Title

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Driving with the Driven:
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in the Roadside Montage

Ken Whalen

The road offered a journey into the unknown that could end up allowing us to discover who we were and where we belong.

— J. B. Jackson, *Sense of Place, Sense of Time*

Hey, you barbarian invaders!

How much longer?
You think colonialism lasts forever?

—Leslie Marmon Silko, *Ghost Dance*

Battle not with monsters, lest ye become a monster, and if you gaze into the abyss, the abyss gazes also into you.

—Friedrich Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*

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FIGURE 1. *The Trail of Tears breaks into the roadside montage. Now the art of "unsettled settledness" can be re(-)viewed in the reciprocal exchange of meaning between a memorial site and its setting.*

SETTLER SOCIETIES

The United States is one of a few nations in the world founded on settler colonialism. Economic and cultural institutions of Euro-American settlers continue to dominate people of the First Nations and their land. Settlers of European descent living in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand consider these countries their own because for centuries they have woven themselves into the fabric of these adopted homelands. People from other continents have also migrated to—and settled and participated in nation building in—these settler societies. Asians, Africans, and other non-European migrants and their descendants have made these societies more culturally heterogeneous than most other nations and states.[1] The cultural impact of the European settlers, however, is predominant and seemingly indelible.

Australian and Canadian leaders have publicly acknowledged and apologized for past injustices and violence perpetrated against Indigenous peoples. Such gestures of reconciliation have also been concretized in the landscape. Museums, educational centers, memorials, and commemorative trails are venues through which different and competing interpretations of the past, present, and future can be expressed and explored in the hope of finding common ground that may lead to reconciliation and peace. The National Museum of the American Indian, which opened in 2004 on the National Mall in Washington, DC, is one such venue where postcolonial tensions of this settler society may be addressed. The Trail of Tears National Historic Trail is another.

TRAIL OF TEARS NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL

In 1987, the US government amended the National Trails System Act of 1968, thus authorizing the establishment of the Trail of Tears National Historic Trail. The National Trails System comprises nineteen historic and eleven scenic trails, each designated for its unique significance to American history and culture, and/or its unparalleled natural beauty and ecology. The land and water routes of the Trail of Tears National Historic Trail bring together 2,200 miles of roads and waterways. The Trail closely follows routes taken by Cherokee Indians after they were forced from their homelands in southeastern United States and made to settle in Indian Territory west of the Mississippi River from 1838 to 1840. The National Park Service, along with other public agencies and private organizations, maintains and manages this long-distance trail for the purpose of "promoting public awareness" of both Cherokee removal and the broader history of American Indian displacement from the Southeast. Between 1830 and 1850, more than one hundred thousand Indians suffered in concentration camps and along the various routes west. Many died as a result of this forced removal from their homelands.[2]

FIGURE 2. *Map of the Trail of Tears National Historic Trail. Source: United States National Park Service, 1996.*

For the Trail of Tears National Historic Trail, the National Park Service intended to recreate "a landscape reminiscent of what the Cherokees saw,"[3] while offering "an experience that is enlightening and educational."[4] Various development instruments such as property easements, preservation zoning, and resource protection laws are furthering these goals. Several built structures, road segments, natural landmarks, and interpretive facilities have been officially certified, while others are being vetted. Still, many sites remain unmarked, and estimates are that four hundred gravesites are in a similar plight.[5] The National Park Service has plans to implement a long-distance interpretative program that includes wayside exhibits, multimedia presentations, and off-site educational projects.[6]

The National Park Service has given priority to producing and distributing trail-markers, and to publishing official maps, brochures, and pamphlets, all of which are intended to provide tourists and travellers with an historical account of—and a particular "feel" for—the event.[7] The markers and literature bear a logo designed by Cherokee artist Gary Allen of Tahlequah, Oklahoma. It is *the* mark of official governmental certification of routes, landmarks, and historical narrative.

ROADSIDE MONTAGE

The Northern Route that today is representative of the Trail of Tears was followed by a large number of Cherokees who were forced to relocate to Indian Territory. The trail markers along this route attempt to realign the millions of forced steps by holding together nine hundred miles of concrete and asphalt roadways. Mainly by way of marker, the steps of the Cherokee blend with the "roadside montage," which already contains billboards, traffic signage, bumper stickers, church and business marquees, and all other forms of signage found along the ordinary American roadway—the "soul of America."[8] For those viewing the roadway from the window of a moving automobile, images and texts can juxtapose, overlap, and merge in unusual ways especially because they, in a sense, display worlds upon worlds.[9] The love of movement and speed—the "opium of the American people"[10]—can induce visions and even create new objects in the roadway's visual field.[11]

As more people in cars access the Internet on iPhones and iPads, or tune into the sequence of spatially and temporally discontinuous scenes on TV screens hanging from the car ceiling,[12] images and texts from these various media converge with those along the roadway, where mass media, popular culture, and advertising veer into a "total flow"[13] through a "24/7 information superhighway."[14] This melange of images and texts—and how they are watched—may be changing the hardwiring of the American psyche—collective and individual. The new sensation of the total flow has even spurred cultural critics to acknowledge the ongoing reciprocity between fact and fiction—as one becomes the other, and vice versa—that transposes our contemporary realities.[15] It sure has put a fresh spin on established conventions of seeing, prompting new ways of visually enhancing our reading of space, place, and landscape.

Today the "maddening gridlock of crass commercialism,"[16] "visual pollution,"[17] "irreverent chaos and anti-discipline,"[18] "luxurance of colored and lighted signs,"[19] and

"dream environment"[20] of the roadway bear traces of what can be classified, according to the United Nations Draft Code of Crimes Against the Peace and Security of Mankind, Article 18, as a crime against humanity.[21] Leaving presentism behind, "I fought through the War Between the States and have seen many men shot, but the Cherokee Removal was the cruellest work I ever knew," said a witness and participant in the Trail of Tears.[22]

RECIPROCAL EXCHANGE

This work re(-)views a segment of perhaps the most read cultural text in our extraordinary automobile culture—the American roadside montage, rife as it is with images and texts, and image-texts, from which emerge the signs (in the semiotic sense) that stand for, among other things, commonly held American values, attitudes, and beliefs.[23] I seek to find meaning in a segment of that montage where past and present, genocide and the quotidian, First Nations and second nation have been placed together.[24] By doing this, I am exploring "the reciprocal exchange between a monument and its space," in this case, between ordinary roadside signage and the Trail's marker and associated representations of the event.[25]

Scholars have sought these exchanges among various aspects of and elements in memorial landscapes.[26] The conventional practice has been to link "concrete" elements, such as symbols, structures, and spatial arrangements, to stakeholder discourse gathered from the archive or through various methods of traditional qualitative analysis. These studies reveal social, cultural, political, and/or aesthetic tensions between site and setting. In one often-cited essay "Bollards, Bunkers, and Barriers: Securing the National Mall in Washington, DC," Lisa Benton-Short looks more thoroughly at the reciprocal exchange of iconographic elements in the landscape and concludes that the National Mall is a "visual paradox" of "hypersecurity and democracy."[27] Such tensions of meaning between monumental landmarks and their settings have increased since September 11.

IMAGE-TEXTING

I am attempting to supplement conventional academic methods of representing the visual field of memorial landscapes by enhancing the visuality of representation. Benton-Short's work is emblematic of those conventions. In her essay, the phrase "hypersecurity and democracy" illustrates and explains the exchange of meanings among the icons and symbols in the photographs qua landscape and vice versa. Yet her essay contains only two conventional landscape photographs and, when viewed independently, their purported meaning is hardly transparent. Still, she skillfully weaves an intertexual synthesis, yielding an understanding of the historical, cultural, and physical development of a contested landscape. She reveals reciprocal exchanges among meanings given to elements in the landscape by individuals and organizations. Her primary sources are newspapers, magazines, personal correspondences, and public meetings. As she makes clear, "Debates surrounding the design, construction, and location of

memorials are significant for 'decoding' iconographic images within a larger complex of cultural, social, and political values," adding, "[s]o too . . . are changes or alterations to these memorials via CCTV, fences, bollards, or other barriers, which also provide a *glimpse* [my italics] of competing interpretations of memory as well as of the power relationships that can ultimately determine its realization."[28]

Benton-Short describes in some detail changes to the iconography of the Washington Monument following the attacks of September 11. Soon after, typical elements of the "architecture of terror," amplified with police cars and a new visitor screening center, surrounded this "beacon of freedom." Prior to September 11, the National Park Service, which also maintains and manages the Mall, was having trouble convincing Congress to fund an underground visitors' center from which a tunnel would lead to the base of the monument. After the attack, the plans were recast in terms of National Security, and construction around the monument expanded to include sunken concentric walkways that would lead to and from and surrounding the monument. Funding was allocated—but without public scrutiny, which is highly unusual for Park Service initiatives. Instability in the bedrock beneath the monument blocked construction of the underground visitors' center, but the sunken walkways were a go-ahead. Like the medieval ha-ha protecting the European country estate from depraved cattle, these walkways would protect the monument from car bombs. As Benton-Short writes, "Some noted the paradox of approaching a soaring obelisk connoting freedom and openness in a manner that resembles the burrowing of a frightened animal."[29]

Her words sufficiently describe what is paradoxical in the iconography of the Washington Monument and its surroundings. The Jefferson Memorial also exemplifies the visual paradox of hypersecurity and democracy. She provides a photograph of the memorial (fig. 3) but does not elucidate its pictorial elements; notably, the photograph can only illustrate the paradox if viewers already know of Jefferson, his writings and ideas, and their importance to American cultural ideals.[30] As such, this particular scene does not convey the tensions and contradictions that implicate interpretations of the memorial.

A wall inside the memorial bears this oft-quoted excerpt from the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." Benton-Short must have been aware of these words, which I suspect reinforce her commitment to a specific interpretation of landscape that is partly based on her personal visual experience. If, as Annette Markham proposes, "Individual sense-making processes, dyadic and group relationships, and that which we call 'knowledge' are increasingly composed of nonlinear sound bites, transient connections, truncated texts, hyper-linked cognitive processing, multi-mediated understandings of what is real and meaningful," then why not represent the "visual paradox" of the Mall in a form contemporarily more in sync and comprehensible?[31] Juxtaposing a photograph of the interior wall against the landscape, or merging the words with the landscape by photograph or inscription using widely available photo-editing software programs, could convey these complex

Figure 3. *Visual paradox at the National Mall, Washington, DC, USA. Reprinted with permission from Lisa Benton-Short.*

meanings. A composite of image and text that breaks the integrity of the photographic frame by cutting, pasting, and merging makes the transfer of academic experience and knowledge more immediate and compelling, especially because the image-text is our central mode of expression and understanding, as the roadside—or the montage on the computer and television screens—would attest.[32]

This re(-)view of the Historic Trail's roadside montage cannot be limited to a photograph or two, nor rendered by the expository essay. Here, the primary source remains photographs, but the method involves juxtaposing them in order to reveal valences of meaning among their elements. I made almost 2,500 photographs that included images and texts from the roadside and from certified Trail literature such as brochures and pamphlets. I then placed them one against the other to find meaningful links among signs representing site and setting, past and present, genocide and the quotidian. My search for and discovery of valences of meaning, however, took place both while I was on the Trail, and later while off, in the studio so to speak. While juxtaposing photographs, sizable, cumbersome arrays of photographs had formed around a number of specific ideas such as purity, security and charity. To get to the essential elements associated with ideas or themes like those mentioned above, I had to cut apart the photographs. I then merged fragments in frames to create image-texts. Since image-texts pervade not only the contemporary roadside montage but also other common visual fields, I have used them to represent the Historic Trail on the pages of this journal, though specifically to make apparent the otherwise unpicturable valences of meaning in a landscape of a settler society.

Image-Texting the Landscape

During the early part of the twentieth century, the Dada and cubism art movements revitalized the age-old technique of juxtaposing images within a frame, thereby making collage and montage a new form of high art in the West.[33] They also introduced words inside the picture frame to "highlight the visuality of the written and printed word—its Janus-like double facing toward visual shape and abstract content."[34] Surrealists of the same period constructed image-texts to "resolve the previously contradictory conditions of dream and reality into an absolute reality, a surreality."[35] However, the layout and design of early newspaper advertisements had served to inspire these avant-garde artistic and intellectual movements.[36] Situationists of the mid-twentieth century turned image-text against Western consumerism and imperialism to fight fire with fire, so to speak, by appropriating and recombining popular everyday images and text from advertisements, magazines, and newspapers. They gave their methods names like counter-bricollage, guerrilla semiotics, detournement, and cut-ups. Troublesome images like these can now be seen in collage art, popular music posters, and underground zine and mail art networks.[37]

Prominent scholars from the field of human geography have recently declared that montage making has always been at the heart of the discipline.[38] They believe it is paramount for geographers to now fully embrace this form of academic representation in order to advance geographical knowledge. If the map—the incarnation of lateral, relational, or spatial thinking—has structured the perceptual apparatus of Homo Geographicus, and the landscape of the page—with its graphs, tables, photographs, charts, diagrams, captions, maps, literature review, and image-texts—has for several decades shaped geographers' representations of geographical knowledge, then why did it take so long for geographers to recognize this essential characteristic of geographic thought and practice?[39] Why the very recent issuance of a "methodological montage manifesto"?[40]

There are montages, and then there are montages. This manifesto calls on geographers to participate in the practice of "comic book visuality" as a way of understanding and representing human geographical reality, particularly as it reflects (or supplements) political behavior.[41] This proposition is intriguing; yet few geographers have made montage (aka image-text), let alone drawn comic strips, that would give the creative impulse more leeway for discovering and constructing geographies.[42] Even renowned scholars in the discipline have encouraged us to express our work in "creative as well as scholarly terms."[43] Representations should be "aimed at your affective realm",[44] and make "the old appear new, and the banal appear fresh."[45] Geographers who have experimented with image-texting aim to convey either the intertextual relationships between the seen and unseen of the cultural landscape or to reflect on the perspectivism dominating contemporary life and its concomitant "phantasmagoria" that is the (post)modern scene. In most cases, images and texts intertwine to create nonlinear image-texts that erase "the finely etched line between the academic and the artistic."[46]

Thinking-Feeling

The Trail of Tears National Historic Trail was never a part of my life world. It is, however, an ordinary landscape for millions of people who use its roadways and highways to carryout their day-to-day activities. I purposefully immersed myself in and rigorously engaged with the visual field of the Trail, hence always remembering that what hovers around me is the shadow of a forced migration that contributed to the genocide of American Indians in North America. This immersion and engagement, both on the road and then later in front of the computer screen, induced what I call a "thinking-feeling" because of the unsettling valences that appear in the reciprocal exchanges between site and setting.

I attribute this thinking-feeling to what scholars of postcolonial studies describe as an "unsettled settledness" that conditions American settler and Indian political, economic, and cultural relations.[47] The condition of unsettled settledness pivots on the existential dilemma of being or feeling in place and out of place simultaneously.[48] The Historic Trail partakes in a "new tourism" manifest in concrete gestures of reconciliation on the rise in settler societies around the world. They "mark a geography in which centre and margin, self and other, here and there are in anxious negotiation—where there is displacement, interaction and contest."[49] Nowhere can this complex arbitration be more obvious, more poignant, than on "shadowed grounds" that remind us in a palpable way of past atrocities committed in the name of nationalism, racial purity, and economic prosperity.[50]

Among the signifiers along the Historic Trail that stand for past and present, genocide and the quotidian, First Nations and second nation are haunting and sometimes humorous valences—the thinking-feeling—that not only represent "tensions within our society's collective mind," but also a feeling of anxious negotiation among elements in the landscape that are (in)congruent and (ir)reconcilable.[51] To reveal and visualize these reciprocal exchanges between the Trail of Tears and the roadside montage, I enhance the image-texts by creating (sur)real composites. The design strategy of surreality arouses the anxious negotiation of the roadway, which makes apparent horror and humor, reality and imagination, past and present as well as—and perhaps most importantly— the quality of being in place and out of place at once.

Creative Re(-)View

The forced migration of Cherokee Indians known as the Trail of Tears has been described and explained, verbalized, visualized, and performed in numerous ways through essays, film, theater, children's books, paintings, murals, and, of course, tourist pamphlets and brochures published by private and public organizations.[52] The National Historic Trail has been less so; its primary medium of representation is still the travel guide. The National Historic Trail itself has seldom found its way into American popular culture, unlike the famous Route 66 around which perhaps a whole publishing industry has sprung up. (The Trail of Tears National Historic Trail merges

with a large segment of Route 66—a fact often ignored in the cult of the mother road.)

Walking the Trail: One Man's Journey along the Cherokee Trail of Tears (2001), written by Jerry Ellis, a travel writer, is a rare re(-)view of the actual trail. It is a deeply personal account of his experiences on the trail—so deep, in fact, that some have criticized his rendering as an example of the prototypical saga of a navel-gazing midlifer.[53] According to such interpretations, his empathy for those who suffered this forced migration seems to ring hollow. Nonetheless, Ellis chose to commit his life for a short period to rereading this landscape of atrocity and to considering his place with respect to it. By walking on and writing about the Historic Trail—and his is an exclusively verbal re(-)view—Ellis participates in the act of commemoration, doing so on his own terms.

Scholars of European colonialism, postcoloniality, and difficult heritage now acknowledge the importance of interpretative heterodoxy in academic research dealing with atrocity and genocide.[54] Heterodoxy can lead to fresh perspectives, particularly from the borderlands of art and science, which renew public meaning and memory of these events and places, keeping them alive in human consciousness.[55] Some scholars propose that the "burden" of academic research is the "fabrication of artworks powerful enough to compel remembrance of what cannot be reconstructed."[56] Such creative representations can disrupt the incessant drive toward nihilistic absolutism by opening a "margin" where the author's voice—his/her subjective manipulations and interpretations—can be seen and heard at the very site of academic representation.[57] This voice on the margins is a personal act of remembering that actively, conspicuously, and critically engages with the shadowed grounds of atrocity. The academic aim remains the same, but is supplemented by the effort to understand contemporary institutionalized modes of heritage and commemoration, and the colonization of time and space by official representations of history, culture, and geography, but to do so while re-politicizing sites through creative representations that invoke exchange and dialogue with the commemorative act.[58]
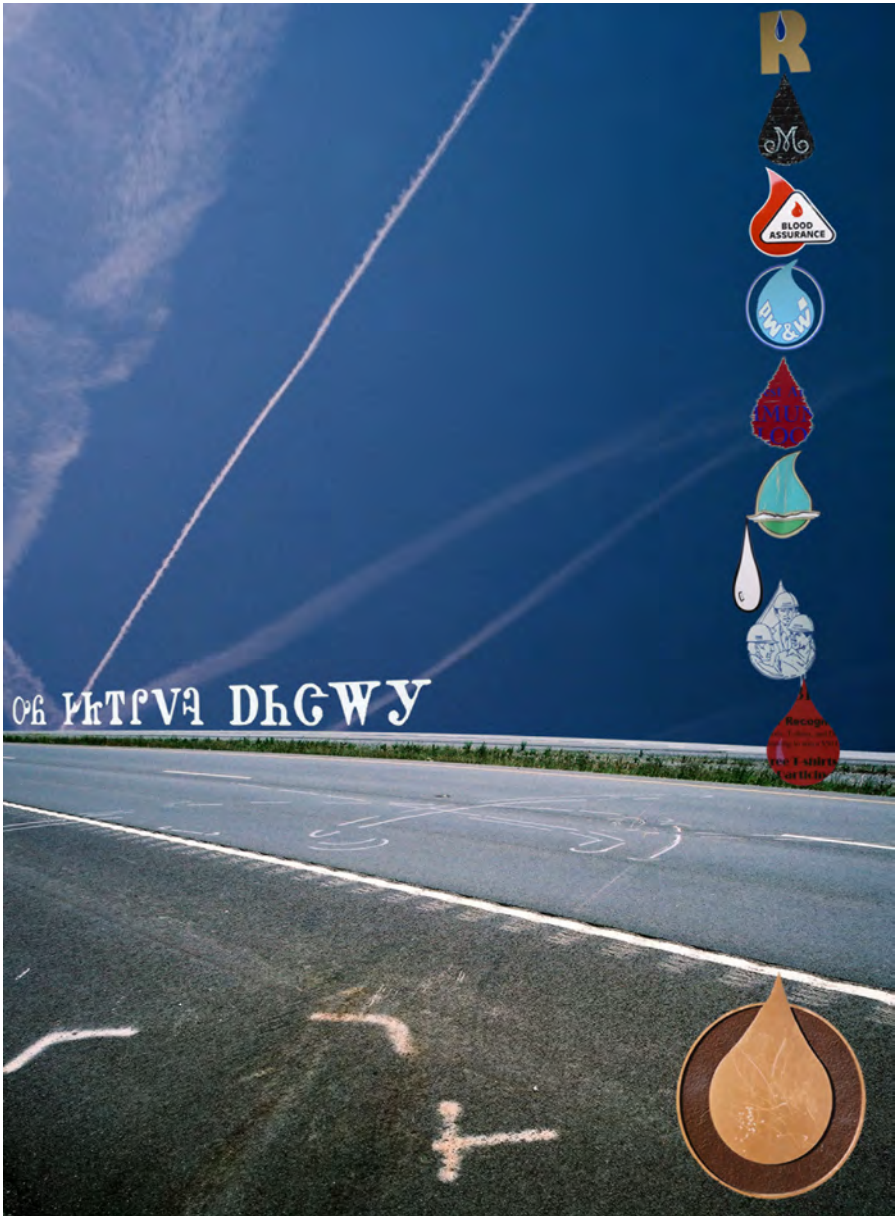
FIGURE 4. *The phrase hovering above the highway written in Cherokee script means "the place where they cried." Every year, approximately 37,000 people die in car accidents in the United States. Traces of one such accident were clearly marked on this segment of the Trail. The drops are from various signs that vie for attention along the Trail.*[59]
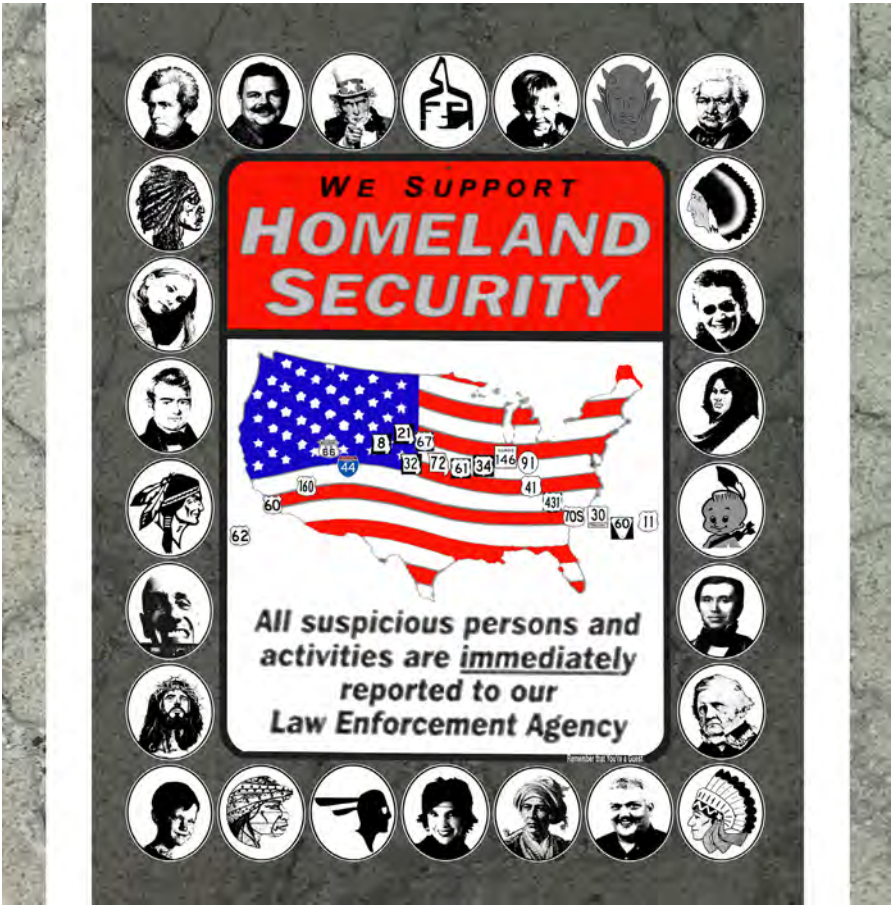
Figure 5. *The Department of Homeland Security was established in 2002 to protect Americans from foreign terrorists. The portraits are of various personalities featured on signs along the way and/or from the tourist pamphlets. Who is suspicious?*
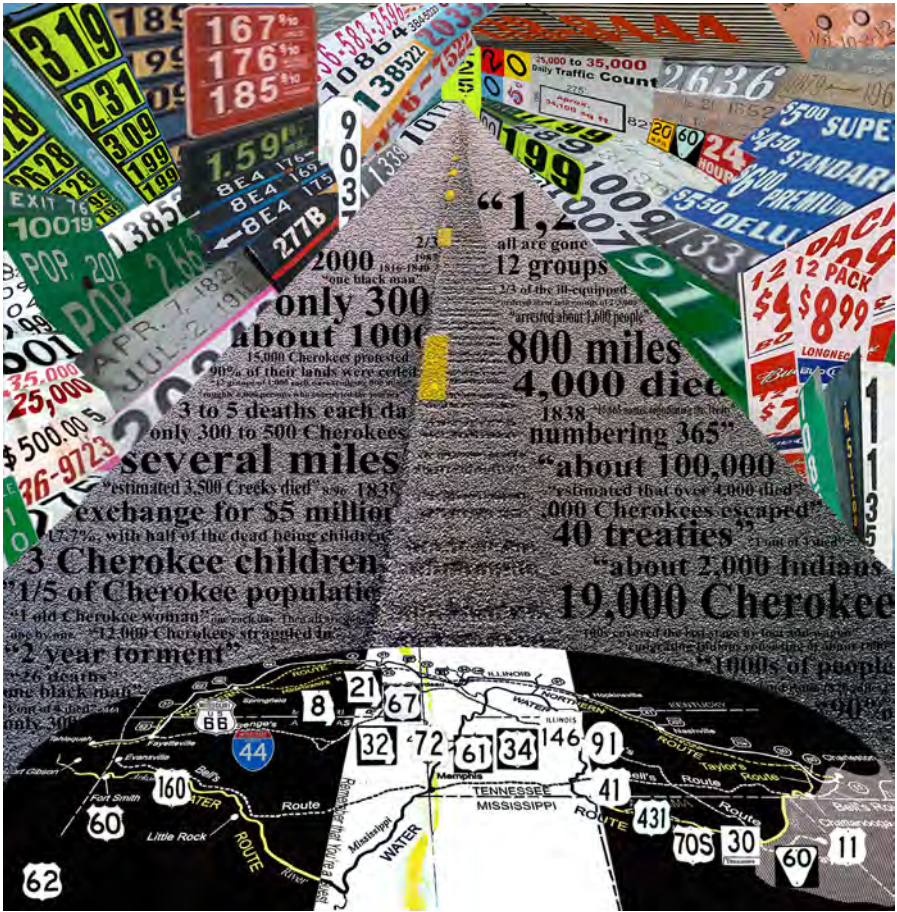
Figure 6. *The body counts along the Trail of Tears: 4,000;*[60] *840;*[61] *2,000;*[62] *6,000.*[63] *"Modern social science, when it does not neglect genocide, is blinded by a concern with methodology in its search for a more scientific, rigorous, systematic and empirical approach. This has a banalizing and numbing affect on empathy, vigilance and resistance as we are faced with surplus information and data, and numbers elbowing each other for a place."*[64]

Figure 7. *The Historic Trail has plenty of signage expressing concern for the safety and protection of children, and a few digital billboards displaying biometrics of newborns. On the final page of the National Park Service's official pamphlet for the Trail is a routine, almost inconspicuous, subheading that cautions, "Remember that you're a guest."*[65]
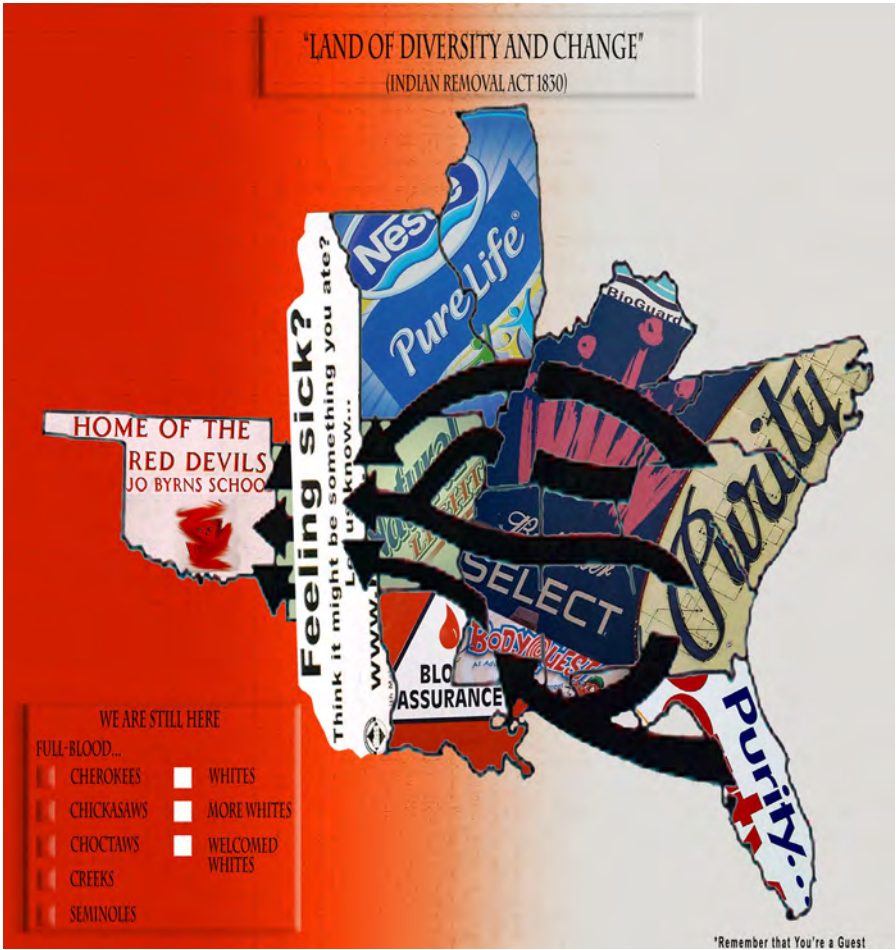
Figure 8. *The title of the map replicates a subtitle in the certified booklet and official pamphlet of the Trail of Tears National Historic Trial. The map of Federal Indian Removal Policy comes from the official pamphlet. "Red Devils" is the logo for a High School in Cedar Hill, Tennessee. According to a shop owner in Tahlequah, the capital city of the Western Cherokee Nation, the Nation is revoking citizenship of those whose blood "fraction" does not meet tribal racial criteria. "Full-blooded" Cherokees can now gain a larger share of the total earnings that the Nation receives from both the federal government and reservation enterprises such as casinos.*
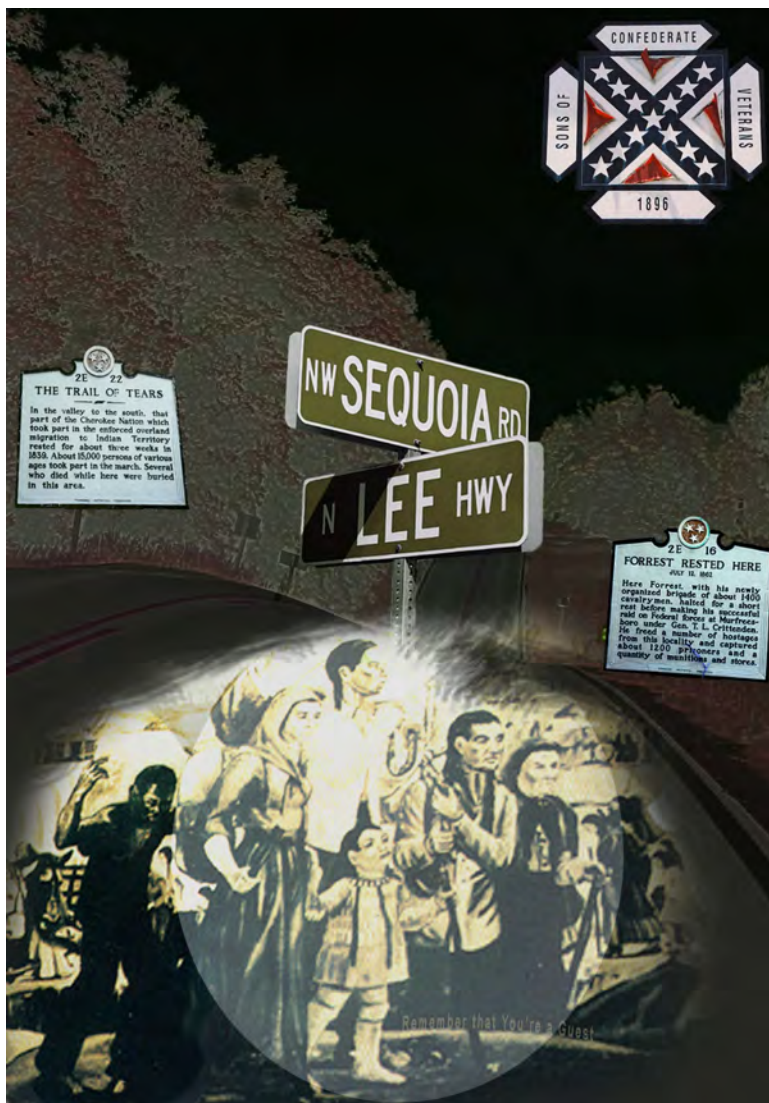
FIGURE 9. *During the US Civil War (1861–1865), most Cherokees supported the Confederate States of America. Cherokees owned slaves who did not become Freedmen until after the end of the War.[66] Nathan Bedford Forrest (1821–1877), mentioned on the historic marker on the right, was a general in the Army of the Confederate States of America (1861–65), a brilliant guerrilla fighter, a war criminal (by today's standards), and a Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan. The intersecting street signs are in McMinnville, Tennessee. Sequoyah, the most famous Cherokee, invented the Cherokee writing system adopted by the Nation in 1828. Robert E. Lee is the most celebrated of Confederate generals. In March 2007, the Cherokee tribe in Oklahoma voted on a constitutional amendment that would revoke the tribal citizenship of descendants of Black slaves who had been displaced with their Cherokee owners, but who had heretofore been citizens of the Nation. Seventy-seven percent of voters supported disenfranchisement.[67]*

Figure 10. *The Trail of Tears is a trail of trails that has even gone global.*[68]

FIGURE 11. *Lottery and gaming have become big business in the United States. The new millennium's predatory lenders and subprime mortgage traders apparently did not miss this cultural turn.*

FIGURE 12. *The red bricks are from the Trail of Tears Memorial Site in the Vienna Community Park, Vienna, Illinois. The silhouettes are from a wrought iron sculpture atop the sign for the Trail of Tears State Park Visitor Center in Jackson, Missouri.*

FIGURE 13. *A Trail brochure distributed in Missouri includes* Charity along the Trail of Tears, *painted by Brother Mark Elder. The image-text displays the names of various convenience stores and service providers on the Historic Trail, along with various directives.*[69]

Figure 14. *The Cherokee women are part of a large mural titled* Cherokee Removal—Trail of Tears—Ohio River Xing 1838–1839. *The mural, in Golconda, Illinois, is painted on a tall wall that is adjacent to the roadway and surrounds an old cemetery. The billboard advertises a "red light district" just off Interstate 44 in Rolla, Missouri.*

Figure 15. *Weather and climate along the Trail of Tears as described in the certified travel literature: "deep winter"–"stifling heat"—"rain, snow, freezing cold"—"January blast"—"below zero"—"torrential rain"—"withering drought"— "distant thunder"—"viciously cold"—"inclement season"—"hottest part of the year"—"temperatures plunging"—"heavy autumn rains"—"chill of drizzling rain"—"unseasonably heavy rains"—"hottest and driest summers of the century."[70]*

Post-View

The US National Park Service is working with individuals and public and private organizations to "reconstruct," to a certain extent, the Trail of Tears along the ordinary American roadway. This effort is being undertaken by publishing travel literature, raising trail markers, uncovering and exhibiting landmarks, building memorial parks, and restoring structures along roadways that parallel the original migration route. The landscape of the Historic Trail presents a visual field that can be likened to a montage with an abundance of visual and textual signifiers. The ordinary infrastructure of roadside signage, with its own images and texts that change from place to place and over time, is included in the montage. Now sharing this infrastructure and adding content to it is a national heritage site that represents an instance of cruel violence that marked the dispossession and forced migration of Cherokee Indians, a significant event in the evolution of the United States as a contemporary settler society.

The Trail of Tears National Historic Trail offers a unique window onto a settler society, a window from which one can glimpse in the landscape (un)resolved tensions of meaning that can also emerge in cultural texts such as novels, film, and festivals. These texts can unwittingly or, as critical texts, wittingly decenter and displace dominant and taken-for-granted histories, cultures, and geographies already in place. However, it is not the intention of the National Park Service to inscribe a critical text onto the ordinary roadway. Rather, the presence of the Trail of Tears, with its trail markers and official tourist literature in the roadway, merely initiates a potential for decentering and displacement. I realized that potential by using a form of representation that maintains the montage of the roadside while allowing visual and textual signifiers to form valences of meaning. These exchanges exemplify a paradox of an unsettled settledness that stems from an "illegitimate, uncomfortable, conflicted aftermath of an irreversible conquest"—settler colonialism.[71]

The image-text composites I have made have a (sur)real quality that aims to be disrupting, arresting, and distortive. They are an attempt to reflect a thinking-feeling arising out of my interaction with the Trail of Tears. That interaction occurred not only on intellectual and critical levels, but also on an emotional one. We all should come to terms with events of such magnitude. A starting place can be memorials and commemorations that serve to remind us of our human vulnerabilities. Scholars and academics that research and write about themes such as atrocity and genocide should always be aware of the banalizing effect of institutionalized conventions of conveying knowledge. To be sure, rigorous and disciplined research is our raison d'être, but sometimes, and in some places, we experience an intellectual yearning for absolute knowledge progressively gained. Such thinking, however, can lead to a macabre circularity that takes us to the very precipice at which we decide that the best representation of events like these is through precise reconstruction—in the laboratory, of course. Human curiosity, we are taught, has no justifiable boundaries. Short of this precision, we are left with representations and re-representations of atrocities that will remain "indeterminate, elusive, and opaque."[72] The aim, then, is to get what we have learned to the furthest reader—which may necessitate creative representation in anxious negotiation.

Acknowledgments

Notes

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17. Harvey K. Flad, "Country Clutter: Visual Pollution and the Rural Roadscape," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 553 (1997): 117.

18. Raitz, "American Roads," 381.

19. John B. Jackson, "Other Directed Houses" (1956–57), in *Landscape in Sight: Looking at America*, ed. Helen Lefkowitz-Horowitz (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 27.

20. Jackson, "Other Directed Houses," 35.

21. *Draft Code of Crimes against the Peace and Security of Mankind* (United Nations, 2005), http://untreaty.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/English/draft%20articles/7_4_ 1996.pdf.

22. *Trail of Tears National Historic Trail* (Santa Fe, NM: Western National Parks Association, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, 2000). It is not the intention of the National Park Service to rupture the roadway palimpsests with uncanny critique, even if the Trail was established in collaboration with Cherokee and other American Indians who might have an interest in such expressions, but Edgar Heap of Bird's poignant road signage is a different story. See Nick Bromley, "Artistic Displacements: An Interview with Edgar Heap of Birds," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 22, no. 6 (2004): 799–807.

23. In the early 1990s, when geography began to participate in the cultural and/or linguistic turns in the humanities and social sciences, the metaphor of landscape as text had a significant effect on research in the discipline, but a paradigmatic sway on the subfield of cultural geography. Critical semiotics, discourse analysis, and deconstruction, among other interpretive scaffoldings, were introduced into geography mainly through three publications: J. S. Duncan, *The City as Text: The Politics of Landscape Interpretation in the Kandyan Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels, eds., *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); J. S. Duncan and T. J. Barnes, eds., *Writing Worlds; Discourse, Text & Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape* (London: Routledge, 1992). Also, see Lester B. Rowntree, "'The Cultural Landscape Concept,' in American Human Geography," in *Concepts in Human Geography*, ed. Carville Earle, Kent Mathewson, and Martin S. Kenzer (Latham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1995), 127–59.

24. Alfred A. Cave, "Abuse of Power: Andrew Jackson and the Indian Removal Act of 1830," *The Historian* 65, no. 6 (2003): 1330–353.

25. James. E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 7.

26. William. Logan and Keir J. Reeves, *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing with "Difficult Heritage"* (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2009).

27. Lisa Benton-Short, "Bollards, Bunkers, and Barriers: Securing the National Mall in Washington, DC," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 25, no. 3 (2007): 434, 424.

28. Ibid., 426.

29. Ibid., 439. During the twentieth century, the National Mall evolved into an important arena for the expression of democratic values and national identity through memorialization, protests, and demonstrations. The Lincoln Memorial and Washington Monument have always been cynosures where people come together to express their views on issues such as women's suffrage, the Vietnam War, and Civil Rights. Mass gatherings at these monuments reflect the ideals of freedom and inclusiveness that have shaped American civilization and energized political and social change. Although the Mall has a history of temporary wartime fortification, the contemporary "architecture of terror" or "paranoia" appears to be permanent (424).

30. Benton-Short, "Bollards, Bunkers, and Barriers," 434.

31. Annette N. Markham, "'Go Ugly Early': Fragmented Narrative and Bricolage as Interpretive Method," *Qualitative Inquiry* 11, no. 6 (2005): 815.

32. William J. Mitchell, *Placing Words: Symbols, Space and the City* (Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 2005), 12.

33. George L. Dillon, *Writing with Images* (2002), http://courses.washington.edu/hypertxt/cgi-bin/book/tablesall.html.

34. James Hamilton, "Visualizing Critique: Montage as a Practice of Alternative Media," *Media History* 7, no. 2 (2001): 159–70; George L. Dillon, "Montage/Critique: Another Way of Writing Social," *Postmodern Culture* 14, no. 2 (2004): 1–33.

35. Andre Breton, *Manifesto of Surrealism* (1924), http://www.tcf.ua.edu/Classes/Jbutler / T340/SurManifesto/ ManifestoOfSurrealism.htm.

36. Hamilton, *Visualizing Critique*, 2001.

37. For montage critiques of colonial, neocolonial, and postcolonial conditions, see Sean Hillen, *Who is my Enemy* (1987), http://www.seanhillen.com/pictures/index.html; Geoff Broadway, *Digital Realist Montages* (2002), http://www.intentional.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/digital-realist-montage .pdf; and Richard Flood, Laura Hoptman, and Massimiliano Gioni, *Collage: The Unmonumental Picture* (London: Merrell Publishers, 2007).

38. Marcus A. Doel and David B. Clarke, "Afterimages," *Environment and Planning D: Society & Space* 25, no. 5 (2007): 890–910.

39. Catherine Dee, "The Imaginary Texture of the Real: Critical Visual Studies in Landscape Architecture: Contexts, Foundations and Approaches," *Landscape Research* 29, no. 1 (2004): 29. For more on thinking like a map, or to better understand the popular academic catchword, see Edward W. Soja, *Third Space: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996); Denis Cosgrove, ed., *Mappings* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002); Allan Pred, "Situated Ignorance and State Terrorism," in *Violent Geographies: Fear, Terror and Political Violence*, ed. Derek Gregory and Allan Pred (London: Routledge, 2007), 363–84.

40. Jason Dittmer, "Comic Book Visualities: A Methodological Manifesto on Geography, Montage and Narration," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35, no. 2 (2010): 222–36.

41. Dittmer, "Comic Book Visualities"; see also Art Spiegelman, *MetaMaus: A Look Inside a Modern Classic, Maus* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2011) to gain insight into the process of interpreting and representing an eyewitness account of the Jewish Holocaust in comic book format.

42. The first montage composite resembling the work of dadaists and surrealists and published in an academic journal of geography can be found in Derek Gregory's "Interventions in the Historical Geography of Modernity: Social Theory, Spatiality and the Politics of Representation," *Geografiska Annaler: Series B Human Geography* 73, no. 1 (1991) 17–44. One geographer who has consistently used montage or image-texts in his work is Michael Pryke; see John Allen and Michael Pryke, "The Production of Service Space," *Environment and Planning D: Society & Space* 12, no. 3 (1994): 453–75; Michael Pryke, *Tracing Economic Rhythms through Visual and Audio Montage* (1997), http://www .open.ac.uk/socialsciences/berlin/index.shtml; Michael Pryke, "The White Noise of Capitalism: Audio and Visual Montage and the Sensing Economic Change," *Cultural Geographies* 9, no. 4 (2002): 472–77.

43. Donald W. Meinig, "Geography as an Art," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 8, no. 3 (1983): 324. The former president of the Association of American Geographers, Douglas Richardson, continues to promote creative representation in the discipline; see Douglas Richardson, "Geography and Humanities," *Association of American Geographers Newsletter* 3 (2006): 2, 4; see also, Michael Dear, Jim Ketchum, Sarah Luria, and Doug Richardson, eds., *Geohumanities: Art, History, Text at the Edge of Place* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011).

44. Ary J. Lamme, III, "Speaking with the Same Voice: Geographical Interpretation and Representation of Literary Resources," *Geojournal* 38, no. 1 (1996): 48.

45. Meinig, "Geography as an Art," 157.

46. Gregory, "Interventions in the Historical Geography of Modernity," 31.

47. Ross Gibson, *South of the West: Postcolonialism and the Narrative Construction of Australia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), quoted in Kylie Message, "Are We there Yet? Natalie Robertson's Road Signs and the Redirection of Cultural Memory," *Space and Culture* 8, no. 4 (2007): 451.

48. Jane M. Jacobs, "Resisting Reconciliation," in *Geographies of Resistance*, ed. Steve Pile and Michael Keith (New York: Routledge, 1997), 67–89; Affrica Taylor, "'The Sun Always Shines in

Perth': A Post-Colonial Geography of Identity, Memory and Place," *Australian Geographical Studies* 38, no. 1 (2000): 27–35.

49. Jacobs, "Resisting Reconciliation," 85.

50. C. Richard King, ed., *Post-Colonial America* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000); Kenneth E. Foote, *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997).

51. Foote, *Shadowed Ground*, 296.

52. The origin of the phrase is uncertain.

53. Jerry Ellis, *Walking the Trail: One Man's Journey along the Cherokee Trail of Tears* (Lincoln, NE: Bison Books, 2001); I base this critique on a segment of a review written for *Publisher's Weekly* and popular reviews available on Amazon.com. Many comment on Ellis's inward-looking perspective, which seems to be why the book rates five stars.

54. Message, "Are We there Yet?" 452; Paul Carter, *Material Thinking: The Theory and Practise of Creative Research* (Melbourne, Australia: Melbourne University Publishing, 2004). See also, James E. Young, *At Memory's Edge: After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000); Saul Friedlander, ed., *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the "Final Solution"* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

55. Carter, *Material Thinking*, 2004.

56. Michael Dintenfass, "Truth's Other: Ethics, the History of the Holocaust, and Historiographical Theory after the Linguistic Turn," *History and Theory* 39 (February 2000): 16.

57. Michael Dintenfass, "Truth's Other"; Saul Friedlander, "Introduction," in *Probing the Limits of Representation*," 11.

58. Message, "Are We there Yet?"; Carter, *Material Thinking*.

59. *Fatal Car Accidents*, http://www.car-accidents.com/pages/fatal-accident-statistics.html.

60. *Trail of Tears National Historic Trail: Alabama–Arkansas–Georgia–Kentucky–Illinois–Missouri–North Carolina–Oklahoma–Tennessee* (Santa Fe, NM: National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, 1996).

61. William R. Higginbotham, "Trail of Tears' is a Good Yarn, But Untrue," *The Houston Chronicle*, February 15, 1988, 7.

62. John Ehle, *Trail of Tears: The Rise and Fall of the Cherokee Nation* (New York: Anchor Books-Doubleday, 1988), 390.

63. Russell Thornton, "Demography of the Trail of Tears," in *Cherokee Removal: Before and After*, ed. William L. Anderson (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 76.

64. Herbert Hirsch, *Genocide and the Politics of Memory, Studying Death to Preserve Life* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 100.

65. *Trail of Tears National Historic Trail*, 1996.

66. William G. McLoughlin, *After the Trail of Tears: The Cherokees' Struggle for Sovereignty, 1839–1880* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993). Cherokee leader Stand Watie, who during the Civil War became one of two American Indians to achieve the rank of brigadier general, led his cavalrymen on a massacre of Black hay-cutters in Oklahoma, and was the last Confederate general to surrender on the battlefield; see *Civil War Biographies*, "Stand Waite," http://www.civilwarhome.com/biograph.htm.

67. "Cherokees Eject Slave Descendents," *British Broadcasting Company*, March 4, 2007, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/6416735.stm; Ray Henry, "Purging Tribal Rolls a National Trend," *USA Today*, October 27, 2007, http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/ 2007-10-27-2757711526_x .htm; Amy Harmon, "Seeking Ancestry in DNA Ties Uncovered by Tests," *New York Times*, April 12, 2006, http://www.nytimes.com/2006/04/12/us/12genes. html? _r=1 &pagewanted=all.

68.   Louise Lief, Klaus Reisinger, and Carla Anne Robbins, "Europe's Trails of Tears," *U.S. News & World Report*, July 19, 1992; Anne Nivat, "Chechnya's Trail of Tears," *U.S. News & World Report*, February 7, 2000; Hillol Ray, *Agonized Trail of Tears* (2004), www.sawf.org /bin/ tips.dll/ gettip?user= Sawf&class= Poetry&tipid= 2404&pn; Jonathan Sprague and Tom McCawley, "Timor's Trail of Tears," *Asiaweek* 25, no. 38 (1999): 30; "Olympians Oppose Sharon's 'Trail of Tears," *Olympia Movement for Justice and Peace* (2004), http://www.omjp.org/april062002.html; Denis D. Gray, "Ho Chi Minh Trail, From Soldier's Road to Tourist Highway," *Associated Press* (2006), http://www .usatoday.com/travel/destinations/2005-07-18-ho-chi-minh_x.htm.

69.   For this image-text, I must refer to the artwork of Pierre Robins; please see: *12 Hands– Collage with Postcards and Advert* (2003), http://www.colicola.com.

70.   All phrases can be found in *Trail of Tears National Historic Trail the Southeast Missouri Region* (Perryville, MI: The Southeast Missouri Regional Planning & Economic Development Region, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, 1994); *Trail of Tears National Historic Trail*, 1996; *Trail of Tears National Historic Trail*, Santa Fe, NM: Western National Parks Association, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, 2000).

71.   King, *Post-Colonial America*, 7.

72.   Friedlander, Probing the Limits of Representation, 5. If so, then "we will never be finished with reading and re-reading the diasporic signs and spaces of the Holocaust, since even in the wake of the most ruthless attempt to terminate the interminable, to finalize a final solution, to suture disjunction, and to compel the Other to vanish from the face of the earth, there will always be traces, and traces of traces." This assertion is from Marcus A. Doel and David B. Clarke's "Figuring the Holocaust: Singularity and the Purification of Space," in *Rethinking Geopolitics*, ed. Gearóid Ó. Tuathail and Simon Dalby (New York: Routledge, 1998), 57.