Perspectives from *Historical Archaeology*:

Revealing Landscapes

Compiled by
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No. 5

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ABSTRACT

This introduction provides a summary of trends in landscape archaeology over the past several decades, outlines ongoing debates in theories, research questions, and interpretative frameworks, and provides an overview of the selected readings included in this volume.

Landscapes work to slow and fix time (Jackson 1984:8). Within the frame of human perception and analytic capacities, we are fascinated by a contest of three dimensions with a fourth. We try to freeze time by etching maps, excavating through strata, and creating contour models with laser pulses from airplanes. What, then, is time, one might ask. It is the conceptual gloss we offer to stand for the concourse of natural forces and human agency writ in movement upon the earth. As this somewhat ethereal opening indicates, the subjects of landscape analysis and landscape archaeology are highly diverse and often challenge us with prosaic inquiries.

Overview of a Diverse Analytic Domain

Landscape archeology addresses the complex issues of the ways that people have consciously and unconsciously shaped the land around them. Human populations have engaged in a variety of processes in organizing space or altering the landscape around them for a variety of purposes, including subsistence, economic, social, political, and religious undertakings. People often perceive, protect, and shape the land in the course of symbolic processes engaging with their sense of place, memory, history, legends, and the boundaries of realms sacred and profane. Archaeology provides invaluable tools for examining such processes, and we can provide morphological and environmental data on past landscapes that are typically unavailable from other sources.

Landscape analysis thus involves the use of archaeological, documentary, and oral history evidence to study and interpret the ways past peoples shaped their landscapes through the deployment of cultural and social practices. In turn, analysis focuses on the ways in which people were influenced, motivated, or constrained by their natural surroundings. Such a focus on landscapes, rather than a more limited concentration on sites and their relationships with one another, gained significant momentum within archaeology in the late 20th century. The archaeological evidence utilized in landscape studies ranges across a continuum of methods including the uses of satellite and aerial imagery, ground penetrating prospection technologies, ground surface surveys, stratigraphic excavations, topographic modeling, geomorphology assessments, macrofloral and microfloral studies, and paleoethnobotany analysis.

How do we define landscape? Carole Crumley and William Marquardt (1990) emphasized that this domain is defined by both socio-cultural and natural processes. They observed that social changes were often fueled by systemic contradictions, contested resources, structural tensions, and resulting resolutions of those dynamics over time. Key locations in the natural environment often tend to become centers of gravity in cultural activities, whether they are bodies of water, promontories, or remarkable outcroppings of rock. Radiating out from such myriad nodes of significance, one can analyze a diverse set of relationships: hierarchies and the clinal spread of influence; heterarchies with modal or mosaic distributions; and centers, semi-peripheries, and peripheral localities. Similarly, James Deetz (1990) proposed a focus on landscapes as the "total terrestrial context" of cultural activities. Studies in landscape archaeology have thus included those strongly influenced by natural science methods, other methods to analyze the cultural shaping of terrains, and yet others that examine the ways particular cultures have been influenced by their surrounding topographies.

Within the realm of archaeological classifications, Robert Dunnell (1992) challenged researchers to abandon an overemphasis on "sites" spread across a countryside. By emphasizing attempted designations of sites, archaeologists tend to neglect the data presented in the spaces filling the topography between those areas of concentration. Dunnell (1992) proposed that archaeologists reconceptualize

space as three dimensions possessing continuous and varying distributions of artifacts shaped by human agency. Within this definition, low-density spaces are as equally interesting as are areas of high artifact clustering. Most critically, an over-simplistic approach of site definitions leads to an open license for construction developers to carve up the terrain between such points in the landscape.

Instilling human meanings into layers of the countryside, Barbara Bender (1998) and like-minded analysts speak of landscapes as cultural "palimpsests" and the embodiment of "sedimented pasts." Terrains reveal evidence of past cognitive investments and shifting modes of cultural identities. Such spaces also represent "taskscapes," as emphasized by Timothy Ingold (1993), which consisted of the ways in which areas were perceived and utilized by past actors. Research questions initially focused on terrestrial subjects have similarly been expanded to address the relationship of particular landscapes with celestial orientations, skyscapes, and related aquatic domains (Corbin 1998; Patterson 2008:79). Archaeologists will also benefit from understanding the interdisciplinary works of landscape analysts and cultural geographers, such as Denis E. Cosgrove (1984), W. G. Hoskins (1977), John B. Jackson (1984, 1994), D. W. Meinig (1979), Amos Rapoport (1969, 1990), Carl Sauer (1963), and Yi-Fu Tuan (1977). Studies of the cultural "production of space" and cognition of landscapes by social theorists provide additional resources for interpretation (e.g., de Certeau 1984; Lefebvre 1991).

A number of studies have attempted to assess the ways in which past people took cognizance of their surrounding terrain. For example, Dell Upton (1985) analyzed the likely ways in which plantation landscapes were perceived by European-American owners and enslaved African-American laborers. White planters often defined their landscapes with concepts of status presentation, vistas, and perceptions of measured space, cardinal ordering, and hierarchical surveillance. Enslaved African-American laborers likely experienced those same cultural landscapes based on landmarks of oppression and relative promises of freedom. Rather than move through a space defined by standardized cardinal direction and measurement, African Americans perceived relative degrees of malevolent surveillance. The importance of north, south, east, and west were dwarfed by the importance of blocked view-sheds within the built environment, and by spaces in surrounding woods where free domains could be experienced even for short periods.

Building on Upton's work, Rebecca Ginsburg (2007, 2010) analyzed the ways in which African Americans sought to navigate the dangers of the plantation and to escape slavery. Enslaved laborers attempted to maintain a "secret and disguised world, as compared to the planter landscape of display and vistas" (2007:37). They moved across terrains by working from the known to the unknown, using their past abilities to carve out a modicum of free movement within the plantation as encouragement that they could similarly navigate greater spaces of escape.

Questions of how social actors perceived and shaped their landscapes were addressed by Christopher Tilley (1994) in his study entitled *A Phenomenology of Landscape*. Tilley presents a theoretical framework for investigating cultural landscapes that spans multiple scales and offers great promise for deployment by other analysts. He proposes that analysts move in ascending analytic scales through somatic, perceptual, existential, architectural, and cognitive spaces (Tilley 1994:7-34). Somatic space consists of sensory experiences and bodily movements – such as the close spaces we habituate and navigate almost in the dark. Perceptual spaces are egocentric in character, inhabited by individual memories and personal spatial encounters. Existential space embraces group dynamics and individual experiences based on group socialization and shared meaning systems. This is a primary measure of cultural landscapes, and includes natural landscape features imbued with social mythologies and meanings. Architectural space addresses the conscious creation and definition of the built environment and erection of boundaries and the containment of spaces. Cognitive space represents an analyst's perspective, reconnaissance, and study of these varied scales as they pertained to a past people (Tilley 1994). Yet, Tilley chose not to systematically employ this framework in the case studies presented in his book, and this approach, although highly promising, has yet to find concerted adoption within the field.

One can imagine the traverse of these scales by

a single social actor in many settings. In teaching landscape analysis and archaeology, I illustrate this span of scales to my students with an interview of a Buddhist monk in Werner Herzog's (2003) documentary film entitled *Wheel of Time*. Young monks make a pilgrimage on foot to Bhod Gaya, a village in India where Buddha is believed to have attained enlightenment. Monks often make this pilgrimage over two years of walking and prostrating themselves in prayer with every other step. Thousands of miles of landscape are crossed, following a cultural trajectory from home monastery to Bhod Gaya, with the intervening space known with an intimacy of the body stretched across the ground every other stride. Interviewing a young monk who has completed such a journey, Herzog (2003) notes a scar on his forehead, the result of touching his brow to the ground over a million times. This is a social actor who has experienced landscapes through somatic, perceptual, and existential investments, and finally in the architectural configurations of Bhod Gaya at his destination. Many analogues for historical archaeology studies can be considered, from an escaping laborer fleeing bondage, to a farmer engaged with his productive domain, from hearth to field to market.

Tilley (1994:21-22) also provides a very useful summary of a continuum of analytic approaches to landscape analysis. In such a schema of contrasts, an approach consistent with the natural sciences and Enlightenment epistemology places emphasis on economic and subsistence concerns. An approach consistent with a humanistic or non-western epistemology instead places emphasis on the meanings with which populations view the landscape. At one end of a spectrum one can imagine approaches dominated by western Enlightenment epistemologies that emphasize landscape as: (i) open and subject to standardized measurements; (ii) desanctified in character; (iii) shaped by concerns of control, surveillance, and partitioning; (iv) an economic domain that is useful within human action; (v) marked by architectural forms that resemble natural forms; (vi) serving as a backdrop to actions; and (vii) providing a stage for actions in time as a linear, measurable progression. In contrast, a non-western concept of cultural landscapes could emphasize terrains as: (i) shaped by different densities of meaning and experience; (ii) sanctified; (iii) characterized by

sensuousness, ritualized engagement, and anthropomorphic associations; (iv) cosmological in import and useful to think with; (v) marked by architectural forms that embody natural phenomena; (vi) serving as a sedimented, ritual domain; and (vii) presenting a spatial matrix for cyclical time (Tilley 1994:20-21; see Anschuetz et al. 2001).

The methodologies for evaluating meaning-laden landscapes and non-western epistemologies can be challenging, however. For example, John Barrett and Ilhong Ko (2009:284) criticize Tilley for relying, through an "unwarranted optimism," on his own intuitions in formulating proposed spatial correlations in his case studies of potential location and view-shed associations in the prehistoric landscapes of Wales and England. Such a phenomenological analysis of past actors' perceptions and intentions in landscape engagement is often criticized as naïve in its methods and for producing interpretations that are very difficult to test and validate (Barrett and Ko 2009; Darvill 2008:67-68; Lekson 1996:889-90). Applications of such phenomenological frameworks may prove more promising in historical archaeology, however, due to the greater body of different data sets available for historic-period studies.

A variety of analytic frameworks have also been refined within natural science approaches to landscape. Geomorphology studies and Michael Schiffer's examination of formation processes provide detailed accounts of how natural phenomena shape and transform terrains (e.g., Goldberg and Macphail 2006; Rapp and Hill 1998; Schiffer 1987). "Systems ecology" looks to large geographic and temporal scales, employs assumptions of homeostasis and environmental equilibria, and asks when carrying capacities limit and motivate societies in different scenarios. The "new ecology" takes a more focused approach, examining smaller-scale terrains and time periods, while pursuing hypotheses of irregular and contingent disturbances that can contribute to biodiversity and cultural specialization. In turn, "historical ecology" looks for an interdependence of natural constraints and cultural agencies and explanations based on multivariate causality (Anschuetz et al. 2001:166-67; Balée 1998; Erickson 1999; Lansing and Kremer 1993; Whitehead 1998; Zimmerer 1994).

Cultural landscapes in historical archaeology often entail erasures and elements of heritage no longer

visible on the ground surface. For example, Paul Mullins (2004) has worked in uncovering the heritage of African-American neighborhoods that were erased and transformed by a university in Indianapolis into a "barren urban cityscape" of parking lots and asphalt. Through community engagement this project provides the city residents who were once associated with that neighborhood with at least a "symbolic proprietorship of spaces that today bear no visible traces of African-American heritage" (Mullins 2004:63-64). Similar initiatives employ "participatory mapping" in which Geographic Information Systems computer applications and Global Positioning Satellite receivers enable community members to generate cognitive maps that record their oral histories and perceptions related to each location (e.g., Archibald 1999; Sletto 2009).

Studies and surveys of landscapes have also flourished within the context of cultural resource management (CRM) projects in the United States and United Kingdom. The expansion of landscape archaeology has been paralleled in time by promulgation of laws and regulations requiring archaeological surveys of the terrains to be impacted by large-scale developments. The late 20th century similarly witnessed construction development projects of increasingly large scale. Many new CRM projects examined large topographic spaces while using increasingly sophisticated survey and remote sensing technologies to achieve cost efficiencies (David and Thomas 2008:33-34).

The studies presented in Parts II through V of this book are drawn from the pages of the *Historical Archaeology* journal and attest to the remarkable diversity of subjects and methods encompassed by landscape archaeology. Part II presents articles on the theme of methods and cartographies of analysis, while Part III shifts to studies focused on the ways terrains have been shaped by economics, class, and social identities. Part IV turns to analysis of the ways in which landscapes have been configured by concerns of geometry, ideology, and surveillance. Part V concludes with a number of studies addressing the impacts of racism and inequality on geographic contours.

Methods and Cartographies of Analysis

The articles in Part II address basic methodological challenges and available sources for analyzing past landscapes. William Adams (1990:93) opens this discussion in chapter 2 with a focus on rural topographies and the interplay of cultural and natural domains: "The fence built across a prairie farm becomes a new habitat for plants and animals as trees and shrubs grow from seeds left in bird droppings. The built environment has become a natural one." He outlines the ways in which farmstead sites should be analyzed in the context of the history of surrounding terrains.

Adams' article provides a concise overview of the myriad documentary resources analysts can examine in conjunction with oral histories and archaeological data. Some past texts provide historic-period prescriptions of ideals for the spatial shaping of rural landscapes. Those intended plans were most often ignored in the actual activities of rural families and their enterprises. Other historic-period documents of value to analysts include: books and journals on farm management and design; farm day books recording challenges of terrain and climate; early photographs; maps and atlases; artists' sketches and paintings; aerial photography; early topographic maps by the U.S. Geological Survey; federal surveyors' diaries of pedestrian surveys from the early 19th century; early soil surveys; and the diaries, journals, and correspondence of people absorbed with the contours and events of the surrounding countryside (Adams 1990). Remnants of past landscape investments can also provide visible markers on the ground today, as concentrations of lilacs or day lilies reveal the buried sites of by-gone houses scattered across a backcountry hollow (Adams 1990; Martin 1984).

Chapter 3 presents an overview of field methods for understanding landscape changes of relatively smaller scales. Documentary evidence often provides useful data on garden designs and construction techniques, and the ways in which past site occupants perceived the terrain surrounding them. Archaeological data from soil core probes, linear trench and transect unit excavations, and remote sensing provide data that can be compared and contrasted with documentary records and oral history accounts. Detailed measurements of elevation

contours of cultural features also prove very useful in interpreting and analyzing a landscape shaped by human agency. Conrad Goodwin, Anne Yentsch and their colleagues (1995) bring all of these methods and sources to bear in investigating the 18th century Morven plantation in Princeton, New Jersey.

In chapter 4, James Schoenwetter and John Hohmann (1997) demonstrate how a combination of biological, historical, and archaeological data best accounts for changes over time in the landscape called Las Vegas, Nevada. This early Spanish name, translated as "wet meadows," was applied to the area with some reservation in the early 19th century. This label became largely incongruous for that landscape by the early 20th century (1997:41-42). A combination of palynological, macrobotanical, faunal, archaeological, and geological evidence produced an integrated analysis of changing landscape use and topographic conditions over time. A processual-oriented analysis finds that the landscape was less shaped by reactions and adaptations to ecological changes and was instead impacted primarily by the strategic land uses of human agents pursuing socio-economic gains (1997:55-56).

LouAnn Wurst (2007) examines detailed drawings of farmstead spaces, which were published in numerous county atlases in the late 19th century, in chapter 5. Such cartographic publications included renderings of particular farms, with depictions of the overall spatial layouts, main houses, and secondary buildings. Are these informative documents, or were they typically idealized or otherwise inaccurate portrayals? Wurst compares intensive archaeological investigations with corresponding farmstead drawings. She finds the depictions more accurate in portraying the buildings than in reporting on the distribution and character of topographic features across the surrounding landscape (Wurst 2007).

Annalies Corbin (1998) shifts our attention to riverine contours and related cartographic resources in chapter 6. A critical analysis of historic-period maps of the Missouri River's trajectories, channels, and shifting basins can help produce a predictive model for locating and investigating numerous 19th century shipwrecks. In turn, data derived from such maps can be compared and contrasted with evidence from archives of aerial photographs of the same areas (Corbin 1998).

"More than mere illustrations, maps are simultaneously a document, artifact, and metaphor in controlling the politics of knowledge through representation" (Smith 2007:82). In chapter 7, Angèle Smith uses survey maps of Ireland, created by the British military just before the devastating potato famines of the 1840s, to analyze the layers of representation and elision in these documentary sources. In turn, she observes, archaeologists must be aware of the ways in which their own data maps serve to legitimate or contest past and present claims of knowledge and dominion (Smith 2007).

Chapter 8 presents the methods of mapping landscape components with Global Positioning Satellite (GPS) receivers and representing those recorded terrains through Geographic Information System (GIS) computer applications. Steven Smith and his colleagues (2003) used these techniques to investigate the "once-bloody landscape" of Civil War earthworks spread across the lowcountry counties of South Carolina. The strategic choices made in placement of batteries and earthworks were explicated through GIS analysis of surrounding topographic conditions of the mid-19th century. Comparative layering of archaeological and documentary evidence in GIS applications allowed the researchers to identify such past conditions and terrain contours. Those past landscape exigencies are invisible in today's heavily modified topography of drained wetlands and expanded roadway systems (Smith et al. 2003:28-29).

We take a closer look at methods for GIS applications in chapter 9. Edward González-Tennant (2009) describes steps for recording GPS location data and integrating that information with documentary evidence and archaeological site investigations. Moreover, he then formulates new ways to present such diverse data sets to public audiences through GIS applications and the techniques of integrated displays that those computer systems facilitate (González-Tennant 2009).

Terrains Shaped by Economics, Class, and Social Identities

Part III of this book turns to studies of the myriad ways in which landscapes have been shaped by the dynamics of economics, class, and social group

identities. In chapter 10, James Delle (1999) presents a study of socio-economic class structures reflected in spatial hierarchies within three coffee plantations in Jamaica. Among other changes over time, class hierarchies during the period of slavery resulted in terrain molded by investments in cash-crop agriculture. In a post-emancipation period following 1834, those agricultural impacts dissipated dramatically, as the African Jamaican population refused to "develop into a rural proletariat" (1999:143). At a closer scale of examination, coffee plantations during slavery were topographies shaped by hierarchies of owners, overseers, and enslaved laborers, and spaces divided into cash crop fields, small provisioning gardens, and a spectrum of production and residential domains. Surveillance and control in this period were also evident through an analysis of "site vectors" and view sheds from the vantage points of planters and overseers across the space of labor production (1999:151-53).

Gender dynamics intersect class structures and the built environment in Deborah Rotman and Michael Nassaney's (1997) study of Plainwell, Michigan in chapter 11. Observing that "there is no single scale of analysis for the study of cultural landscapes because social relations are reproduced at multiple spatial scales," the authors examine the terrain of a homelot and its successive occupations (1997:43). Approaching their study as the investigation of a late 19th century "urban farmstead," they work to deconstruct simplistic urban/rural dichotomies in the analysis of cultural landscapes. Examining the spatial components of successive occupations in this farmstead over time, Rotman and Nassaney (1997:53) found that "lower socioeconomic status lends itself to increased dependence upon women for household production, which in turn results in higher status for women." This study contributes to a growing literature on such intersections, which have focused variously on the "embodiment of sex and gender in landscape forms, differentiating landscape space by gender-linked activities, physically marking landscapes with gender-related images and monuments, and constituting gendered aspects of cosmology and history in the landscape" (Ashmore 2006:211).

Paul Shackel (2004) shifts our focus to industrial landscapes in chapter 12. Early American industries, such as textile works in Lowell, Massachusetts, included planned landscapes in nonurban areas to implement strategies of production efficiency and surveillance of work and residential districts (2004:47). Others, such as the Federal armory at Harpers Ferry, left domestic domains unregulated, resulting in a more organic and eclectic evolution of the townscape. Examining a number of such case studies, Shackel (2004:53) counsels that "[d]esignating industrial places as a prominent part of our past should also be about remembering people and their struggles."

Kenneth Lewis (1999) studies the divergent development of lowcountry and backcountry colonial landscapes in South Carolina in chapter 13. His analysis provides excellent examples of the interplay of topography, natural resources, economic development, and commodity chains. The increase of regional transport and economic infrastructure in backcountry regions in the early colonial period of the 18th century created a "second nature" of features in the cultural landscape that shaped later patterns of movement and settlement. A focus on rice production in coastal, lowcountry plantations, in contrast, created a more static transport and settlement pattern that persisted throughout the colonial period (Lewis 1999).

Margaret Purser and Noelle Shaver (2008) turn our attention, in chapter 14, to dynamics in frontier settlements of the western United States in the late 19th century. Frederick Jackson Turner (1893) proposed a "frontier hypothesis" that emphasized the unique, unplanned, and contingent character of western frontier zones as crucibles for social and political innovation. Later analysts, such as John Reps (1981) and William Cronon (1991), challenged Turner's hypothesis and marshaled evidence of extensive use of urban planning in past development of the western frontier areas.

Plat maps of speculative town designs, along with topographic maps, deeds, tax ledgers, and insurance records, provide valuable data for archaeologists researching such western frontier settings. Contrasts between idealized designs and the actually constructed development of these cultural landscapes provide valuable insights into past social and economic dynamics. Purser and Shaver (2008) examine two case studies of urban planning and actual topographic changes in the Sacramento River region of

California during the 19th century. In doing so, they struggle with analysis at the scale of the community and from the perspective of a larger, regional domain of economic networks in which that localized space was enmeshed.

Christopher Clement (1997) analyzes intersite plantation patterns on Tobago in the Lesser Antilles islands in chapter 15. Examining impacts of aquatic resources, he finds fresh water accessibility shaped the placement of sugar plantations focused on rum production, while all plantations were anchored close to coastal water transport arteries. Considering aeolian resources as well, Clement finds that mills to grind sugar were more easily powered by reliable trade winds than water courses. A view-shed analysis of estate houses, sugar factories, and villages for enslaved laborers produced an interesting insight. Estate houses were placed on rises to take advantage of wind cooling and ventilation, but were primarily situated for intervisibility to other estate houses or populated towns nearby. Rather than each estate house emphasizing visibility and surveillance of its own associated sugar factory and laborers, intervisibility very likely served to enhance a sense of social solidarity among the planter class members themselves (Clement 1997).

Configuring Landscapes of Geometry, Ideology and Surveillance

Part IV of the book includes case studies of the ways in which particular ideologies of difference and solidarity impacted a spectrum of terrains spanning planned gardens, plantations, industrial districts, cityscapes, and related concepts of nationhood. Mark Leone and his colleagues (2005) open this series in chapter 16 with a study of the expressive power of garden designs in colonial plantations. They analyze the manipulations of visual perspective in William Paca's 18th-century plantation on Wye Island, Maryland. Prominent vistas within Baroque garden plans accentuated a consciousness of social surveillance and order (Leone et al. 2005). In other research projects, analysts such as Leone and Grey Gundaker have examined the ways in which African Americans shaped gardens, yards, and cemeteries to reflect their cultural heritage and cosmological

beliefs (e.g., Gundaker 1993, 1998; Gundaker and McWillie 2005; Ruppel et al. 2003).

In chapter 17, Henry Miller (1988) examines the history of St. Mary's City, established in Maryland's Chesapeake basin in the 17th century. Previously perceived as an unplanned, haphazard development, archaeological and historical analysis demonstrated that St. Mary's City was established in accordance with a Baroque urban plan of prominent building locations and related cityscape alignments. While Annapolis also employed a Baroque plan of prominent nodes and alignments expressing power relationships, Mark Leone and Silas Hurry (1998) examine a panoptic landscape of Baltimore's urban design in chapter 18.

Michael Given (2005) studies colonial and capitalist landscape configurations over time on the island of Cyprus in chapter 19. Using strategies similar to British colonial administration, early 20th-century mining operations shaped and defined large terrains through a process of imposed names, contrived maps, surveillance, and control of resources. Overseers' houses were accordingly placed along ridge tops within such territories, positioned "topographically and symbolically above those of the workers" (2005:54).

Turning to the commemorative treatments of battlefields and military cemeteries, Brooke Blades (2003) examines the impact of nationalist ideologies on cultural investments in such landscapes in chapter 20. Examining a spectrum of historical, memorial, and modern topographies, she analyzes the interplay of concepts of regional and national identities, moments of violent sacrifice and destruction, and the tangible facets of associated terrains. A number of battlefield and military cemetery sites across Europe have received notably diverse treatment as a result of these social dynamics.

Tracy Ireland (2003) focuses in chapter 21 on the ways in which concepts of landscape have impacted Australian national identity and archaeological practice. An early paradigm of *terra nullius* provided a means for Europeans to perceive the continent as uninhabited and undeveloped by human societies. Later concepts of the landscape as a hostile challenger of Australians' fortitude and as an unpredictable feminine domain similarly fueled ideas of national identity in the 19th and 20th centuries. Cultural

heritage management and archaeological practice in Australia have also been influenced by perceptions of landscapes as domains of nature, rather than as historically and culturally constructed.

Geographies of Racism and Inequality

Part V of this text presents studies examining the contours of racism written upon varied topographies. Charles Orser, Jr. (2006) opens this discussion in chapter 22 by examining how territorial divisions and demarcations served to teach social orders and hierarchies to subjugated populations in Ireland. He examines that ways in which landscapes are employed as "symbolic capital" which "represents a situation of dominance whereby the dominators have shifted their power from overt coercion and the threat of physical violence to symbolic manipulation" (2006:29). Racial ideologies and colonial strategies deployed against the Irish became manifest in hierarchical configurations of the countryside. Colonial strategies have frequently entailed the displacing of indigenous people from their landscape and the concomitant renaming of those spaces within a new system of categories (e.g., Harris 2002).

In chapter 23, I present a study of the racially integrated town of New Philadelphia, established in 1836 in western Illinois (Fennell 2010). Founded by a former slave within a region torn by racial strife, the spatial integration of European Americans and African Americans in the houses and businesses of this town were counterpoised against impacts of separation. Schooling of the town's children and care of the deceased in nearby graveyards were activities marked by segregation. The most profound impact of racism on the town's history, however, may have been the development of a new railroad and the route it traversed across the surrounding countryside.

Jamie Brandon and James Davidson (2005) chart changes from the antebellum to late 19th century in the racial interactions enveloping a substantial lumber mill in the Ozark region of Arkansas. Changes in the segregated and hierarchical divisions of this Ozark "hollow" encompassing Van Winkle's Mill are examined over the span of a century in chapter 24. The authors provide a comparative analysis of the ordered terrain of this "capitalist enterprise" with

that of agricultural plantations (2005:121).

Turning to urban settings in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Eric Larsen (2003) provides a case study of Annapolis, Maryland in chapter 25. He analyzes the intersections of social group identities with racism and the segregation of urban landscapes in the era of "Jim Crow" discrimination. Larsen finds evidence of a process of landscape segregation that resulted in consequences both planned and unintended. Segregation served variously to facilitate, reinforce, and alter social group identities over time, and "was always an unfinished product" (2003:120).

Scales, Variables, and Perceptions

As this diversity of studies indicates, landscape analysis entails the intellectual challenge of moving interpretive frameworks across multiple temporal and spatial scales. Understanding the changes in particular terrains over time will also typically require an analyst to grapple with a plurality of environmental and cultural variables that impacted past conditions and conduct. As Yi-Fu Tuan (1979:97) observed:

> Landscape, as a distinct concept sanctioned by past usage, is a fusion of disparate perspectives. We have seen . . . how it can be both a domain and a scene, both a vertical view and a side view, both functional and moral-aesthetic. To see landscape properly, different sets of data must be conjoined through an imaginative effort.

Studies in historical archaeology will continue to provide valuable opportunities to expand and refine these methods of investigation.

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