to live behind it. Here the seemingly common cultural landscape of a small town residential street also is fraught with race—only this time it is the construction of whiteness: construction in the material sense, where the luxury of white privilege in at least one small southern town was built, in part, on the backs of African Americans present, and construction in the metaphorical or theoretical sense in that our very ideas about (the normality of) whiteness depend on, in this case, what Toni Morrison calls an Africanist presence. "Seventy-five feet to Negro dwellings" looks like a cartographic manifestation of Morrison's "dark, abiding, signing Africanist presence." She has challenged a view of the American literary canon as "free of, uninformed, and unshaped by the four-hundred-year-old presence of, first, Africans and then African-Americans in the United States." Instead, she supposes an Africanist presence that "shaped the body politic, the Constitution, and

the entire history of the culture … the contemplation of this black presence is central to any understanding our national literature and should not be permitted to hover at the margins of the literary imagination." To explore this Africanist presence, how it functioned, and what it was for is also to ask, "What parts do the invention and development of whiteness play in the construction of what is loosely described as 'American'?"[5] In short, the whiteness of the map's central scene depended on the race of the off-the-map African Americans.

To bring those African American dwellings back onto the map is to interrogate the place of race in this landscape and is a twofold process, at least. The first part requires the simple acknowledgment that there were African Americans in that place in 1903 and that the full and proper story of the town and its landscape is not complete without their presence. This is conceptually akin to Stuart Hall's plea for the cultural and political need to recover hidden histories (and geographies, I would add) through "the speaking of a past which previously had no language."[6] Hall calls for "a struggle of the margins to come into representation" that seems relevant to the marginalized African Americans on the 1903 map. The second part requires us to realize that even parts of the town *not* usually associated with race, the *seemingly* normal landscapes of house and yard, are already coded "white" (in this case). And "whiteness" also is about race. That whiteness, however, is largely (and historically) invisible—at least to the hegemonic readings of race and landscape that presume white to be normal and everything else to be racialized.[7] In this sense, then, and following from Toni Morrison, *all* American landscapes can be seen through a lens of race, *all* American landscapes are racialized.

Now, up to this point, the example I have employed is firmly grounded in the dynamics of a black–white binary. Partly this stems from the place of the example in the American South, where white–black social relations have determined the social fabric for so long. Without denying the centrality of an Africanist presence in American life, the always racially coded spaces and landscapes of everyday life in America also extend to other formulations of race in its popular forms; that is, beyond a black–white binary to take seriously racial dynamics across the social spectrum. W.E.B. Du Bois once proclaimed that "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line," and the point to follow here is that in the twenty-first century we are more apt to speak of color *lines*. But the underlying lesson is the same, and it also is the salient point of the following collection. The essays contained here are meant to get readers to think about the imbrications of race and the American landscape, even as they realize that all American landscapes are imbricated in questions of race.

To make that claim, however, requires a brief discussion of the key terms assumed so far: *landscape* and *race*.[8]

Cultural Landscapes and Race

The cultural landscape is both an object of study and a topic for any number of scholarly disciplines and professional practitioners. It is not the point of this volume to debate what Paul Groth and Chris Wilson called "the polyphony of cultural landscape study" or what Donald Meinig called "an attractive, important, and ambiguous term," even as it is necessary to have some idea of what the cultural landscape is and how it is that we think about cultural landscapes.[9] The term as it is most often employed in this volume comes from the tradition of landscape interpretation embedded in the discipline of cultural geography, while also drawing from other sources including anthropology, art history, and landscape architecture.[10] The term has historically connoted a prospect or a view upon the built environment, as well as its spatial ordering and material fabric.[11] The cultural landscape thus is a material thing, even as it invokes a way of knowing the world, an epistemology that relies in large part on vision. Peirce Lewis wrote of the cultural landscape that it is "our unwitting autobiography, reflecting our tastes, our values, our aspirations, and even our fears, in tangible, visible form."[12] Because of its qualities as a tangible, visible scene/seen, it follows that not only can we interrogate the historical and geographical dimensions of the landscape as an object in and of itself (as a material thing, or set of things), we also can read and interpret cultural landscapes for what they might tell us more broadly about social worlds of the past. In addition, cultural landscapes are not simply just *there* as material evidence in the service of observations about human activity. Their very presence, as both material "things" and conceptual framings of the world, makes cultural landscapes constitutive of the processes that created them in the first place—whether through the materiality of the tangible, visible scene or through the symbolic qualities they embed that make them inescapably normative.[13] Cultural landscapes are not innocent, and the duplicity of cultural landscapes means that we can, at once, study cultural landscapes as material artifacts, with traceable and documentable empirical histories and geographies, and simultaneously use cultural landscapes to ask questions about societal ideas about and ideals of, in this case, race in American life. We also can interrogate cultural landscapes as constitutive elements of those ideas and ideals. The ultimate goal of the essays in this book is maintaining that tension—between the landscape as a thing and the landscape as an entrée into ideas and ideals, realizing that the two rely on each other. Each of the essays asks the reader to think about a particular

cultural landscape, the ideas and ideals it embodies, and, importantly, the tension inherent in the fact that those ideas and ideals, to some extent, rely on the landscape to give them life.

The essays in this volume cohere around ideas about and ideals of race. *Race* is a complicated and disputed term, with a long history and geography of use and misuse.[14] The essays in this volume take the concept of race, as well as racial categories, to be socially and politically constructed. The chapters draw generally from critical race theory an antiessentialist conception of race that nevertheless recognizes, following Cornel West, that "race matters"; that is, we act *as if* race is an ontological given.[15] This book begins by taking as given the "enduring role that race plays ... in the very geography of American life."[16] Following Stuart Hall's call to correct the absences of past representation, this might entail simply noting the intersection of race and landscape in descriptive terms—a description of, say, the plantation in American antebellum life, or the historical importance of racial codes in keeping "order" in public space, or the role of the "New Negro Movement" in promoting African American business districts and racial pride, or the "gentleman's agreements" that were put in place to counter the "threat" of Chinatowns in the American West long before the immigration clampdowns of the 1920s. Such descriptions always run the risk of simply reinforcing the very categories and racisms that undergird them. But the stories of life and landscape that relied on racial differentiations were brutally real to many Americans and so deserve to be told. The fear of reifying racial categories is tempered by this volume's ultimate aim to focus on "racialized landscapes," a concept that draws on Omi and Winant's notion of racial formation, seeking to understand "the sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed."[17] Racial processes take place and racial categories get made, in part, through cultural landscapes. Thus this book also takes as given the enduring role that the very geography of American life plays in understanding race. This book ultimately aims to draw attention to processes of racialization that take place through racialized landscapes.

That is a tall order, of course, and this book represents but a first step in the direction of understanding racialized landscapes. It is a first step that entails, at the very least, identifying and describing the intersections of race and landscape through a variety of empirical foci, through a variety of racial categories, including African American, Creole, white, Asian, Hispanic, and so on. Even as these categories are invoked, it is realized that they are not—even in their social construction or political utility—monolithic, which is to say that to identify someone or to self-identify as white or African American or Chinese is not to succumb to the ecological

fallacy, or to assume that all people placed in or identifying with a category speak with one voice, or to presume adherence to a predetermined set of traits and behaviors traceable to the racial distinction employed. In addition, the book's antiessentialist stance as well as its ultimate aim to explore processes of racialization obviates the need to distinguish between *race* and *ethnicity*, even though it is possible to trace the differential uses and applications of the terms. It also is important to realize that identity is multiply constituted and that race is not the only axis of social power in people's lives or embedded in and working through everyday cultural landscapes. Gender and class, for example, also are powerfully ever present, and this book's *primary* focus on race is not meant to preclude other dimensions of identity formation, landscape interpretation, or social analysis. Indeed, individual authors in the following chapters directly engage these other axes of social power as they intersect with race and processes of racialization.

In short, the book is intended to help us *see* race and landscape in the United States, as a long-standing and key historical–geographical tension that is nevertheless often elided, perhaps because it is such an ordinary, everyday part of American life. Of course people who have been racialized generally need no lessons in seeing race in any aspect of American life, and for them the essays in this book may serve merely as vindication.[18] For others, however, I suspect that thinking critically about race and landscape might not come naturally, and these essays are aimed at prodding such analyses.

Seeing Race and Landscape in the United States

It is easy to see race in some landscapes. Birmingham's Kelly Ingram Park clearly engages race and racism and makes no bones about it. As West Park it was an organizing site for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. It is linked to Dr. Martin Luther King's arrest that led to his letter from the Birmingham Jail. It is adjacent to the 16th Street Baptist church, where a Ku Klux Klan bomb killed Addie Mae Collins, Denise McNair, Carole Robertson, and Cynthia Wesley. It is the place were Bull Connor ordered the arrest of, by some accounts, more than one thousand children during civil rights demonstrations in the early 1960s. It is a key site in the American cultural imagination, and it is linked forever to the 1964 Civil Rights Act. A historic photograph of a young protester forced into the jaws of a police dog presumably was the inspiration for the contemporary memorialization of these events, represented in Figure 1.2. This cultural landscape is a powerful reminder of the place of race in American society. It is impossible to walk through this site without being moved. Indeed, for

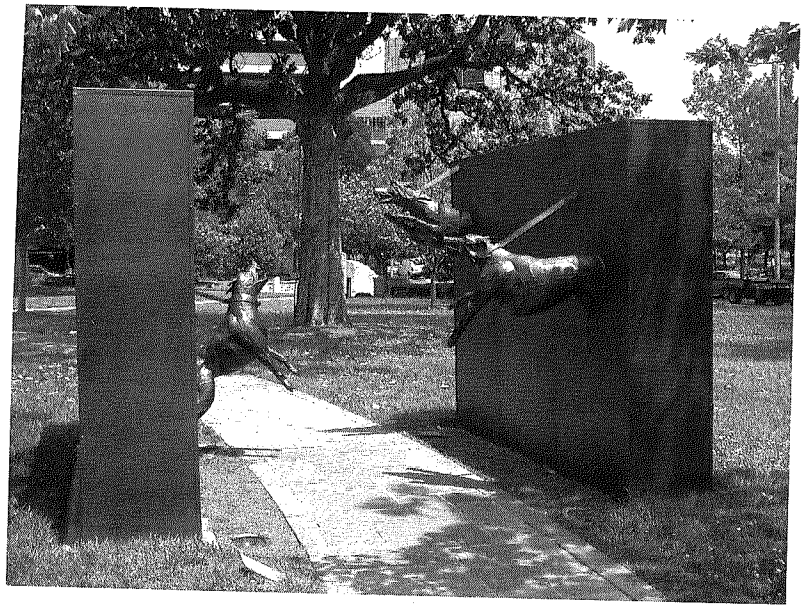

Figure 1.2 It is easy to see race and landscape in Birmingham's Kelly Ingram Park, a powerful reminder of the civil rights movement and racism in American life.

some it is impossible to walk through the site. And although it purports to memorialize one heroic chapter of resistance, resilience, and perseverance in a brutal past, our engagement with the tangible, visible scene in Kelly Ingram Park does the work of bringing that past continually into the present.

Kelly Ingram Park is a *designed* landscape. It is consciously intended to make us think about race.[19] The task always is harder in the everyday, taken-for-granted scenes in the *vernacular* landscape, especially when the work of race often is seemingly invisible, hidden, or even overwritten in the landscape's palimpsest appearance. The courthouse square in Lexington, Kentucky, for instance, displays a couple of hundred years of civic and cultural monuments. Although the monuments and layout of the square suggest a design, it is one achieved through accretion, and the various monuments around the square result from discrete decisions made over the years by individuals and groups who built on a constantly evolving scene but who never have been guided by an overarching design imperative. The invisibility of race is striking on this site, once you recall that is was the nineteenth-century site of the public market known as Cheapside, which served as a slave market. Central Kentucky had a surplus slave population by the 1840s, and people were sold down the Ohio River to work in the westward-migrating Cotton Belt. Until recently, there was

no historical marker to that effect, despite the very meaningful place of Cheapside in the geographical imaginations of many African American Lexingtonians (who have avoided the site and its surrounding businesses for generations). That invisible or even erased narrative also is at work in the design of the Kentucky quarter. The coin depicts a horse grazing behind a four-board fence in a scene redolent of Central Kentucky's Inner Bluegrass. The big house on the quarter is Federal Hill, ostensibly the place where Stephen Foster penned the minstrel ballad that is the state song. "My Old Kentucky Home" is Foster's idea of the lament of one of those slaves sold down the river, who recalls fondly life left behind in dear old Kentucky where, as the song's original second line tells us, " 'tis summer, the darkies are gay." In both of these scenes is an Africanist presence and an absent narrative only recently and reluctantly brought to the surface in Lexington's downtown through the enterprise of three African American brothers who finally enabled a historical marker to be emplaced in the courthouse square. In doing so, they brought the stories embedded in the site to light and insisted on a conscious attention to the cultural landscape of slavery and its legacies.

That continual presence often is linked to the structural imperatives of race and racism, the kinds of historical and geographical vestiges of race that seem to live on in American society beyond the control or imagination of any single individual. Often this is the place of cultural landscapes in processes of racialization. Many of us would honestly deny a racist intent in our daily activities, but the very structures of the world that we live in can make us unconsciously complicit in perpetuating processes of racialization through our interaction with and through the landscape. For example, the *New York Times* recently reported on the persistence of race restrictive deed covenants in American land practice, despite their contemporary illegality.[20] Deed covenants still are an important part of America's suburban landscape, related to planned developments, the role of home owners' associations, and niche marketing.[21] Racial covenants became popular as a way to restrict, especially, African American residents in America's burgeoning twentieth-century suburbs after racially restrictive zoning was declared illegal by the Supreme Court in 1917. Although the practice of *racial* covenants has been outlawed, many deeds still carry the restrictions in print and remind us of past racist practices that live on in the whiteness persisting in many once racially covenanted suburban communities. As Evan McKenzie suggested, "While the covenants are there, there is still room for people to think that although it cannot be legally enforced it is nonetheless a promise that they are morally obligated to keep."[22] That moral obligation may extend to the also illegal practices of

redlining, where lending organizations declare a certain area of the city off-limits to mortgage lending, and real estate steering, where individual agents "lead" clients to one or another part of a city based on racial evaluations of a client. Most banks and real estate agents decry such practices, of course, but they do persist in some quarters, and the imagery of the American suburb still to this day is overwhelmingly one of whiteness.

The cultural landscape is especially adept at masking its complicity with processes of racialization when it is enacted as part of other, seemingly more benign narratives of American life. Historic preservation, for example, generally appeals to a broad segment of the population through its reliance on a landscape or architectural *aesthetic,* which is usually invoked as something beyond assail, as a cultural value that is not somehow tainted by the political. But the aesthetic is never simply common sense, and it is a learned appreciation that privileges particular ways of looking at, knowing, and valuing landscapes and architecture. Invoking the aesthetic, through something such as historic preservation, always uses the cultural landscape in ways that have consequences, including racialized ones, beyond the intent of those involved in any particular preservation effort.[23] But to move in that direction regarding race and landscape is to ask questions about how landscapes *work* in reproducing everyday life and all of its social relations. That is the place this book hopes to end. Rather than draw conclusions, I close this section with two juxtaposed images (Figure 1.3), separated by a couple of thousand miles and one hundred years yet both grounded in the American experience. The first is a highway sign in Southern California, near the U.S. border with Mexico; the other is a public monument in Holland, Michigan. These two images might speak volumes about attitudes toward race and ethnicity in the United States during, at least, the past two centuries. The image on the top warns you to look out for fleeing immigrants, and the allusion is to illegality, stealth, haste, and maybe even fear. The one on the bottom captures the stalwart nineteenth-century forebears of the upper Midwest, immigrants from two centuries past who presumably formed the backbone of today's democratic society and who are celebrated for their sacrifice and perseverance. The message is mixed: immigrants bad, immigrants good. And the message is fraught with racial connotations, simmering just below the surface of an American melting pot ideology.

Now, I know that last paragraph was rather glib and that the exercise really isn't fair: one of these images is about events taking place today, and the other carries within it the romantic gloss of historicized hindsight, a story written in the landscape by the third generation and sanctioned by HRH Princess Margaret of the Netherlands, who unveiled the

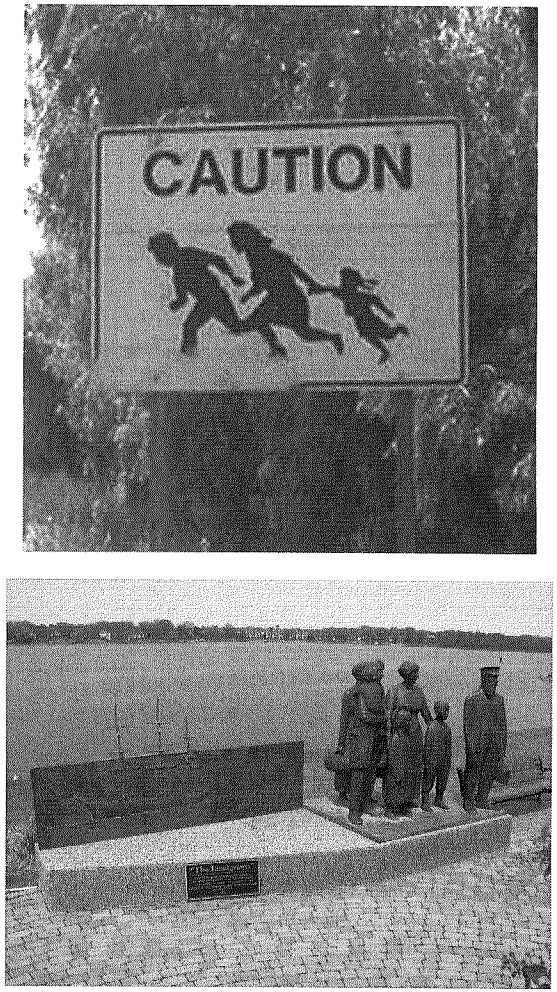

Figure 1.3 This figure features two representations from two different centuries of immigration in American life.

statue in 1997. You might argue that the image of running pedestrians is demographically wrong, and we could test that empirically in any given migration stream or city. And I might argue that the family-centered heteronormativity captured in the man–woman–child imagery tells more about the sign makers than those depicted and might be more historically accurate for the bundled northern immigrants than for those on the yellow highway sign. And you might suggest, politely, that these are just my interpretations, and you would be correct to point out that we cannot understand either of these images without, first, recourse to their specific

and particular cultural contexts and, second, a sense of how they fit more broadly into the American experience writ large. And that, I suggest, is a good thing. Our ensuing conversation—even disagreement—is actually the point. That is what representations do; that is what symbols are for. Each of these images, to greater or lesser extent, carries the weight of American ideas about and ideals of race and ethnicity; these images are representations of American concepts and practices, and if we interpret them as symbolic of those American ideas and ideals, they also mediate our ongoing formulations of the very concepts we purport to marshal in our arguments. This, too, is the place of the cultural landscape, of racialized landscapes in American life. And that is what the essays in this book do—they begin with particular instances of race and landscape in America, they begin with description, they move to interpretation, and they intend to serve as a starting point, to get us seeing the landscape around us, and to get us talking about the topic of race in American life.

The Essays

The claim at the beginning of this chapter that race always is in the landscape precludes a comprehensive or totalizing view of race and landscape in the United States. In other words, there is no point in even trying to introduce the spectrum of American racial practice as context for the chapters that follow. Clearly there are key moments and events and landscapes in an American historical geography of race and landscape: slavery and the Thirteenth Amendment, Chinese exclusion laws, the Gadsden Purchase, sharecropping, redlining, the immigration reform acts of 1921 and 1924 and 1965, the "Gentleman's Agreement" with Japan in 1907, Jim Crow, the Ku Klux Klan, the New Negro Movement, historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs), the Harlem Renaissance, and urban renewal, among many others. Thus beyond the rather general foundational claims about race and landscape in the preceding section, this chapter makes no attempt to *a priori* set the stage for the essays following. Instead, each author addresses within his or her chapter relevant facts and contexts of American land and life. The selection of authors in this volume is, at first glance, idiosyncratic. I drew specifically on scholars of the American landscape who have been writing about race and landscape in a way that theoretically and thematically shares the intention of this volume. My own intellectual home in cultural geography has meant that most of the authors here are geographers, although attempts were made, some successfully, to enlist others beyond the discipline. The list of contributors also was limited to those who had both the time and the inclination to contribute, and the several obvious omissions generally reflect busy schedules and other

projects rather than a conscious attempt to exclude. I deliberately moved beyond the black–white binary in choosing chapter subjects to include other racialized landscapes, including those identifiable as Latino or Hispanic, Chinese American, native Mexican, and white. Regrettably, many other significant intersections of race and landscape are missing, including those involving Native Americans. Also, I sought analyses of race in both urban and rural landscapes, and I tried for historical and contemporary examples and essays that link the historical with the contemporary. Last, I enlisted authors who would take seriously the imbrications of class and gender with race. So, although anything like complete coverage is perhaps impossible, perhaps the reader will grant some forgiveness for any particular omission and can see how the examples herein, although specific and selective, share similarities with other processes of racialization and other associated landscapes. If we are successful in this volume then our omissions will prompt additions to the fledgling literature on race and landscape in the United States, contributions to the ongoing conversation and argument about the interrelations of race and landscape.

In asking each author to write about race and landscape in the United States, I followed a modest formula designed to move from landscape description to landscape as a reflection of cultural practice to the concept of racialized landscapes, fully implicated in the ongoing production and reproduction of American life. The formula structures the charge to authors that I reproduce below. That formula suggests that it works to first take on the question of landscape history, such as when and where was the landscape created, by whom, why, how has it been altered, and so on. We then can start to ask questions about what the cultural landscape means by attempting an interpretation of the landscape as unwitting autobiography. And as we argue over what it means—about authorial intentions and readers' interpretations, over different interpretations—our conversations will range from the landscape to link with other big ideas in American life. At some point in this process, we will see the landscape as the tangible, visible node between everyday practice and ideas and ideals about, in this case, race, and we realize that we are engaged in interrogating the symbolic dimensions of landscape, asking how the landscape works, as discourse materialized, to normalize and naturalize social and cultural practice, to challenge it, and so on. In every case, however, the authors were asked to maintain the focus on the material form of landscape, the tangible, visible scene/seen, even as the landscape interpretation transcended that scene to range across any number of issues central to American life.

Each author was given the following, more specific charge:

1. Describe the landscape you are writing about. Include carefully selected images (including maps where relevant), not as "window dressing" but as central to introducing the landscape in question. The primary focus of this chapter should be on the tangible, visible scene/seen, on the landscape's materiality, and you might open with a vignette that lays that scene before the reader as the chapter's touchstone.
2. Undertake a *landscape history* of the landscape. What are its origins; who or what (laws? hegemonic practice?) was, has been, or is responsible for its creation, maintenance, destruction (this is about power and agency and authorship, and the place of such in broader societal structures)? Include an attention to the place of this landscape as either unique or of a type (including an understanding of why that is important).
3. What does or might your landscape *mean* to the people who live or lived in and through that landscape? To those of us who know it only from a distance? (Or link the landscape as part of everyday life to broader American ideas about society, economy, polity, and so on.)
4. Speculate on the importance of the landscape in question to American ideas about and ideals of race.
5. Do not be constrained by these charges so that you do not also interrogate other aspects of the landscape as central to questions of race in American life.

Of course, authors are not automatons, and so individual chapters vary from this formula, but in the end most of the following essays are structured in this way. Following, then, are eleven individual essays that collectively represent a contribution to thinking about race and landscape in the United States.

In the next chapter Michael Crutcher presents a two-hundred-year historical geography of Faubourg Tremé, just outside the original ramparts of New Orleans, and describes and documents the evolution of that neighborhood's landscape with regard to Creole, Free People of Color, and African American occupants. There is scope across the United States for such historical geographies, to simply understand the basic patterns and processes of those parts of American towns and cities that were historically identified by their residents' race and to realize that embedded in the often segregated landscapes of race are the tangible, visible markers of community, resistance, resilience, and identity formation central to the stories of identity, pride, and growth, as well as indications of, oftentimes, abandonment, renewal, tension, and conflict as older, African American

parts of the city become attractive to other American residents in the familiar processes of gentrification. Crutcher ends with a coda commenting on the fate of New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina, as that city and the United States struggle to come to terms with issues of race and residence in American cities.

In chapter 3 Steven Hoelscher explores how landscapes of race and memory stand at the symbolic and political economic center of a struggle over questions of southern regional identity. Hoelscher introduces the southern plantation landscape as a nationally resonant symbol and discusses the invention of that landscape tradition after the Civil War, bringing it into the present day through the particular case of Natchez, Mississippi. He presents the semiannual Natchez Pilgrimage as an elite sponsored cultural practice that includes touring the most prized antebellum mansions in the city. The landscape of the "white-pillared past" is explored as one of the sites through which stories and rituals of citizenship are enacted and resisted, in this case through contemporary black counternarratives.

In chapter 4 Samuel Dennis also interrogates the plantation landscape through the example of Hampton Plantation, a State Historic Site and a stop on the South Carolina heritage landscape tour near Charleston. Dennis proposes that there are at least two very different "ways of seeing" the plantation landscape. The first predominates and entails a "planter's view" of the land linked to private property and social status and works to materially and discursively erase anything other than the white, owner's presence on the land. Through a long-standing Hampton Plantation owner's love of its land and life, we are introduced to the dominant narrative of planter paternalism that serves to naturalize race and gender categories in the postbellum plantation landscape. As a challenge to the cultural amnesia of that nostalgic view, one that often elides slavery and other racialized social relations, Dennis raises the possibilities and problematics of alternative narratives predicated on a second view, which specifically recounts historic links between African Americans—as both slaves and free citizens—and the land.

Chinese immigration through Angel Island in San Francisco is Gareth Hoskins's subject in chapter 5. Angel Island is a federal immigration station turned California State Park, and Hoskins presents it as a racialized landscape in two ways. First, between 1910 and 1940, Angel Island materialized exclusion, shutting out a presumed "Chinese menace" and had the effect of legitimating whiteness as an American norm. Second, as a contemporary historic site, Angel Island works in a more positive way to recount and mediate American debates about citizenship, race, and immigration. The chapter sets the immigration station's creation and transformations

within a larger historical geographical context of American immigration policy and practices of memory, with particular emphasis on the views of those who passed through the site, including those whose voices are forever memorialized in poems inscribed on the barracks' walls. Angel Island is presented as a site where once excluded people consciously use the past to reclaim histories and territories in ongoing American dialogues about race and identity.

In chapter 6 Daniel Arreola analyzes the representation of Mexican housescapes in the southwestern United States in popular historic postcards. He documents how picture postcards captured, promoted, normalized, and ultimately created the Mexican housescape as a symbolic landscape that carried the weight of Mexican American misrepresentation. Postcards reinforced domestic U.S. stereotypes about Mexican Americans and as such are related to early twentieth-century concerns about the so-called Mexican problem. Images of supposedly typical Mexican American landscapes captured both a particular way of seeing and a substantive content that made them anything but value-neutral images of southwestern land and life. Arreola shows how they served to reinforce specifically pejorative images of Mexican Americans through a visual culture that still lives in popular representations of Mexican American, Latino, Latina, and Hispanic people in the contemporary United States.

Dianne Harris directs our attention to the landscape of suburbia through her detailed examination of the postwar American house in chapter 7. She presents ordinary houses as central to American racial, class, and ethnic assimilation during the time of burgeoning suburban expansion in the United States. Domestic building and design industries as well as government-sponsored lending practices and the actions of real estate developers and agents worked in concert to produce houses for a specific image of the "good American" who was, in this period, characterized by an unquestioned whiteness. Landscapes of home are seen as central to forming American cultural identities—through concerns with privacy, individuality, and racial conformity. Harris specifically examines the manner in which design professionals, including popular home magazines, as well as the very materials of construction were implicated in processes of postwar American class distinction and racialization.

The subject of chapter 8 also is suburbia, through the particular examination of two affluent, suburban landscapes. James Duncan and Nancy Duncan explore the adjacent New York suburbs of Bedford and Mount Kisco, which are linked materially through labor and conceptually through the concept of a landscape aesthetic. Bedford is presented as a widely supported and maintained rural, idyllic landscape, whose aesthetic both masks and

implicates the town in the structures of white privilege. That landscape is maintained in large part by the Latino labor force, which arrives in Bedford daily from next-door Mount Kisco, a town that is struggling with its own aesthetic of public space in the face of a (dominant white) perceived "Latino invasion." These two landscapes of home are presented as politically contested symbols of personal, community, and regional identity and are not interrogated as isolated or even insulated spaces of white privilege but presented within a global–local matrix in which ideas about and ideals of "the aesthetic" work to reinscribe a dominant set of globalized and racialized social relations. The importance of their study site transcends suburban New York through claims about the importance of these particular suburbs as home to a class of decision makers whose influence extends beyond their local abodes.

James Rojas describes in chapter 9 how Latino immigrants and Mexican American citizens are retrofitting the built environment of East Los Angeles to meet their cultural needs. The rich practices of public life and ideas about home life and its relation to the street are transforming the East Los Angeles landscape spatially and visually. Rojas includes street vendors, fences, *la yarda* (or the enclosed front yard), parks and open space, an urban farm, and the politics of urban space (through the Latino Urban Forum) as he documents the evolution of what he calls an East Los Angeles vernacular landscape. The very presence of these landscape transformations speaks to the anachronistic qualities of much of East Los Angeles's contemporary landscape, to the need that people have to shape their everyday environments to meet their functional needs and their cultural predilections, and to the ever-changing nature of cultural landscapes, both as material things and through their place in constructing meaning and identity in peoples' everyday lives.

In chapter 10 Jonathan Leib discusses the controversy in Richmond, Virginia, surrounding a proposal to place a statue of Arthur Ashe—native, tennis star, social activist, and philanthropist—on that city's Monument Avenue, home to statues traditionally dedicated to heroes of the Confederacy. Richmond was the capital of the Confederate States of America, and the proposal was not taken lightly. Leib describes the history of Monument Avenue before taking on the 1995 debate about placing the statue of Ashe there. The whiteness of Monument Avenue and the city of Richmond ultimately were challenged (and not for the first time). The Arthur Ashe controversy presents a classic case where the cultural landscape mediates a set of debates that is at once about landscape and visuality even as it also transcends the cultural landscape to stand for race and racialized social relations in general, in Richmond, and, by extension, in American life.

Derek Alderman also engages memorializing landscapes, in particular the naming of streets after Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. In chapter 11 Alderman positions these streets as sites of struggle over cultural and political power, over claims to the city, over who has voice as urban citizen. Alderman traces the origins of streets named after King to black community activism and presents a national picture of the practice before interpreting the symbolism of the practice and of the streets themselves. He suggests that commemorative street naming not only invokes the memory of Dr. King but also serves to mediate debates about race and racism in American life generally. Many specific examples are presented to highlight the associated social, political, and economic tensions of naming streets after King that emerge through public debate and controversy. He concludes that naming streets after King symbolizes African American empowerment and struggle through the contemporary urban cultural landscape.

In the last chapter Heidi Nast seems at first to move far from the concerns of race and landscape in her description and interpretation of three (out of eleven at last count) pet parks in Chicago: Doggie Beach, Wiggly Field, and Puptown. The parks generally are located, however, in Chicago's gentrified, and largely white, north side and so are implicated in the social relations of urban commodification (of pets and their associated products) and the racialized social relations of the contemporary city (which displays a racialized urban historical geography). Nast's chapter is a fitting conclusion to this volume. Her essay clearly illustrates the point that opened this introduction—that not only is race visible in ordinary everyday cultural landscapes such as one's own backyard but it is always possible to think about race and the American cultural landscapes, even in one's own backyard.

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to Dave McBride for his stoic optimism and patience in bringing this volume to fruition; to Sue Roberts for reading this chapter's penultimate draft and providing insightful and helpful comments and suggestions; and to Dick Gilbreath for his usual above-the-call-of-duty willingness to perform cartographic and illustrative magic on short notice.

Notes

1. The book's title accurately reflects the focus here on cultural landscapes of the *United States*. The awkwardness of the term *United States* as an adjective means that throughout this chapter the term *American* is used to mean, in this case, United States even as I realize the many other legitimate claims to *American* extant.

2. Sanborn Map Company, *Midway, Woodford County, Kentucky* (Sanborn Map Company, 1903); one map on three sheets. It is a map I am rather fond of at the moment, and I have used it to illustrate the imbrications of race and landscape in several different ways, in several different contexts. See Richard H. Schein, "Digging in Your Own Backyard," in *Archivaria* (forthcoming); and Richard H. Schein, "Acknowledging and Addressing Sites of Segregation," *Forum Journal* (National Trust for Historic Preservation) 19 (2005): 34–40.
3. And in this vein we often speak of "tolerance"—as if those with race somehow are a nuisance that needs to be tolerated rather than full-fledged citizens with equal standing in a society.
4. County Clerk's office, Versailles, Woodford County, Kentucky, *Will Books N:413 (will) and N:465 (appraisal)* of R.H. Davis (1850).
5. Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 4–8.
6. Stuart Hall, "The Local and the Global: Globalization and Ethnicity," in *Culture, Globalization, and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity,* ed. Anthony King (Binghamton: State University of New York, 1991), 34–35.
7. This point is of course "old news" to anyone not of the white majority population. People of color certainly have been aware of the always racially coded spaces and landscapes of everyday life in America for as long as there has been everyday life in America.
8. The book also assumes a focus on cultural landscapes in the *United States,* a focus that is not meant as normative but rather utilitarian and reflects nothing more than the need to bound the book at some level, as well as the limits to my own claims for understanding race and landscape in that particular national context. Clearly race is at work in other cultural landscapes around the world.
9. Paul Groth and Chris Wilson, "The Polyphony of Cultural Landscape Study: An Introduction," in *Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies after J.B. Jackson,* ed. Paul Groth and Chris Wilson (Berkeley: California University Press, 2003), 1–22; and D.W. Meinig, "Introduction," in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes,* ed. D.W. Meinig (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 1–7.
10. For a very good introductory overview, with further references, see Denis Cosgrove, "Cultural Landscape," in *The Dictionary of Human Geography,* 4th ed., ed. R.J. Johnston et al. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 138–41. Representative texts not produced by geographers include Barbara Bender, ed., *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives* (Oxford: Berg, 1993); W.J.T. Mitchell, ed., *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); and Matthew Potteiger and Jamie Purinton, *Landscape Narratives* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1998).
11. Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Totowa: Barnes & Noble Books, 1984); and Richard H. Schein, "Representing Urban

America: Nineteenth-Century Views of Landscape, Space, and Power," *Society and Space (Environment and Planning D)* 11 (1993): 7–21.

12. Peirce Lewis, "Axioms for Reading the Landscape," in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes,* ed. D.W. Meinig (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 12.
13. Richard H. Schein, "The Place of Landscape: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting an American Scene," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87 (1997): 660–80; and Richard H. Schein, "Normative Dimensions of Landscape," in *Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies after J.B. Jackson,* ed. Paul Groth and Chris Wilson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 199–218.
14. The literature on race is, of course, voluminous, and this book makes no attempt to do it justice. For an introduction to the historical depth of racist ideas, see Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze, ed., *Race and the Enlightenment: A Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997); and George M. Frederickson, *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002). For an introduction to the ideas of Critical Race Theory, see Richard Delgado and Jean Stefanic, eds., *The Cutting Edge* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995); and Richard Delgado and Jean Stefanic, eds., *Critical White Studies* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997). For an introduction to some of the ways in which geographers, especially social and cultural geographers and those interested in the cultural landscape, have approached questions of race, see several journal articles and theme issues, including Catherine Nash, "Cultural Geography: Anti-Racist Geographies," *Progress in Human Geography* 27 (2003): 637–48; Linda Peake and Richard H. Schein, "Racing Geography into the New Millennium: Studies of 'Race' and North American Geographies," *Social and Cultural Geography* 1 (2000): 133–42 (this essay introduces a theme issue that includes seven accompanying articles); Richard H. Schein, "Introduction," *Professional Geographer* 54 (2002): 1–5 (this essay introduces a theme issue on race, racism, and geography that includes seven accompanying articles); and Audrey Kobayashi and Linda Peake, "Racism out of Place: Thoughts on Whiteness and an Antiracist Geography in the New Millennium," *Annals, Association of American Geographers* 90 (2000): 392–403.
15. Cornel West, *Race Matters* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994).
16. Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States,* 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 1994), vii.
17. Richard H. Schein, "Teaching 'Race' and the Cultural Landscape," *Journal of Geography* 98 (1999): 188–90; Omi and Winant, 55.
18. David R. Roediger, ed., *Black on White* (New York: Schocken Books, 1998); and bell hooks, *Killing Rage* (New York: Henry Holt, 1995).
19. There is a burgeoning literature that explores race and the designed landscape. See, for example, Craig E. Barton, ed., *Sites of Memory* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2001); and Lesley Naa Norle Lokko, ed., *White Papers, Black Marks* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

20. Motoko Rich, "Restrictive Covenants Stubbornly Stay on the Books," *New York Times,* April 21, 2005 (online at http://select.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=F40D12F93D550C728EDDAD0894DD404482).
21. Evan McKenzie, *Privatopia* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994).
22. Quoted in Rich.
23. Schein, "Normative Dimensions;" James S. Duncan and Nancy G. Duncan, *Landscapes of Privilege* (New York: Routledge, 2004).