Caribbean Landscapes and Agencies beyond the Human in British Print Culture surrounding the Haitian Revolution

By

Michael H. Feinberg

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The dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:
Jill H. Casid (Chair), Professor Art History
Monique Allewaert, Associate Professor, English
Anna Vemer Andrzejewski, Professor Art History
Pablo F. Gómez, Associate Professor of History and the History of Medicine

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Abstract

This dissertation analyzes the aesthetic and political role of landscape in the engravings of influential illustrated works of history and natural history written, edited, or printed while British forces were active in Saint-Domingue (Haiti). Although these books were written by conservative planters or European soldiers, their accompanying illustrations appear ambivalent or even sympathetic toward the Black forces who resisted colonial power. I contend that these frictions between authorial intent and images played out in landscape representation even when framed as settled property. More than functioning as a genre of art or representation of land asserting colonial control, landscape in these illustrated works divulges histories of imperial resistance and European anxieties about colonial loss. Each chapter hinges on a particular case study to reveal how landscape failed to disguise the social disorder that authors, publishers, and editors sought to downplay. Careful scrutiny of the relationships between the images and accompanying texts, along with attention to the exchanges of these illustrated books, opens up another story of empire's flagging prospects in the very works intended to promote a view of empire as unchangeable and uncontestable.

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation examines the aesthetic and political role of landscape in the engravings of influential illustrated works of history and natural history written, edited, or printed while British forces were active in Saint-Domingue (Haiti). Although these books were written by conservative planters or European soldiers, their accompanying illustrations appear ambivalent or even sympathetic toward the Black forces who resisted colonial power. I contend that these frictions between authorial intent and images played out in landscape representation even when the Atlantic World is framed as settled property. More than perpetuating the myth of the white planter's limitless power or the plantation's incontestability, landscape in these images reveal the ways in which efforts to repress traces of colonial loss fall apart, or, at least, become strained.

My argument is inspired by the proliferation of landscape imagery during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, such as Pierre Ozanne's *View of Môle Saint-Nicolas* in Saint-Domingue [*Figure 1*]. Drawn while participating in a scientific voyage across the Atlantic Ocean, Ozanne appears to have understood landscape as a mere representation of the places he encountered. More descriptive than narratological, distance and disinterestedness coalesce to create a fixed view of Môle Saint-Nicolas. Europeans hungry for accurate or pleasing information about a faraway place were the intended audiences. However, Ozanne's landscape is more complex and even contradictory. Closer scrutiny reveals stylistic and formal choices that belie claims of naturalness or unbiased observation. Ozanne's picture shows how landscape aesthetically functioned as an artificial representation corroborating a desired worldview instead of an actual diagram of the Môle.

Helping to re-represent the Môle as a newly discovered place, Ozanne employs landscape to obscure the differences between direct observation and his desired view. Plein-air sketching

blurs the boundaries between Ozanne's subjectivity and the "objective" place he diagrams even further.[1] Evidence of human intervention is pushed offshore and foregrounded vessels disguise architectural evidence of an already established settlement. Augmenting topographical drama and the idea of an untouched terrain awaiting human settlement, colossal mountains almost completely camouflage diminutive roofs and shaded windows. But rising sailing masts tarnish the otherwise uninterrupted view of physiographic provinciality. Ozanne's employment of landscape to capture a newly "discovered" Saint-Domingue free from human influence cannot be separated from visual evidence attesting to the fact that white Europeans had settled the island long before his travels. In borrowing landscape's valences of naturalism and amenability to direct observation, Ozanne was not merely creating an imperial claim to the Môle. He was also describing what it meant to establish a human civilization in the Atlantic World.

View of Môle Saint-Nicolas encapsulates a general view of civilization rather than Ozanne's French identity. Ozanne joined other European artists, such as Paul Sandby (1731-1809), Johann Zoffany (1733-1810), and John Constable (1776-1837), who employed landscape representation as an idiom for civility, tranquility, and unchangeability amidst a backdrop of tremendous anxiety.[2] Transcending the acrimonious relationship between France and Britain, no waving flags or distinguishing landmarks position the Môle as part of France. *View* is just one of over 800 drawings Ozanne made while sailing across the Atlantic Ocean shortly after the tensions between France and Britain metamorphosized into the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). *View of Môle Saint-Nicolas* appears in a folio with nineteen other pictures, including his views of

[1] I am thinking with Ann Bermingham's reading of Constable's landscape in Ann Bermingham, "Reading Constable." *Art History* 10, no. 1 (1987): 38–58.
[2] See Douglas Fordham's analysis of the relation between the Seven Years' War and art in Douglas Fordham, *British Art and the Seven Years' War: Allegiance and Autonomy*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

Martinique and Gorée [*Figures 2* and *3*]. By framing harbors and forts as fixed appendages of the natural terrain, landscape naturalizes colonial claims while also distorting France's temporary losses of Guadeloupe and Martinique. These drawings became part of a larger visual repertoire of landscape imagery intended to renew power and identity.

Of course, Ozanne was also created revolutionary propaganda to support France. He drew the 1794 sinking of the French ship, *Vengeur du Peuple*, at the hands of British forces [*Figure 4*]. Billowing plumes of smoke surrounding triumphant figures emerging from the water helped transform this frigate into a martyrish symbol for France's Revolutionary forces. Moreover, Ozanne depicted the 1798 French capture of the British ship *HMS Ambuscade* [*Figure 5*]. The British ship's diminutive size reflects the artist's aim to claim France as the mightier entity. However, Ozanne's representations of acrimonious relationships between nations and sympathy for fellow Frenchmen break down into their respective settings. The *Vengeur du Peuple* collapses in the surrounding rip-tides. Attention is diverted away from the Britons responsible for destroying the ship and towards its disintegration into the ocean. In depicting the Atlantic Ocean as the site of mangled wooden boards, tumultuous waves, and human bodies, landscape is also where the borders between objects and persons fall apart. Landscape's naturalization of an ordered national identity was never entirely divorced from social disorder and disorganization.

I begin with Ozanne because his oeuvre attests to a historical problem about landscape representation at the center of this dissertation. Although its relationship to disinterested observation became a powerful tool in solidifying national identity and sovereignty, landscape was never completely disassociated from disorder or even the collapse of colonial agency. Ozanne's drawing of the Môle depicts one of two sites (the other in Guiana) for a disastrous experiment in white labor. France resettled Acadians who were displaced by the Seven Years'

War (1756-1763) at the Môle to revitalize the region's lagging economy.[3] Shortly after their relocation, Acadians rebelled amidst famines and floods. Môle Saint-Nicolas continued to taint a view of an idyllic human civilization after Ozanne's travels. British forces landed directly south of the Môle after France declared war on Great Britain in 1793. Moreover, British forces absconded from Saint-Domingue at the Môle after surrendering to Toussaint Louverture in 1798. Read historically, landscape as the ostensibly "scientific" diagram of a "newly" discovered place or as a harmonious mixture also became an idiom for disaster and loss.

TEXT AND IMAGE

These histories become more palpable when Ozanne's landscape drawing is brought into relationship with text. Ozanne's drawing maintained contact with and was even shaped by the plethora of works of history and natural history written by Europeans who traveled to the Americas. As Mary Louise Pratt has shown, the second half of the eighteenth century marked the zenith of travel writing and scientific exploration for intellectuals and elites.[4] These texts encoded and legitimated aspirations of economic and geographic expansion under the less troubling veil of direct observations. Centering on a Foucauldian understanding of natural history as a reductive description of the visible, Pratt emphasizes the powerful role language plays in not only bringing knowledge to the public sphere but also making knowledge valuable and powerful.[5] Systemizing nature crystallized global imaginings of the world by providing fuller

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[3] For more on this experiment, see Christopher Hodson, "A Bondage So Harsh": Acadian Labor in the French Caribbean, 1763-1766." *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 5, no. 1 (2007): 95–131.
[4] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation,* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992).
[5] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes,* 28-30.

descriptions the earth's surface than earlier practices of mapping. Natural history evolved into what called on humans to assert order over a chaotic world and reaffirmed the human's position as a composer of order. These texts re-created the world according to how European culture wanted it to appear instead of how it actually was encountered. Landscape imagery, including Ozanne's drawings, similarly became powerful vehicles for defining humans as master organizers and knowers of the world. But these texts, like *View of Môle Saint-Nicolas*, often strained to depict an ordered earth. Both landscape imagery and textual description as mediated or modified representations of what travelers claimed to observe could also position the human as the figure who failed to bring order to a disorderly world.

Many accounts expressed concerns about social disturbances and environmental catastrophes. Thomas Coke, who traveled to the Americas nine different times, described the West Indies as where "the reader may discover human nature in its deplorable state of savage degradation."[6] In his view, hurricanes and earthquakes, along with indigenous people who lacked a disposition for reason, rendered the West Indies unsuitable for white Europeans. Other travelers similarly described frightening weather conditions and mosquitoes.[7] The climate even seemed to amplify planters' lack of self-restraint and propensity to commit acts of violence.[8] Colonials' overt lawlessness became so acute that imperial authorities instituted numerous laws

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[6] Thomas Coke, *A History of the West Indies, Containing the Natural, Civil, and Ecclesiastical History of Each Island; with an Account of the Missions Instituted in Those Islands, from the Commencement of Their Civilization, but More Especially of the Missions Which Have Been Established in That Archipelago by the Society Late in Connexion with the Rev. John Wesley,* (Liverpool: Nuttall, Fisher, and Dixon, 1808), 1: 180.

[7] William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World*, (London: James Knapton, 1703), 131 and Nathaniel Uring, *A History of the Voyages and Travels of Captain Nathaniel Uring*, (London: W. Wilkins, 1726).

[8] Examples include Thomas Atwood, *The History of the Island of Dominica*, (London: J. Johnson, 1791), 24 and William Beckford, *A Descriptive Account of the Island of Jamaica*, (London: T and J Egerton, 1790), 320-321.

to preserve civility.[9] As the racist planter William Beckford explained, "It was my first intention to draw a line of separation between the white people and the negroes in Jamaica; but as they are so intimately connected and blended together; I find it almost impossible to divide them."[10] Beckford confronted a world that failed to resemble an ordered landscape where different components formed a harmonious whole while also retaining their distinguishing features. His desired view of the world and his actual view of the world became too far apart.

Centering on the relationship between text and image, I think with Norman Bryson, who analyzes how the image communicates the Word by assuming the same sign as the verbal sign.[11] This relationship between text and image demonstrates that representation is a cultural construction without any validity from an absolute construction of the "real." Images disguise the ways humans created language in order to appear as a reflection of the real. In other words, image naturalizes cultural beliefs expressed by verbal signs. But the image can break away from the symbolic dimensions of language by supplying visual information beyond the text. Superfluous visual information makes the image appear unnatural and reveals how text is where meaning is produced. In Ozanne's *View*, rising sailing masts, roofs, and windows exceed a text of the Môle as a newly discovered place. These details emphasize the drawing's most ersatz qualities and attest to how landscape was constructed to create a desired understanding of human civilization. However, consideration of seemingly superfluous or extraneous details question landscape's associations with disinterested observation and create space to address histories of

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[9] See Malik W. Ghachem's analysis of the 1784 Ordinance in Saint-Domingue in Malik W. Ghachem, *The Old Regime and the Haitian Revolution*, (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 158-164.
[10] William Beckford, *A Descriptive Account of the Island of Jamaica*, 2:281.
[11] Norman Bryson, *Word and Image: French Painting of the Ancien Régime*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 1-7.

revolt and loss.

This dissertation is not the first exploration of the relationship between landscape imagery and text. Art historian Ann Bermingham, for instance, has crucially studied the role British landscape painting played in naturalizing cultural codes and ideologies.[12] Reading landscape as text divulges histories of enclosure and the agrarian revolution. Furthermore, Jill H. Casid importantly extended this scholarship beyond the European continent.[13] Text and image reveal landscape's articulation of the relations between "man" and nature, property rights, the founding of empires, and cultivation as a metaphor for civilization. Landscape imagery mythically constructed empire as "man's" improvement of nature and earth as what reproduced imperial signs. Although landscape disguised revolt, most notably what is known as the Haitian Revolution, it could also be reappropriated to assume a devastating or transformative effect. Enslaved persons who revolted against colonial administrators by destroying plantations contested the culturally constructed image of landscape. Their ground-level insurrections also sparked an insurrection against the symbolic verbal language integral to imperial discourse, including pictures of human civilization on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. I push off from Casid's contention to examine how histories of colonial contestation left traces in landscape. These traces aesthetically functioned in the image as superfluous details that exceeded verbal language and revealed the mechanics through which the fantasy of a human civilization was made.

However, landscape also operated as the image's superfluous detail exceeding text. Casid

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[12] Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740-1860*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1986).
[13] Jill H. Casid, *Sowing Empire: Landscape and Colonization*, (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), xx-xxii.

thinks beyond landscape as the horizontal view of a cultivated earth that created a fantastical representation of empire minus evidence of disorder. Landscape also addresses the aesthetic function of the seemingly decorative or unimportant plot of terrain in a picture's background. From the vantage point of the Black forces who revolted against verbal language, landscape in these pictures posed figure-ground problems.[14] Landscape, as the setting for figures, could combine with traces of colonial contestation to recontextualize the picture's textual (and often Eurocentric) content. Revolution also helped make landscape break away from the symbolic dimensions of an imperial language of power. Landscape imagery during the 1790s became too overdetermined to merely introduce and naturalize imperial power. While the Haitian Revolution challenged European claims of global unity, landscape failed to situate the colonial traveler as the figure whose direct observations of an ordered terrain sustained imperial dominion over the entire earth. Landscape as Saint-Domingue became Haiti could set the human subject as an incoherent product of a materialist history.[15]

To unpack the relationship between human subjectivity and landscape, it is helpful to address landscape's relation to artistic genre. John Barrell argued that history painting, as the highly-esteemed genre for civil republicanism, depicted heroes and Biblical figures to distinguish itself from the "lower" genre of landscape painting.[16] History painting's emphasis on intellectual processes dovetailed the cultural emphasis on reason and observation as key markers of a body of bourgeois citizens. However, the revolutionary period marked a shift towards ideal views of

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[14] See Jill H. Casid's reading of Anne-Louis Girodet's *Portrait of Citizen Belley* in Jill H. Casid, *Sowing Empire*, 216-240.
[15] See John Barrell, "Visualizing the Division of Labor: William Pyne's Microcosm." In *Subject to History: Ideology, Class, and Gender*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 84–118.
[16] John Barrell, *The Political Theory of Painting from Reynolds to Hazlitt: The Body of the Public*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986).

English character instead of the commercial society embodied by history paintings.[17] History paintings were also no longer profitable and enthusiasm to conform to the Royal Academy's academic conventions waned during the 1780s and 1790s. As Kay Dian Kriz shows, artists responded to these shifts by applying the same intellectual principles underwriting the genre of history painting to the genre of lowly landscape painting.[18] Landscape helped elevate similar intellectual and moral ideas. Topographical views combined with earlier artistic practices from history painting to appeal to universal human nature. Thus, landscape's development as a genre had already lent itself to a set of naturalized cultural codes and ideologies.

However, there was no easy transformation of history painting into landscape painting. Kriz points to numerous instances of figures who appear ill-suited for their surroundings.[19] Moreover, David Solkin has pointed out that landscape and scenes of British social life collided and yielded indeterminable figures.[20] Confusions of gender boundaries and landscape's contextualization of rapes and robberies depicted a rustic life at odds with rational morality. These blurrier boundaries between the genres of landscape, history, and portraiture were not new. Many Italian artists used the natural world to frame biblical scenes during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[21] Landscape helped make Devine figures appear more natural or human-like by verifying religious texts as historical scenes. Yet, the relationship between the earth as the setting and Devine text complicated the boundary between figure and ground. Taking Albrecht

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[17] See Kay Dian Kriz *The Idea of the English Landscape Painter: Genius as Alibi in the Early Nineteenth Century*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997) and David H. Solkin, *Painting out of the Ordinary: Modernity and the Art of Everyday Life in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 79-109.
[18] Kay Dian Kriz *The Idea of the English Landscape Painter*, 21.
[19] See Kay Dian Kriz *The Idea of the English Landscape Painter*, 17.
[20] David H. Solkin, *Painting out of the Ordinary*, 82-83.
[21] See Boudewijn Baker and trans by. Diane Webb, *Landscape and Religion from Van Eyck to Rembrandt*, (London: Routledge, 2012).

Altdorfer's (1480-1538) late fifteenth-century woodblock print of the German hinterland as the first landscape, art historian Christopher Wood contends that topography could function as a narratological device.[22] Wilderness as an empty alter or a tree as an image of the virgin indicates how subjectivity could be funneled into landscape.[23] Considering landscape before it evolved into a genre associated with a turn away from history painting in the early nineteenth-century, it began to appear less able to naturalize figures or augment the believability of text. Landscape could even contest narrative.

Landscape could combine with a consciousness outside of Europe to powerfully unsettle figural content. As art historian Aaron Hyman has crucially shown, overlaps between indigenous ways of knowing the world and what Europeans understood as landscape combined in South American religious scenery to unsettle Devine images.[24] Unknown Andean artists infused their copies of European biblical scenes with stones, springs, and mountains. These natural elements were understood as divinity rather than mediated representations of divinity. Attending to Spaniards who documented their frustrations with religious paintings containing venerable boulders, stones, and mountains, Hyman suggests that one could worship the Virgin Mary or Saint Luke as much as these smaller parts containing power [*Figure 6*]. Landscape's seemingly extraneous or decorative role in the background posed real representational problems. The differences between European and non-European ways of knowing the world and prototypes and handmade representations broke down in landscape.

In short, the circulation of artworks and illustrated texts across the Atlantic World

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[22] See Christopher S. Wood, *Albrecht Altdorfer And the Origins of Landscape*, (London: Reaktion Books LTD, 1993).
[23] Christopher S. Wood, *Albrecht Altdorfer And the Origins of Landscape*, 212-222.
[24] Aaron M. Hyman, *Rubens in Repeat: The Logic of the Copy in Colonial Latin America*, (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2021), 102-113.

enabled landscape to help liberate the image from a text of imperial power. Scholar Stephanie Porras used the term "viral image" to consider the movements of artworks and how replication shifted meanings across the early modern Americas.[25] For her, viral repetition enabled forms and iconographies to be seen in multiple registers. Repetition allowed for competing notions of mimicry and emulation to disrupt notions of authorship. She ultimately laments, "the desire to see printed images as akin to texts, as images that want to be read, has suppressed a more nuanced consideration of early modern prints' material and embodied use."[26] She continues, "For images were, in many cases, not only meant to be seen, read, and interpreted as works in and of themselves, but they were also produced to be copied and transformed."[27] My focus on landscape in printed images reveals how the viral framework and the linguistic model of readable images collided as the Haitian Revolution's events unfolded. As I will show, landscape in British print culture during the years leading up to Haiti's establishment failed to uphold translation as a key tool of colonial conquest.[28] While landscape helped publishers and engravers replicate images in ways that challenged originality, it also opened up multiple ways of knowing the world by making text less readable.

THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION

This dissertation centers on landscape's role in making the Haitian Revolution's world-altering events seeable and sayable. As Michel-Rolph Trouillot argues in his landmark *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, most eighteenth and nineteenth-century

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[25] Stephanie Porras, *The First Viral Images: Maerten de Vos, Antwerp Print, and the Early Modern Globe*, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2023), 8-12.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Lieve Behiels, Werner Thomas, and Christian Pistor, "Translation as an Instrument of Empire: The Southern Netherlands as a Translation Center of the Spanish Monarchy, 1500–1700." *Historical Methods* 47, no. 3 (2014): 113–27.

Europeans were unable to understand the ongoing revolution on its own terms. He explains, "They could read the news only with their ready-made categories, and these categories were incompatible with the idea of a slave revolution."[29] Language was too imbued with a symbolic order associated with Christopher Columbus's 1492 "discovery" of the Americas and the spread of Western Christianism throughout the Americas to communicate Saint-Domingue's transformation into Haiti. For example, Trouillot points to the word "nègre," which assumed negative connotations to "empirically" justify European ethnocentrism. Language helped position white European man as the perfect human and the diasporic African as the imperfect subhuman as empire expanded. There was no easy way to articulate what existed outside this order. Thus, the Haitian Revolution's events were not silenced as much as made available to Europeans through a racialized vocabulary.[30] One of the primary ways these events became available to European audiences was through historical actors and literary figures who transcended set categories, namely those of patriarchal marriages and heterosexual relationships.[31] Yet, these figures made it even harder to chronicle Haiti's establishment.

Trouillot also takes the Haitian Revolution as a narratological problem. After naming a range of French thinkers from Alexis de Tocqueville to André Guérin who are guilty of attributing "very little [if any] any space to either slavery or colonialism," Trouillot laments that the French translation of C.L.R. James's *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San*

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[29] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, trans. by, Hazel V. Carby, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 2015), 73.
[30] See Marlene Daut's reading of silencing in Marlene L. Daut, *Tropics of Haiti: Race and the Literary History of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World, 1789-1865*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015), 3.
[31] See Doris Garraway, *The Libertine Colony: Creolization in the Early French Caribbean*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005).

Domingo Revolution failed to activate French scholarship on the Haitian Revolution.[32] Historians have responded to Trouillot by applauding but also approaching James's narratological focus on Toussaint Louverture as the principal agent of change with skepticism.[33] For instance, Carolyn Fick points out how African independence movements, Marxism, and civil rights activism in the United States heavily influenced James.[34] These undoubtedly shaped his heroic prose and occasional bombastic claims. However, his focus on Toussaint was also part of an attempt to transform the Haitian Revolution's complex events into a more cohesive narrative. Her study of the Haitian Revolution "from below" transcends abstract conceptualizations of Toussaint as a unifying figure or enslaved persons as a homogeneous body to address the complex relationships between Revolutionary leadership and Black forces.[35] As she explains, many Black forces self-mobilized and failed to coalesce around a single leader.[36]

Other historians have similarly shown how the desire to make Haiti's establishment into a more coherent narrative impeded a complete picture of its world-altering events. For Laurent Dubois, "Understanding the Haitian Revolution also requires avoiding using racial designations – white, mulatto, black – as categories that can generate explanations rather than as social artifacts that demand them."[37] These terms cloud the true social and political diversity of those who not only revolted but also of the European writers who described what they saw. Jeremy Popkin accentuated the contradictory and even fictitious nature of these eyewitness accounts by

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[32] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, trans. by, Hazel V. Carby, *Silencing the Past,* 102.
[33] C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1989).
[34] Carolyn Fick, *The Making of Haiti*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000), 4.
[35] Also see C.L.R. James, edited by Christian Høgsbjerg, *Toussaint Louverture: The Story of the Only Successful Slave Revolt in History*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013).
[36] Carolyn Fick, *The Making of Haiti*, 4.
[37] Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution,* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2005), 5.

combining historical analysis with extended passages from these writers' actual texts.[38] Beyond using these texts to contend that the Haitian Revolution's "silencing" did not happen until after the consolidation of Black sovereignty, he shows how writers often incorporated mythical events at odds with ground-level events. These accounts underscore how colonial settlers themselves not only failed to understand the revolutionary according to familiar categories but also failed to coalesce around one vantage point.

Transnational perspectives have complicated understandings of the Haitian Revolution as the French Revolution's double or an isolated incident of successful resistance. Indeed, historians have attended to the Haitian Revolution's global influence and impact in global politics. Enslaved persons in Jamaica sang about the uprisings in Saint-Domingue.[39] Revolt on plantations outside New Orleans during the early 1800s also sparked memories of Dutty Boukman's 1791 Bois Caïman ceremony in which the Haitian Revolution's first revolt was planned.[40] The Haitian Revolution became entangled with American and British history and culture. Moreover, transnational perspectives also illuminate how the Haitian Revolution amplified the lack of social unity amongst white planters. Britain's invasion of Saint-Domingue seven months after France declared war on Britain in February 1793 further exacerbated tensions between royalists and self-styled patriots across the Caribbean.[41] At base, this lack of cohesion

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[38] Jeremy Popkin, *Facing Racial Revolution: Eyewitness Accounts of the Haitian Insurrection*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).
[39] See David P. Geggus,. "Preface." In *The Impact of Haitian Revolution: In the Atlantic World*, x–xix, (University of South Carolina Press, 2001)
[40] See Gerald Horne, *Confronting Black Jacobins: The U.S, the Haitian Revolution, and the Origins of the Dominican Republic*, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2015), 21-26.
[41] For a history of Britain's conquest of these other islands, see David Barry Gaspar, "La Guerre Des Bois: Revolution, War, and Slavery in Saint Lucia, 1793-1838." In *A Turbulent Time: The French Revolution and the Greater Caribbean*, (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1997), 102–30 and Laurent Dubois, *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution & Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787-1804*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

made a shared vocabulary to narrate the Haitian Revolution's unfolding events increasingly difficult, if not impossible.[42]

Some of the most recent historical work has transcended the acrimonious relationship between France and Britain to address a broader concern about maintaining white dominion. Although the Haitian Revolution is not their primary focus, Trevor Burnard and John Garrigus argue that viewing Jamacia and Saint-Domingue as a "twinned portrait" reveals a transnational coalescence around biological conceptions of race.[43] Increasing numbers of free persons of color amplified how planters in Jamaica and Saint-Domingue failed to conform to categories of Frenchness and Britishness. Beyond taking up arms against colonial administrators and masters, free persons of color posed formidable threats to social order by vaguely conforming to key markers of European identity. Burnard and Garrigus intentionally end their study in 1788 to "suggest that there was nothing inevitable about the decline of Jamaica or Saint-Domingue."[44] Yet, their attention to Black Revolutionaries, such as Toussaint Louverture or Vincent Ogé who could easily fit European understandings of a superior ontological status does not foreclose how this greater problem of racial fungibility played a central role in transforming the islands into disorienting places. Historical actors who could easily occupy multiple categories of human variation undoubtedly destabilized French and British vantage points into the Haitian Revolution.

Scholars have also examined how diasporic rituals built a race-based solidarity foundational to the Haitian Revolution's successes. While traversing their own ethnic differences

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[42] One might also consider those who drew on mythology to narrate the Haitian Revolutions' events from a transnational perspective. See Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000).

[43] Trevor Bunard & John Garrigus, *The Plantation Machine Atlantic Capitalism in French Saint-Domingue and British Jamaica*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 11-12.

[44] Trevor Bunard & John Garrigus, *The Plantation Machine,* 266.

to hide in cavernous mountains or deep forests, diasporic Africans also created a shared culture by drawing on Taino practices.[45] Diasporic Africans and indigenous persons not only drew on their superior knowledge of the earth to contest Europeans by taking up arms, especially along the borders separating Frenchmen from Spaniards. They also created hybridized languages and identities that transcended European understandings of diasporic Africans as a homogeneous category of being. For historian Karen Salt, soil "vitalized" Black agency and appeared to "magically" convey Haitian citizenship.[46] But waterways and seascapes similarly shaped diasporic identities. Because colonists could not capture water, Kevin Dawson that seascapes allowed "captives to impose African meanings."[47] Water offered other ways of resisting imperial authority through spiritual self-preservation. Diasporic Africans' relationship with the natural world was inseparably linked to the demise of enslavement across the Caribbean. From the vantage point of these diasporic rituals, landscape imagery looks quite different than what obscured colonial resistance and imperial failure. Landscape imagery instigated other ways of seeing the relationship between humans and the earth in which disinterested observation as a way of asserting sovereign power failed to hold or became strained.

THE HUMAN

Scholars of literature have called for other ways of knowing the relationship between revolutionary figures and the earth. For instance, Colin (Joan) Dayan has shown how vodou

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[45] See Crystal Nicole Eddins, *Rituals, Runaways, and the Haitian Revolution: Collective Action in the African Diaspora*, (Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 207-215.
[46] See Karen Salt, *The Unfinished Revolution : Haiti, Black Sovereignty and Power in the Nineteenth-Century Atlantic World*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2019), 93-104.
[47] Kevin Dawson, *Undercurrents of Power: Aquatic Culture in the African Diaspora*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 4.

divulges another history of Haiti's establishment beyond the white planter's dominating vantage point. Vodou as a cultural and religious practice invites consideration of ignored or denigrated pieces of history while holding on to dramatization.[48] For Dayan, "vodou practices must be viewed as ritual reenactments of Haiti's colonial past."[49] The revolutionary and first ruler of an independent Haiti, Jean-Jacques Dessalines was believed to have been an adept practitioner of vodou.[50] Religious rituals kept his position as both a historical actor and a legend in diasporic Africans' consciousness intact. As another example, Dayan turns to Dutty Boukman's ceremony at Bois Caïman, which enabled sorcery, magic, and "superstitions" to become inseparably linked to revolt.[51] Memories of Black Revolutionaries enabled figures such as Dessalines and Boukman to appear more god-like. While challenging how the Haitian Revolution was narrated, these quasi-mythological understandings of historical actors were also challenging what it meant to be human.

I define the human by thinking with Sylvia Wynter's analysis of the overrepresentation of Man.[52] For Wynter, Western bourgeois culture secured well-being, cognition, and complete behavioral autonomy by overrepresenting Man as if it were the human. Describing Africa as the most impoverished continent or Haiti as the most "underdeveloped" nation helped Euro-Americans distance themselves from a group made to occupy the nadir of being human. Although these examples come from the twentieth century, Wynter argues that the white

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[48] Colin (Joan) Dayan, *Haiti, History, and the Gods*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1995), xvii.
[49] Ibid.
[50] See Colin (Joan) Dayan, *Haiti, History, and the Gods*, 23-24.
[51] See Colin (Joan) Dayan, *Haiti, History, and the Gods*, 29-30.
[52] Sylvia Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation-An Argument." *The New Centennial Review* 3, no. 3 (2003): 253–337.

European's positioning as the exemplary human figure emerged as an early modern historical problem. She turns to Foucault's argument about the Renaissance's "invention of Man," in which the human was redefined outside theocentric or "sinful by nature" descriptions. Enslavement and imperial conquest helped secularize the white European's superior ontological status. Inhabitants of the New World's territories were made into physical referents to the idea of an irrational Human Other to describe Europeans as rational human subjects.

At the same time, European thinkers depended on static views of nature to distinguish themselves from other classes of humans.[53] Immanuel Kant's (1724-1804) quest to understand pure judgment not only led him to see nature as a correct and universalizing standard of taste but also to pleasure gardens and Maori tattoos.[54] Whereas built gardens demonstrate a well-developed human civilization, skin ornamentation evidenced a developing civilization lodged between wildness and civility. Felicity Nussbaum has pointed out how others before Kant, such as Anthony Ashley Cooper, the third Earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713), advocated for a familiar or home-grown taste that rejected speculative geography.[55] His understanding of the "division of mankind" called for the superiority of "Gentlemen of fashion."[56] Cooper helped promote a view of the earth as what was made specifically for an ideal human civilization. Ultimately, Kant, Shaftesbury, and their interlocutors manipulated the relationship between man and nature to position themselves as superior figures.

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[53] See David Bindman, *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the Eighteenth Century*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).
[54] See Tony Brown's reading of Immanuel Kant in Tony Brown, *The Primitive, the Aesthetic, and the Savage: An Enlightenment Problematic*, (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 111-123.
[55] See Felicity A. Nussbaum's reading of his work in Felicity A. Nussbaum, *The Limits of the Human*, 5-7.
[56] Anthony Ashley Cooper, Shaftesbury (Lord Shaftesbury), *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions,* (*Times,* 1714), 1:135.

Landscape imagery helped Europeans' separate themselves from "lower" classes of being beyond the parameters of philosophical debates. For Mary Louise Pratt, the genre of British travel writing perpetuated colonial discourse by providing European audiences with a sense of ownership over unfamiliar landscapes. In *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, Pratt introduces the term "anti-conquest" to refer to the representational strategies of European subjects who secured their innocence at the same time as they asserted hegemony.[57] Anti-conquest establishes the human subject (or the white male European figure) as the seer of landscape discourse and emphasizes landscapes' role in natural history. Anti-conquest captures the scientific and sentimental codes in natural history that promoted imperialism while underscoring landscapes as sensualized "composites." Yet, the Europeans who traveled across the Atlantic Ocean to experience the New World for themselves frequently struggled to experience their unwavering statuses as autonomous and sovereign beings. The human figure who stands in for the subject who innocently asserts sovereign power over the earth through representational strategies begins to look more like a fantasy than a material reality.

Complicating Pratt's formulation, Alan Bewell's study of Anglophone travel narratives demonstrates how the earth often failed to cooperate with the colonial traveler's chief ambitions. Observers frequently found themselves struggling against an environment with floods, diseases, earthquakes, and fugitive slaves who set fires to plantations. Colonial travel literature from this period "radically called into question the order of nature as it previously had been understood."[58] Beyond failing to conform to the eye of anti-conquest, landscape in the Atlantic World failed to separate travelers from an object world. The earth seemed to reshape humans more than the

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[57] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*.
[58] Alan Bewell, "Romanticism and Colonial Natural History." *Studies in Romanticism* 43, no. 1 (2004): 5–34.

humans who reshaped the earth. As the seemingly uncontestable anthropocentric division between humans and the natural world began to break down in these travel narratives, revolutionary ways of knowing the earth became more palpable.

Landscape imagery could also make how diasporic Africans drew on the earth to resist colonial occupation more palpable to European audiences. For Susan Scott Parrish, text and image coalesced to emphasize the entwinement between black bodies and the natural world.[59] Her reading of travel narratives and natural histories, such as those of Edward Long and John Gabriel Stedman, emphasizes European awareness of diasporic Africans' knowledge about their environments. She also points towards these authors' dependency on the enslaved for serving as territorial guides, collectors of specimens, and healers. Diasporic Africans' familiarity with the New World reminded Europeans of their limited sovereignty and knowledge about the world. Moreover, Parrish uses black knowledge about the natural world as evidence of landscapes' ability to manufacture an Atlantic creole identity. The world not only failed to conform to the seemingly fixed views needed to perpetuate the white European author's superior ontological positioning. The world also began to make travelers look different from how they overrepresented themselves as if they were humans.

As Monique Allewaert has shown, Europeans' inabilities to separate themselves from an unrulier object world became a powerful metaphor for revolution.[60] Taxonomies authors employed to distinguish themselves from animals and plants failed to hold. This unsettled the traveler's ability to function as a citizen subject. While the traveler experienced disorientation,

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[59] Susan Scott Parrish, *American Curiosity: Cultures of Natural History in the Colonial British Atlantic World*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 1-21.
[60] See Monique Allewaert's reading of William Bartram in Monique Allewaert, *Ariel's Ecology: Plantations, Personhood and Colonialism in the American Tropics*, (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 30-31.

diasporic Africans gained agency by combining with ecological forces. Allewaert's reading of Afro-American cultural productions gestures toward an understanding of the human that does not depend on separation from an object world. Analyzing human agents who interacted with nonhuman forces to contest plantations, Allewaert recognizes a revolutionary aesthetic characterized by "too close association of the human and the natural."[61] Revolution redefined the world as where human subjects were no longer separated from an object world. Subjects were now acted on. At base, Allewaert opens up a way of narrating revolutionary events in the Atlantic World by examining the relationships between bodies and the earth.[62] Scenes of white Europeans submerged in mud or positioned alongside Black figures blur taxonomies of human difference in ways conveying how colonials struggled to perpetuate enslaved labor [*Figure 7*].

LANDSCAPE AND LANDSCAPING IN VISUAL CULTURE

On their face, the images I explore do not always convey an obvious relationship to the events in Saint-Domingue. They come from books about Jamaica, Suriname, and Saint-Domingue. However, focusing on where and when these books were exchanged helps us see their connection. Britons saw the Haitian Revolution as a problem about British identity. For instance, the Jamaican-born British poet and conservative writer Robert Charles Dallas complained, "The revolt of the Negros in St. Domingo, the breaking out of the war between Great Britain and France, and the abolition of all manner of slavery in the colonies by the French

[61] Monique Allewaert, *Ariel's Ecology*, 42.
[62] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 2015) and Sibylle Fischer, *Modernity Disavowed: Haiti and the Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004).

proclamation, placed Jamaica in a new and awful position."[63] French incompetence became a palpable reason for many distresses across the Atlantic World. Yet, an unrulier earth was also to blame. Coke explained, "The climate almost became more and more hostile to many of their enterprizes, and in some instances entirely defeated their designs."[64] While the union between the environment and France helped Britons navigate Saint-Domingue's transformation into Haiti, it also allowed landscape in images of Jamaica or Suriname to form complex relationships to the revolutionary events on Saint-Domingue.

The Age of Revolution was an important era in the history of print. London overtook Paris as the center of printmaking by 1780. As Tim Clayton shows, London's print trade exponentially increased after the Seven Years' War.[65] Engravers, including Francesco Bartolozzi (1727-1815) and Thomas Bewick (1753-1828), were lionized. Bewick was particularly celebrated for inventing new engraving techniques. Moreover, landscape became a particularly desirable genre as new printing technologies expanded landscape imagery to wider audiences. For Douglas Fordham, the technical invention of acquaint coalesced with landscape to become an influential form of worldmaking when prints became cheaper and public libraries were invented.[66] These new technologies greatly enhanced precision and therefore amplified landscape's naturalization of the colonial plantation and viewers' abilities to create disinterested

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[63] Robert Charles Dallas, *The History of the Maroons, from Their Origin to the Establishment of Their Chief Tribe at Sierra Leone : Including the Expedition to Cuba for the Purpose of Procuring Spanish Chasseurs; and the State of the Island of Jamaica for the Last Ten Years, with a Succinct History of the Island Previous to That Period*. 2 vols, (London: A. Strahan, 1803), 2: 291.
[64] Thomas Coke, *A History of the West Indies*, 3: 481.
[65] Timothy Clayton, *The English Print, 1688-1802*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997).
[66] Douglas Fordham, *Aquatint Worlds Travel, Print, and Empire, 1770–1820*, (Yale University Press, 2019), 41.

judgments about the world.[67] However, as Kay Dian Kriz's reading of Sir Hans Sloane's *A Voyage to Jamaica* (1707-1725) demonstrates, representation transformed Jamaica into an "unstable printed object."[68] Taxonomic engravings of vegetal and animal specimens failed to secure a set of fixed meanings. Sloane's specimens became testaments of an anxiety regarding unmanageable bodies and the earth's power to dwarf human agency.

Focusing on print emphasizes how landscape was not merely a genre of art but also imbricated in specific cultural practices. Travel to Italy and Claude Lorrain (1600-1682) played pivotal roles in promoting Europeans' idealized views of the world [*Figure 8*]. [69] British artists, such as Thomas Gainsborough, George Morland, and George Lambert drew on Nicolas Poussin and Claude Lorrain to bring "Arcadia closer to the actuality of the English countryside."[70] Combined with inspiration from Georgic poetry, landscape helped eighteenth-century artists to create a narrative about an ideal life in the countryside removed from industriousness. Landscape paintings developed into a genre that for historian John Barrell "could satisfy the rich and the leisured in their capacity also as the largeminded and benevolent patrons of England's agricultural, mercantile, and industrial progress."[71] However, depictions of the Roman Campagna as a nostalgic and unchangeable landscape also metamorphosized into a cultural practice across Europe. Lorrain's formal emphasis on landscape's suitability to become a picture

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[67] See John E Crowley, "Sugar Machines: Picturing Industrialized Slavery." *The American Historical Review* 121, no. 2 (2016): 403–36.
[68] Kay Dian Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement: Picturing the British West Indies, 1700-1840*), (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 11.
[69] See Sarah Betzer's analysis of the importance of travel to Italy in eighteenth-century art in Sarah Betzer, *Animating the Antique: Sculptural Encounter in the Age of Aesthetic Theory*, (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2021).
[70] John Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting, 1730-1840*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 42.
[71] John Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape,* 6.

inspired William Gilpin's formulation of picturesqueness and a wealth of on-the-spot drawings that artists and travelers made as souvenirs of their visits to the English countryside.[72] Searches for picturesque beauty even took Britons to numerous places on the opposite side of the globe.[73] As Tim Barringer points out, artists such as Joseph Bartholomew Kidd (1808-1889) drew on picturesqueness to depict the sugar plantation as serene, natural, and immutable [*Figure 9*].[74] Landscape appeared to convey a "ripeness" for colonial power in the Caribbean.[75]

Yet, these cultural practices often failed to yield drawings and prints that resembled Poussin's and Lorrain's paintings or Gilpin's formulation. Geoff Quilley's analysis of William Hodges's 1780s drawings of India make him question the degree to which drawings actually adhered to picturesqueness.[76] Quilley's formal analysis reveals that Hodges's drawings adhere more closely to other than traveler's drawings and texts about north-east Indian landscapes than to the actual topographies he encountered [*Figure 10*]. Moreover, Jill Casid has shown how

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[72] See William Gilpin's analysis of Lorrain in *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: To Which Is Added a Poem, on Landscape Painting,* (London: R. Blamire, 1792), 72. For an analysis of Lorrain's adoption in the United States, see Angela Miller, *Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics, 1825-1875*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), 82-83 and Tim Barringer and Jennifer Raab, "An Inheritance in Print: Thomas Cole and the Aesthetics of Landscape" in *Picturesque and Sublime: Thomas Cole's Trans-Atlantic Inheritance*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2018), 1-50. For more on these tours see, Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque : Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989).

[73] See Ian McLean's analysis of picturesqueness in Australia in Ian McClean, "The expanded field of the picturesque: contested identities and empire in *Sydney-Cove 1794*" in *Art and the British Empire*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 23-37. Moreover, see John E. Crowley, *Imperial Landscapes: Britain's Global Visual Culture, 1745-1820*, (Yale University Press, 2011).

[74] See Tim Barringer, "Land, Labor, Landscape: Views of the Plantation in Victorian Jamaica" in *Victorian Jamaica*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2018), 281-321.

[75] Beth Fowkes Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power: Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth-Century British Painting*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999).

[76] Geoff Quilley, *British Art and the East India Company*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2020), 103-109.

Otherness could operate through picturesque aesthetics to engulf the traveler.[77] Picturesqueness merely veiled displaced referents to the enslaved laborers and technologies that reshaped the contours of the metropole, imperial countryside, and landscape. If the picturesque landscape failed to hold, such objects could remerge to overwhelm the traveler.

This dissertation joins Jill Casid and W.J.T. Mitchell in contesting landscape's status as a still noun to reveal landscape's relation to histories of colonial loss. Beyond paying homage to landscape's narratological function in poetry, and travel narratives, landscaping deemphasizes the fixity of place and its relationship with internal politics or national identity to highlight global phenomena associated with discourses of imperialism.[78] Freeing landscape from a genre of painting divulges a network of cultural codes tied to historical narratives about the progressive development of human "civilization." For Casid, landscaping operated as an imperial mode that defined and transformed nations while also naturalizing ideas about empire and family.[79] Empire's mythical construction hinged on the paradigmatic image of a colonial plantation as the naturalized site of sexually divided labor, patriarchal lineage, and heterosexual reproduction. However, Casid does not foreclose the possibility of resistance. Colonial landscaping technologies could be appropriated or mimicked to elicit devastation and transformation as well. I expand Casid's and Mitchell's analysis by attending to colonial resistance that happened beyond landscaping's representational and linguistic forms. Scant traces of resistance obscure landscaping's narratological function and ways of seeing the earth in accordance to Europeans'

[77] Jill H. Casid, *Sowing Empire*, 86-87.
[78] See W.J.T Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape" in *Landscape and Power* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 5-34 and Jill H. Casid, *Sowing Empire*.
[79] Jill H. Casid, *Sowing Empire*, xxii.

desired stories and memories about the New World.[80] By muddying landscaping's mythical construction of empire, these traces of resistance reveal colonials' inabilities to become exceptional human subjects.

The prints I examine look closer to what Srinivas Aravmudan understands as colonial representation. For him, colonial representation "features an unstable rhetorical mixture of geographical, historical, and literary apprehensions of the colonized."[81] Addressing this rhetorical mixture requires different modes of analysis beyond close readings of texts written by Europeans. Landscape, as Édouard Glissant and Katherine McKittrick have shown, can be a particularly useful tool in attending to a more unstable rhetorical mixture.[82] Study of the intimate relationship between Black diasporic cultures and geography reveals landscape's role in articulating the histories of diasporic individuals.[83] From flooded rivers destroying private property to beetroot as a synecdoche for blood, the collapse between the natural world and its inhabitants in ways that expresses colonial resistance.[84] Landscape as the site of a broken down human civilization became a powerful metaphorical expression of the revolutionary events.

Landscape's relationship as an unstable rhetorical mixture is particularly palpable in British print culture about the Caribbean from the years surrounding the Haitian Revolution. As

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[80] See Mieke Bal's analysis of the relationship between story, memory, and landscape in Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 147-148.
[81] Srinivas Aravamudan, *Tropicopolitans*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), 9.
[82] See Sylvia Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation-An Argument." *The New Centennial Review* 3, no. 3 (2003): 253–337.
[83] Édouard Glissant, *Caribbean Discourse: Selected Essays*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1999), 4-11 and Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle*, (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), xxii.
[84] Édouard Glissant, *Caribbean Discourse: Selected Essays*, 10, 243-244.

art historian Finola O'Kane contends, the division between landscape as the product of absolute monarchy in France and landscape as the product of free parliament in Britain did not easily hold outside of Paris or London. Portraying the colonies as civilized became more important than promoting national belonging.[85] Furthermore, the Haitian Revolution was a key turning point in the history of landscape representation. Whereas a "European" concept of colonial space driven by an economic preoccupation with axiomatically governed order metamorphosized into scenes of total destruction in Saint-Domingue, it evolved into picturesqueness in Jamaica. This partly explains the wealth of landscape representation produced in the British West Indies and the United States and not in the French colonies.[86] However, landscape not merely as a horizontal view of the earth but also as seemingly unimportant detail in the background of imagery also discloses an anxiety about disorder spilling into Britain from France.

The engravings this dissertation examines appeared in illustrated books written by Britons with concerns about the Haitian Revolution's possible effects in the Americas. For instance, the well-known planter Edward Long, lamented Jamaica's lack of British patriotism.[87] National allegiance also lacked in the French Atlantic World. French planters were ambivalent towards Britain's conquest of Martinique and Guadeloupe during the Seven Years' War.[88]

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[85] Finola O'Kane, "Moving Landscapes to Saint-Domingue, Jamaica, and Ireland: Plantations, National Identity, and the Colonial Picturesque." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 84, no. 3 (2021): 561–88.

[86] Gauvin Alexander Bailey offers the most comprehensive study of built environments in the French Atlantic colonies, but he concentrates on the official architecture of the ancien régime instead of the French plantation complex. See Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Architecture and Urbanism in the French Atlantic Empire: State, Church, and Society, 1604-1830*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018).

[87] See Trevor Burnard, *Jamaica in the Age of Revolution*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020), 43-69.

[88] See Trevor Bunard and John Garrigus, *The Plantation Machine Atlantic Capitalism in French Saint-Domingue and British Jamaica*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 181-182.

Driven by profits instead of loyalty to Versailles, almost half of Guadeloupe's trade was illicit before Britain's invasion of Guadalupe in 1759.[89] This buttresses O'Kane's contention that promoting human civilization through slave labor and increasing planters' profits was the central concern. At the same time, others formed crossed national boundaries to promote a different understanding of human civilization grounded on ending enslavement. Propelled by what was seen as the inhumanity of enslavement, British abolitionists forged relationships with members of the Société des amis des Noirs. These transnational affinities created a rich corpus of artistic works intended to inspire others to support emancipation during the final decades of the eighteenth century.[90] Ultimately, this dissertation's focus on landscape reveals how a human civilization predicated on enslavement or one predicated on emancipation became different sides of the same coin. Both were premised on European understandings of humanity and "normative" behaviors.

Because my study centers on how the human subject's authority was contested, it might be considered alongside Nicholas Mirzoeff's *The Right to Look: A Counterhistory of Visuality*. Mirzoeff analyzes the plantation's history of land ownership, including the reconfiguration of natural terrains to enhance the surveillance of enslaved populations.[91] As much as visuality operated as an absolute surrogate for authoritative power, there was also space for contestations of these panoptical structures. Persons denied sovereignty could express what Mirzoeff calls the "right to look," an occasion in which an enslaved person could look back as a performative act of

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[89] See Laurent, Dubois, *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution & Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787-1804*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 48-50.
[90] For an analysis of these artworks, see Cheryl Finley, *Committed to Memory: The Art of the Slave Ship Icon*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018).
[91] Nicholas Mirzoeff, *The Right to Look: A Counterhistory of Visuality*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2011).

autonomy. Expressing the right to look challenged the rational vision and ordered opticality that played pivotal roles in corroborating hegemony. I build on Mirzoeff's analysis by focusing on landscape's ability to help not help create the conditions for a "right to look" to emerge but also amplify the agencies of those who were denied sovereignty. Rather than argue that a revolutionary consciousness emerged through print culture or through the plantation estate's panoptical viewpoints, I show how a revolutionary consciousness from outside European discourse became palpable through landscape as the very mechanism intended to disguise it.

As this dissertation shows, landscape in the illustrations accompanying printed books often became sites where Europeans failed to look like the "European type" and Black figures failed to resemble the "Black type." Military encampments go up in flames and plantations appear as barren wastelands. Verdant terrains even become fields of slaughtered corpses. While these works played a crucial role in obscuring histories of colonial resistance and transforming the Haitian Revolution into a vaguer abstraction, they also invited other ways of thinking about what it meant to be a human. Landscape in these more unsettling images enabled contemporaneous spectators to confront colonials' failures to establish civilizations in the Atlantic World just as much as it opened up space to begin to imagine a different world order without enslavement and colonial outposts.

The eighteenth-century printmaker, Matthias Koops understood the printed book as the material product of the manipulation of natural resources to improve human civilization. Consider the opening line of his *Historical Account of the Substances Which Have Been Used to Describe Events and to Convey Ideas from the Earliest Date to the Invention of Paper* (1800).

> Your majesty having been most graciously pleased to grant me Patents for extracting Printing and Writing Ink from Waste-Paper, fit for writing, printing, and for other purposes; and also for manufacturing Paper from Straw, Hay Thistles, waste, and refuse of Hemp and Flax, and different Kinds of Wood and

Bark, fit for printing, and other useful purposes.[92]

Along with vellum made from animal skin and copperplates made from metals found in the Americas, the book is a material conglomeration of bodies.[93] It is a testament and microcosm for the manufacturing of a human civilization across the Atlantic Ocean.[94] The illustrated book affords a particular viewpoint of the world mediated by colonial processes of grafting—creating, taking, producing, collecting, and bringing different bodies together.[95] Beyond exemplifying a superior mode of managing plant and animal bodies, illustrated books infused the authoritative power of communication onto these other bodies.[96] Words and images describing travelers' direct experiences in the colonial world mixed with the very substances that often contested their abilities to exist as autonomous human beings. Long, Stedman, and Rainsford could not let go of the wild animals charging at them or the trees fueling the fires set by fugitive slaves.

Although Koops understood the bourgeoning paper trade as evidence of Britain's superiority, he ultimately transcends nationalism to think about paper's role in forging a "body of information more than adequate to the knowledge of any one man could have attained to in a

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[92] Matthias Koops, *Historical Account of the Substances Which Have Been Used to Describe Events and to Convey Ideas from the Earliest Date to the Invention of Paper,* (London: T. Burton, 1800), 5.
[93] Joshua Calhoun, *The Nature of the Page: Poetry, Papermaking, and the Ecology of Texts in Renaissance England,* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020), 4-5, 21.
[94] See Caroline Fowler's Jérôme Lalande's understanding of paper in Caroline Fowler, *The Art of Paper: From the Holy Land to the Americas,* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019), 1-17.
[95] I am thinking of Anna Arabindan-Kesson's analysis of cotton and Holly Schaffer's analysis of grafting. See Anna Arabindan-Kesson, *Black Bodies, White Gold: Art, Cotton, and Commerce in the Atlantic World,* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2021), 32-33 and Holly Schaffer, *Grafted Arts: Art Making and Taking in the Struggle for Western India,* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2022), 1-7.
[96] See Richard Hills, *Papermaking in Britain 1488-1988,* (London and Atlantic Highlands: Anthlone Press, 1988), 45.

thousand years."[97] Paper served all countries by establishing maps of places in the world and even enabling a traveler to navigate the earth without the threat of danger. Access to paper and printing technologies spread enlightenment ideas while also solidifying Europeans' understanding of themselves as distinct from "barbarous nations." Yet, notably absent from Koops's account is attention to how the very elements that enabled naturalists and historians to articulate their claims of sovereign power also accentuated the efforts of the Black forces who resisted the plantation machine and even helped them articulate their stories of bringing the plantation machine to its end.

METHODS

This project focuses on three of the most influential works of history and natural history printed in London during the Age of Revolution: Edward Long's The History of Jamaica (1774), Gabriel Stedman's The Narrative of a Five Years Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam (1796), and Marcus Rainsford's An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti (1805). Reading between text and image, I show how landscape imagery plays an important aesthetic role in mitigating the anxieties of white male authors. Panoramic views of harbors divert attention away from Long's apprehensions about nearby communities of free Maroons. Horizontal images emphasizing cleared terrains downplays Stedman's concerns about the fugitive slaves his brigade failed to capture. Moreover, backgrounded mountains with fortified palaces help downplay Rainsford's meditations on his impending death at the hands of Black soldiers. But closer formal scrutiny reveals landscape's failure to conceal the disorder these authors feared. From burning flames to imaginary beasts leaping out from untrimmed verdure,

[97] Matthias Koops, *Historical Account*, 8.

landscape in these images reveals a rhetorical instability that undermined these authors' sovereignty.

Study of the authors' journals, unedited manuscripts, and other personal texts reveals how landscape in these illustrated books' images strained to perpetuate valences of the unchangeability and uncontestably of colonial power. Long's personal copy of *The History of Jamaica* held at the British Library demonstrates an attempt to republish the illustrated work during the 1790s. Analyzing *The History of Jamaica's* accompanying landscape imagery through his newly inserted annotations and excised passages open up an unrulier subtext that is associated with Marronage and fugitivity. Along with letters Long received from fellow planters, newspaper clippings added to the illustrated text link these revisions to the inability to perceive landscape as what secured white planters' rule when the Haitian Revolution's events unfolded. *Narrative* is the product of his publisher's expansive revisions of Stedman's original book manuscript (1790). Stedman presented his monograph only after transforming the fragmented notes in his original mud-stained journals and scattered papers held at the Bell Library (University of Minnesota, Minneapolis) into an ordered narrative. By comparing the modifications between the journals, manuscript, and published versions of Stedman's text, one can glean concerted efforts to distance the author from ground-level tumult. There are fewer archival sources related to Rainsford and *Historical Account*. But Rainsford, unlike Long or Stedman, relied on an unrulier assemblage of hastily woven together excerpts from other authors. He was not in Saint-Domingue during many of the events he sought to describe. Reading between Rainsford's own voice and the voices of these other authors reveals his own struggles to maintain a disinterested vantage point. Although landscape aesthetically functioned to elicit a powerful sense of fixity to mitigate the instabilities of these textual modifications, it nonetheless

failed to help transform illustrations into compelling evidence of the writers' ground-level experiences.

This project also opens up the gaps between published textual descriptions and images to reveal the pictures' incredibility. Rainsford admits in *Historical Account*'s footnotes and appendix that the orgiastic scenes of bloodshed and encounters with Black Revolutionaries were conjured up. For him, this augmented his illustrated book's appeal to British audiences. Stedman's publisher, Joseph Johnson, believed in a different way of making *Narrative* more sellable. He moderated Stedman's opinions about enslavement and downplayed descriptions of the actual disorder Stedman experienced in Suriname.[98] However, *Narrative*'s engravings were based on Stedman's original text and watercolors instead of Johnson's revisions. The illustrations often appear detached from and too dissimilar to the text. Long's personal copy of *The History of Jamaica* evidencing a desire to publish an updated version of his illustrated books, demonstrates a struggle to close the distance between textual descriptions and images. Failing to corroborate his new perception of Jamaica as the Haitian Revolution unfolded, five of the six landscape engravings were excised from the illustrated work.

The relationships between their engravers also bring together these three case studies. Inigo Barlow created engravings for both Stedman and Rainsford. While Francesco Bartolozzi designed *Narrative*'s frontispiece, his student Isaac Taylor created two engravings for Long. A focus on William Blake and his "anti-slavery" illustrations in *Narrative* has enabled these artists' other images to receive substantially lesser attention. Newer scholarship positioning Blake beyond a proponent of emancipation creates space to address these other engravers.[99]

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[98] See Richard Price & Sally Price, "Introduction" in *Stedman's Surinam: Life in an Eighteenth-Century Slave Society*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1992).
[99] See Saree Makdisi, *William Blake and the Impossible History of the 1790s*, (Chicago and

Focusing on Blake's attention to disaggregated and open bodies, his prints challenge sentimental fantasies where an impervious corpus evinces an inability to become imbricated with an outside.[100] Blake "gets blood everywhere."[101] Because the bodies cannot fully contain blood and remain insulated from their environments, they exceed the anti-slavery logic of sympathy metamorphosizing into self-congratulation and evasion of responsibility for committing grave acts of cruelty. Spilled blood evidences a social disorder spurred by the struggle to claim one's feelings for one's own.[102] With sympathy released from particular bodies and blood seeping into the bodies' ecological surroundings, viewers are brought back to landscape.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter One, "Landscape and Excision," takes Edward Long's textual cut-outs and inserted leaflets and newspaper clippings as a cue to reapproach *History of Jamaica's* engravings of the island as picturesque property. Considering all but one of these scenes were removed or "excised" from Long's personal copy, I ask how landscape as a horizontal view of majestic mountains and verdant pastures gives way to a subtext around the human subject's annihilation. Examining the texts appearing in the places of the original landscape pictures, alongside Long's editorial modifications of his original analysis of the laws governing Saint-Domingue, enables seemingly picturesque illustrations to become evidence of anxiety about the collapse of human

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London: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 252-256.

[100] See Monique Allewaert, *Ariel's Ecology: Plantations, Personhood, and Colonialism in the American Tropics*, (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 18-19.

[101] See Lily Gurton-Wachter, "Blake's Blush: Wartime Shame in 'London' and *Jerusalem*" in *William Blake: Modernity and Disaster*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020), 126-149.

[102] See Lynn Festa's re-reading of sentimentality in Lynn Festa, *Sentimental Figures of Empire in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2006), 5-6.

civilization in the Atlantic World. The excised engravings divulge a fricative force that colonial landscape strained to disguise or dispel.

Chapter Two, "Black Ecologies of Revolt," focuses on John Gabriel Stedman's *Narrative* to reconsider Blake's prints by formally scrutinizing the engravings of Stedman's other artists. Even though Stedman and his publisher downplayed disturbing encounters or moderated his critiques of poor militaristic leadership, landscape as a seemingly background detail in the accompanying images held on to the scant traces of what they attempted to absolve. Examination of how a German translation manipulated landscape's aesthetic role in the engravings to create new illustrations of Stedman's ground-level experiences and a French translation inserted a description of Saint-Domingue as burning fire create space to address an unstable subtext undergirding landscape's claims of sovereign control. These modifications made to Narrative as it crossed national boundaries further buttresses an awareness of landscape's ability to divulge profound histories of unspeakable loss by destabilizing the human subject's view of the world through anti-conquest. Landscape creates an unstable rhetorical mixture that obscures Stedman's text and creates space for other stories about those who contested European presence.

Chapter Three, "Revolutionary Ecology," analyzes how landscape representation became the sight of fantastical speculation about other ways of being. While disguising the surrender of British forces to Toussaint Louverture, landscape in Barlow's engravings for Marcus Rainsford's *An Historical Account* also collapses the boundaries between those who represented themselves as humans and those who were understood as non-humans. Landscape in *Historical Account* grounds the imposition of metropolitan ideologies in the guises of monuments or cleared terrains to the colonial periphery at the same time as it grounds a different representation of the human figure. From a queering image of Rainsford as a dandified gentleman with verdure

to scenes of Rainsford in a prison cell with surrounding mountains, landscape aesthetically accentuates Rainsford's embodied vulnerability. Consideration of those who criticized Barlow's failure to accurately convey the distinctions between Black and white bodies further underscores how colonial resistance made white Europeans appear less legible and made the earth appear less knowable.

Together, these chapters reveal landscape's complex relationship to the events surrounding Haiti's establishment. Visual culture undoubtedly played a central role in obscuring the events integral to what has been called the Haitian Revolution. Authors and engravers often drew on landscape to naturalize the colonial power integral needed to make themselves appear as the most superior manifestations of being human. However, attention to landscape's seemingly backgrounded role in these same illustrations also creates space to recognize key moments leading up to the founding of the first Black Republic and the ending of enslavement. Landscape became too entwined with evidence of colonials' incivility and militaristic incompetence to uphold Long's, Stedman's, and Rainsford's understandings of human civilization. Ultimately, the images this dissertation explores propelled other ways of thinking about what it meant to be human as Black Revolutionaries drew on an unrulier earth in ways that made the world appear ambivalent or even less amenable to European colonial power.

CHAPTER I: LANDSCAPE AND EXCISION

INTRODUCTION

Written by one of the British Empire's most influential planters and proponents of racist pseudoscience, Edward Long's *The History of Jamaica* (1774) is one of the most well-known illustrated texts about the Atlantic World. History and natural history come together in three volumes to describe Jamaica's most salient political, social, economic, and topographical features. Although scholars have previously analyzed *The History of Jamaica* in the context of British colonialism and racism, recent work has complicated these general understandings. [1] Historians Trevor Burnard and Vincent Brown contend that Long's natural history demonstrates a cultural anxiety about social disorder.[2] Without downplaying Long's abhorrent attitudes, they point to his grave concerns about France's encroachment on British colonies, planters' self-interestedness, and struggles to thwart rebellious enslaved persons. I build on this framing of Long as an anxious planter by focusing on *The History of Jamaica*'s six landscape engravings. Picturesque views of waterfalls and tranquil bays appear to convey a desired social order grounded in the white planter's uncontested authority. However, closer formal scrutiny reveals that these images rarely conformed to picturesque conventions. A lack of symmetry, obstacles impeding distanced views, and failures to maintain unambiguous separations between human figures and untamed environments become defining features of these pictures. Because

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[1] See Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 177-179 and Seth Suman, "Materialism, Slavery, and *The History of Jamaica*." *Isis* 105 (2014): 764–72.
[2] Trevor Burnard, *Jamaica in the Age of Revolution*, 43 and Devin Leigh, "The Origins of a Source: Edward Long, Coromantee Slave Revolts and *The History of Jamaica*." *Slavery & Abolition* 40, no. 2 (2019): 295–320, Trevor Burnard, *Jamaica in the Age of Revolution*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020), 43-69, Vincent Brown, *Tacky's Revolt: The Story of an Atlantic Slave War*, (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2020).

these pictures do not strictly adhere to picturesqueness, they also reveal the disorder that Long and his contemporaries feared. This chapter divulges the planters' anxiety about social order even further by recognizing how these pictures also became portals into empire's flagging prospects.

I unpack the relationship between landscape and disorder by analyzing Edward Long's copy of his illustrated word held at the British Library. Gifted to the British Museum in 1842 (just nine years after enslavement officially ended in Britain) by his son, this copy dramatically differs from other versions of *The History of Jamaica*. Torn-out pages, cross-outs, scrawled annotations filling empty perimeters, and inserted newspaper clippings leave few of the three volumes' more than 1,400 pages untouched. Dates from the newspaper clippings suggest many of these revisions were made as British forces intervened in the Haitian Revolution and attempted to seize Saint-Domingue from France (1793-1798). While these substantial changes indicate Long's intent to reprint his work, they also convey a complex relationship between shifting perceptions of landscape and Haiti's establishment.[3] Jean-Pierre Boyer was overthrown and fled to Jamaica as an exile in 1843, just after the British Museum's formal bequeathment of Long's more than seventy other manuscripts. Long's copy of *The History of Jamaica* demonstrates how the exchange, circulation, and preservation of his illustrated work enabled it to assume even more complex relationships to the revolutionary events that unfolded across the Atlantic World.

The landscape engravings were particularly contentious parts of *The History of Jamaica*. Five landscape engravings were excised from Long's copy. As I will show, Long's copy of his

[3] Archival records suggest that Long intended to reprint a revised version of his work in A Bibliographic Survey with Particular Reference to Manuscript Sources, 2 vols. (Zug, Switzerland, 1976), 1:200–202.

illustrated work is not just another example of "bookwork."[4] Scrawled-out annotations in the margins around the remaining image and close to where the other five illustrations had originally appeared tie the excised prints to the Haitian Revolution's world-altering events. Descriptions of nearby communities of free Maroons or Black persons who saved the lives of white families during inclement weather bind the excised prints to agitated social orders. Beyond undermining the authority of encyclopedic works of history and natural history, the relationship between the pictures and Long's textual modifications demonstrates how landscape imagery strained to perpetuate the planter's desired view of the world.[5] The prints created space where disorientation could be perceived and sensed.

I assert the excising of *The History of Jamaica*'s landscape prints is tied to the different ways of seeing, sensing, and knowing the world that accompanied the Haitian Revolution.[6] Rather than arguing that Long's illustrations directly represented disorder, I contend the Haitian Revolution afforded a different vantage point where they took on richer and stranger meanings beyond valences of imperial power and white dominion. I use the term "excise" because it etymologically comes from the Latin word "excisionem" for destruction. In the Enlightenment era, "excision" evolved from a cut-off part of the body (or skin) and a cut-out part of a book or sentence to mean a botanical process of hollowing out.[7] Excision thus emphasizes the fricative

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[4] For an analysis of bookwork, see Whitney Trettien, *Cut/Copy/Paste*, (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2022).

[5] See Michael Gaudio's analysis of how prints mark otherness in Michael Gaudio, *Engraving the Savage*, (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 19 and See Walter J. Ong's analysis of writing as an interiorizing process in Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1982).

[6] I am thinking with Jacques Rancière's analysis of the sensible in Jacques Rancière, "Aesthetics as Politics," in *Aesthetics and its Discontents* trans. Steven Corcoran (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004), 19-44.

[7] "excise, v.1". OED Online. December 2022. Oxford University Press. https://www-oed-com.ezproxy.library.wisc.edu/view/Entry/65781?rskey=oUIYjH&result=2&isAdvanced=false

force or pressure undergirding and propelling textual modifications. When applied to Long's copy of *The History of Jamaica*'s accompanying illustrations, excision also links the mechanical processes of making engravings with the process of removing them at a later moment. Excision addresses the disorder from the process of scratching or "hollowing out" of a design on the copper plate's surface that became even more palpable when *The History of Jamaica* was reread.

Long and other British writers depended on picturesqueness as a discourse of aesthetic and political control to promote enslavement and imperial conquest. Sweeping views reject overt articulations of enslavement and conquest. Situating the white male European figure as the innocent seer of the earth, they embrace what Mary Louise Pratt has called "the monarch-of-all-I-survey."[8] Long's revisions coincided with the publication of other works, including William Beckford's *A Descriptive Account of the Island of Jamaica* (1790) and Bryan Edward's *The History of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (1793). Like these other authors, Long depended on landscape to abstract, anesthetize, and justify colonial plantation. Beckford went further than Long or Edwards and contended that Jamaica's "most picturesque and pleasing varieties" enabled artists to study nature's leading principles.[9] Taken as a whole, these textual-visual representations seem to buttress the contention that the Jamaican picturesque reached its apogee in the mid-nineteenth century.

However, Long's personal copy, with its excised scenes, suggests that picturesqueness did not easily evolve into a perfectly symmetrical scene that disguises evidence of colonial

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(accessed March 05, 2023).

[8] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 197.

[9] William Beckford, *A Descriptive Account of the Island of Jamaica*, (London: T and J Egerton, 1790) and Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil, and Commercial of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, (London: Stockdale, 1793).

violence. Neither did it slide into a vision of post-emancipation Jamaica as an island suitable for metropolitan tourists.[10] Picturesqueness strained to make space and place appear secure and unwavering.[11] As Black feminist geographer Kathrine McKittrick reminds us, colonial power is not automatically bound to landscape. Instead, dominating social practices made landscape representation play a central role in solidifying and naturalizing colonials' desired order. Excision opens up the struggles to reconcile the social upheaval behind the veil of colonial landscape representations. By the time Long reread his illustrated work, the prints had failed to convey Jamaica's unquestionable amenability to a human civilization grounded in slave labor. Landscape representation was unable to mitigate a sense of peripheral disorder from spilling over, something that mirrors Britain's failure to curtail the Haitian Revolution's influence throughout the world. Readers of Long's copy of his illustrated work are left with the vertiginous cross-outs and notes seeping into the margins and seems of the books.

I make three principal moves to explore how *The History of Jamaica*'s circulation unsettled the power vested in landscape imagery. First, I address The British Museum's acquisition of Long's copy of *The History of Jamaica*. Obtaining the Long family's papers reanimated Long's attempt to elicit a sense of unity and control over Jamaica's fragmented settlements by collecting books and diaries of seventeenth-century Britons who helped capture Spanish Jamaica. Next, I compare Long's engravings to other images in the Long family archives to address the particular aesthetic of copper print engravings. These comparisons reveal how these prints failed to produce an unmediated view of Jamaica as picturesque property and

[10] See Krista Thompson, "The Evidence of Things Not Photographed: Slavery and Historical Memory in the British West Indies." *Representations* 113 (2011): 37–71.
[11] See Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle,* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), xi.

even created gaps for traces of disorder to materialize. Lastly, I read between the specific textual modifications and the removed landscape engravings. The particular excisions and newspaper clippings alongside the landscape imagery attest to Long's apprehensions about the Haitian Revolution's challenge to European understandings of the idyllic human civilization.

LONG AND THE ARCHIVE

When Charles Edward Long gifted his father's revised copy of *The History of Jamaica* to The British Museum, the institution was already familiar with the muddied boundaries between illustrated works of natural history as representations of travelers' experiences and as material specimens of disorder. It was not uncommon for pasteboards and unbounded pages to arrive at the British Museum.[12] The "craze for collecting prints," sparked conversations about how illustrated books functioned as found specimens from the colonial periphery.[13] For literary scholar Whitney Trettein, Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753) made "little real distinction between his library of books and his collection of curiosities."[14] Sloane's codices were bequeathed to the British Museum with his accumulated plant specimens from Jamaica in 1753. While playing a fundamental role in shaping The British Museum as some of its first accumulated materials, Sloane's oeuvre also crucially collapsed the boundaries between textual-visual representations of Jamaica and texts as unmediated objects.[15] Possessing the author's textual descriptions could be just as valuable as possessing the specimens directly. As I will show, Charles Edward Long's

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[12] See Whitney Trettien's analysis of John Bagford in Whitney Trettien, *Cut/Copy/Paste*, 211.
[13] David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order, 1450-1830*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 178.
[14] Whitney Trettien, *Cut/Copy/Paste*, 203.
[15] For another reading of the collapse between specimens and textual descriptions, see Martin Rudwick, "George Cuvier's Paper Museum of Fossil Bones." *Archives of Natural History* 27, no. 1 (2000): 51–68.

gifting of his father's copy highly of *The History of Jamaica* to the British Museum (along with nearly forty other manuscripts by seventeenth-century politicians or other naturalists) became wrapped up with aims to perpetuate the island's amenability to an idyllic human civilization even when enslavement ended.

The British Museum's commissioners drew on t early modern Jamaican planters to revitalize and grow the museum's collection. They conceded, "in the views of Sir Hans Sloane that these collections should be rendered as useful as possible, as well towards satisfying the desires of the visitors, as for the improvement, knowledge, and information of all persons."[16] Sloane's mission to establish imperial order and management endured at The British Museum even after enslavement officially ended in 1834. Perhaps, the museum was attractive to Charles Edward Long because it had recently restored numerous manuscripts damaged during the previous century.[17] The British Museum not only preserved but also breathed new life into what had fallen into decay. Thus, Long's copy of his illustrated work became part of an institution in which the processes of collecting and revitalizing materials were directly linked to colonial power. The commissioners' desire to preserve Sloane's legacy was not surprising.

At the same time as Long completed writing *The History of Jamaica,* The Officers of the Department of Printed Books constructed the British Museum's first complete catalog of its holdings. Joseph Planta became Principal Librarian in 1799 and one of his first endeavors was to enhance The British Museum's Empire Collection by purchasing books on British topography.

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[16]As quoted in Marvin Spevack, "The impact of the British Museum library" in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland,* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 422-437.

[17] P.R Harris, P.R. "The First Century of the British Museum Library" in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland,* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 405–21.

Planta also purchased 2,144 volumes of French Revolution tracts in 1817. Henry Ellis, Planta's successor, continued to expand these collections.

Considering Long set out to "correct many errors in Sloane," he may have intended for his collection of manuscripts to end up at an institution founded by Sloane.[18] Long positioned himself as Sloane's successor and as a learned authority on Jamaica. However, Long and his publisher, Thomas Lowndes, also maintained their own collections of written materials in ways not entirely dissimilar to The British Museum. Scholars have been particularly attentive to Lowndes because he became one of the most successful book-lenders in London with an extensive catalog of 6,290 works.[19] Although Long himself did not construct a lending library, he collected a variety of unpublished works for personal usage that Charles Edward Long ultimately gifted to The British Museum. Highlights include William Beeston's journal, Colonel Edward D'Oyley's diary, records from the Assemblies of the Jamaican colony, and James Knight's unpublished *The Natural, Moral, and Political History of Jamaica, and the Territories Thereon Depending: From the Earliest Time to the Year 1742*.[20] Besides corroborating Long as an erudite who avidly collected first-hand materials about Jamaican history, these other works Long turned to as *The History of Jamaica* was originally written and revisted echo The British

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[18] Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 2:136.

[19] For a history of lending libraries in London that emphasizes Lowndes see James Raven, "Libraries for Sociability: The Advance of the Subscription Library" in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland: Volume II 1640-1850*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 241-263. Michael Suarez has collected data on Lowndes's lending library in Michael G. Suarez, "Publishing Contemporary English Literature, 1695-1774" in *The Cambridge History of The Book in Britain: Volume V, 1695-1830*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 649-666.

[20] James Knight, "The Natural, Moral, and Political History of Jamaica, and the Territories Thereon Depending: From the Earliest Time to the Year 1742." The British Library Archives and Manuscript, MS12418-MS12419. Other examples include British Library Archives MS12424, MS12410, MS12426.

Museum's treatment of texts. In short, The British Museum resembled a natural home for a work made by an author who wielded his authority by ordering and managing other texts. The British Museum merely perpetuated Long's understanding of the printed book.

However, the influence of these other works posed a formidable problem. Beeston as a former colonial administrator and D'Oyley as a former governor played principal roles in seizing Jamaica from Spain during the previous century. Their diaries directly describe struggles to transform Jamaica into a suitable place for the cultivation of human civilization. Long's possession of Colonel Christian Lilly's Letter Book documenting the Siege of Gibraltar after a naval expedition against French Martinique further buttresses the sense of disorder spurred by the very texts Long sought to manage.[21] Recognizing Long quoted D'Oyley in his description of Britain's earliest governance of Jamaica, D'Oyley's travels to Cuba and Hispaniola may have influenced Long's decision to begin *The History of Jamaica* after the Spaniards were driven from the island.[22] Presenting Jamaica as a tabula rasa helped cultivate a view of Jamaica amenable to Britons' understanding of human civilization. Further, promoting Jamaica as an ideal ground for colonial settlement downplayed the tumult these authors' described. Such efforts dovetailed with the British Museum's chief goal of preserving Sloane's memory and employing his legacy to maintain a sense of sovereign power after emancipation. However, the revisions in Long's copy of *The History of Jamaica* suggest that such efforts failed to keep traces of disorder at bay. At base, Charles Edward Long's gifting of his family's records to The British Museum could be perceived as a last-ditch effort to mask evidence of what belied Jamaica's picturesque prospects from materializing in the margins.

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[21] Colonel Christian Lilly, Letter Book, The British Library Archives and Manuscript, MS12427.
[22] Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica. Or, General Survey of the Antient and Modern State of That Island*, (London: T. Lowndes, 1776), 1:12.

Long's process of writing *The History of Jamaica* and the British Museum's acquisition of Long's manuscripts demonstrates how archiving results from a complex relationship between control and the fear of losing power. As Jacques Derrida points out, archive etymologically combines commencement and commandment.[23] The word "archive" entwines the principle of nature where things start with the commanding principles of law. Archive combines where objects appear in nature or history with where objects are ordered with authority. Bringing or "domiciliating" materials under one roof vests power in a privileged body of citizens. Because this gathering of materials is undivorceable from a "deconstructable" history, order cannot be secured. The archive becomes feverous when radical destruction is reinvested in an inexhaustible logic of capitalizing on everything, even on what contests its own sense of power. Derrida's dictum crucially opens up a vantage point where the British Museum's acquisition of *The History of Jamaica* and Long's acquisition of other texts comingle in mutual fervency. Both the institution and Long brought materials together even if they were at odds with aims of perpetuating control. As such, Long's illustrated book and the British Library are also tied through mutual evidence of colonial loss that was never removed.

Following Sloane's attempt to mitigate Jamaica's status as an unstable printed object or James Knight's curtailment of Jamaica's perceived deficiencies, Long combined principles of nature and law to refine Jamaica's social order.[24] Long lamented Jamaican authorities' inabilities to regulate colonial settlements according to innate principals of sophisticated conduct or proper

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[23] Jacques Derrida and Eric Prenowitz, "Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression." *Diacritics* 25, no. 2 (1995): 9–63.

[24] See Kay Dian Kriz's analysis of refinement in Sir Hans Sloane's understanding of natural history in Kay Dian Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 11-12. Also see Jack P. Greene, "James Knight and his History," xviii.

behavior. For Trevor Burnard, Long lessened Jamaica's status as a "milieu in which activities frowned on in Britain," including drinking, dancing, and illicit sex, could be exercised.[25] Long promoted intuitive values and principles of reason to safeguard against a dystopia of greed and moral debasement.[26] He explained, "it is very natural to suppose, that the lust of unlimited power, inherent to mankind, will always ravage most licentiously in those sequestered places, where the hand which should restrain its career is too distant."[27] Long thus envisioned *The History of Jamaica* as a cautionary guide to planters whose savage behaviors or zeal to punish enslaved persons with heavy hands could yield a "fatal" effect.[28] His illustrated book reminded readers of an elevated sense of Britishness grounded in self-restraint and moral reason. However, Long's revisions suggest that planters had ignored his warning and that the failure to regulate Jamaica according to natural reason had led to complete disorder.

Long was apprehensive about the textual disorder integral to his illustrated work and aimed to mitigate its agitating effects. He admitted at the beginning of *The History of Jamaica* to "having recourse to a variety of authors: so that, in many respects, it will have the appearance of a compilation." Yet, Long's copy of his illustrated work replaced this introduction with a hand-written mediation on how "a truly English frame, is better suited than any other to the temper of Englishmen."[29] Long inserted more praise for English superiority and removed all acknowledgments of militaristic exploits. Even more, an apology for lacking historical evidence

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[25] Trevor Burnard, "Tropical Hospitality, British Masculinity, and Drink in Late Eighteenth-Century Jamaica." *The Historical Journal* 65, no. 1 (2022): 202–23.
[26] Beyond Burnard, see Simon Gikandi, *Slavery and the Culture of Taste*, (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011), 115.
[27] Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 1:3.
[28] Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 1:4.
[29] Edward Long, "Long's, 'History of Jamaica;' the Sheets of the Printed Work, with Considerable Additions and Alterations in Manuscript, MS 12404, 1.

became a described affinity between British Empire and Greek civilization. These modifications consolidate Long's commanding authorial presence while also defining Englishness through ancient civilization as a paragon for humanity. Although the revisions bear the intent of vesting power in a particular body of citizens, undergirding such claims of order is the very sense of disorder sparked by the conglomerated compilation of other texts. Tattered edges of torn-out pages, pasted-together paper fragments, and even strings from the binding hovering around the newly inserted pages attest to an inextricably linked sense of chaos. Ironically, attempts to displace any evidence of a poorly managed illustrated book end up amplifying a visual aesthetic of disorder. This reaffirms Derrida's understanding of the archive as an endeavor fueled by destruction.

A particularly compelling example of Long's recourse to other texts is his analysis of the *Code Noir*. Seeing the *Code Noir* as an extraordinary piece of legislation Britons ought to employ to preserve Jamaica's social order, Long reconciles his zeal for the French system of governance with his patriotism for Britain.[30] Preserving a view of an idyllic human civilization became more important than distinguishing Britons from their French neighbors. Long's translation of the *Code Noir* is coupled with a theory about an undergirding social order that tied British, French, and Spanish settlements together. He claimed, "these islands were peopled by emigrations from the continent so near to them." But the argument changed in Long's edited copy of his illustrated natural history. There is a more elaborate argument about indigenous persons who "wandered" from Martinique to Hispaniola and Cuba to Jamaica.[31] Curiously, this

[30] See Trevor Burnard's reading of Long's turn to the *Code Noir* in Trevor Burnard, *Jamaica in the Age of Revolution, 61*.
[31] Edward Long, "Long's, 'History of Jamaica;' the Sheets of the Printed Work, with Considerable Additions and Alterations in Manuscript, MS 12406, 952-955.

new trajectory of the islands' gradual population parallels the chronology of the 1789 conspiracy of enslavement ending in Martinique, the 1791 ceremony at Bois Caïman in Saint-Domingue, and the 1790s Cuban rebellions fueled by enslaved persons who allegedly came from the French colonies.[32] Thinking about an ordered human civilization in the Caribbean beyond Britain's boundaries appears to have even created space to anticipate the influence of revolts in French Empire in Jamaica. However, this oblique awareness of the disorder tying British, French, and Spanish together also indicates that the *Code Noir* had ultimately failed to preserve colonial settlements in the Atlantic World.

Long's attention to the *Code Noir* is part of his thematization of a human civilization defined by a naturalized social order. Consider his attention to what has been called Tacky's Revolt (1760-1761). Long's description of Tacky's Revolt is a key example of attempting to manage disorder. As Vincent Brown has pointed out, Tacky's Revolt was the name settlers gave to multiple insurrectionary events that began at Fort Haldane in April 1760 and spread across Jamaica for many months.[33] As an identified scapegoat, Tacky enabled Long to transform incoherent events into a more intelligible narrative based on one figure.[34] Narrating is also a process of containing fear and disorientation. Naming and positioning what agitated colonial power into a narrative redistributed the agencies of those who revolted against planters back to Long as the authoritative narrator. Yet, Long's attention to Tacky's Revolt takes him to where the *Code Noir* failed to manage the growing population of enslaved persons. Long deemed

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[32] See Laurent Dubois's analysis of Martinique in Laurent Dubois, *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution & Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787-1804*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 105-107 and Ada Ferrer's analysis of revolts in Cuba in Ada Ferrer, *Freedom's Mirror: Cuba and Haiti in the Age of Revolution*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
[33] Vincent Brown, *Tacky's Revolt*, 160-161.
[34] Vincent Brown, *Tacky's Revolt*, 131.

Tacky and his fellow Coromantins too "savage of a race" to be brought into British Empire. Long's focus on the Coromantins takes him to the island of Guadeloupe, which Britain conquered from France during the Seven Years' War. He alleges that the Coromantins from Guadeloupe "acquired so much skill" in massacring estates, setting fires, creating profound mischief, and acquiring weapons from Jews, Frenchmen, and Spaniards.[35]

More than possibly blaming France for revolts in Jamaica or indicating the *Code Noir*'s inability to promote order, Long's attention to Tacky's Revolt exemplifies a problem about archiving. Tacky, as a concentrated figure of disorder, might fail to hold and divulge undergirding destruction. Tacky's presence in Long's copy of *The History of Jamaica* may have instigated the surrounding annotations. Scrawled descriptions of a Coromantee who killed his master and twelve white men during a rebellion in 1673, another revolt in 1718, and a later rebellion at Hanover in 1776 appear in the margins of Long's text.[36] For an "old Coromantin" or tricked up "imposture," Tacky inflicted significant damage at the ground level in Jamaica and at the material level in an illustrated book attesting to Jamaica's suitability for planters.[37] Tacky's unravelling disorder is further buttressed by added annotations about the Invasion of Guadeloupe (1759). But Tacky's collapse into disorder also suggests that other texts Long sought to manage by integrating them into *The History of Jamaica* might similarly break down. For example, consider Long's turn to an entire poem by the free Black man, Francis Williams, to "prove an inferiority of the Negroes to the race of all white men."[38] On the inserted pages immediately preceding the poem in the revised copy of Long's work is a direct call to reconsider geographical

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[35] Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 2:453
[36] Edward Long, "Long's, 'History of Jamaica;' the Sheets of the Printed Work, with Considerable Additions and Alterations in Manuscript, MS 12405, 446-471.
[37] Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 2:451-452.
[38] Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 2:475.

plans that enabled enslaved persons to plot rebellions at night.[39] Long's attention to the enslaved's adroit ability to resist owners' and overseers' sovereign power seriously contests such analysis of Williams's poem.

Although Long's account of Francis Williams has been disputed, his analysis of Williams allows us to take the struggle of vesting all disorder into a single figure as a problem about defining human civilization.[40] Long alleged the Jamaican-born poet was sent to England as part of a racist experiment to determine an enslaved persons' capacity to achieve enlightenment. Recognizing Montesquieu's climactic theories, Long elaborates that Williams's multiple voyages to England and poetic skills could be attributed to "the Northern Air [imparting] a tone and vigor to his organs."[41] Long could not get over Williams's seemingly innate ability to successfully assimilate into a civilized society. Williams's greatest offense was his presumed vanity. Perhaps, such complaints are intended to distract readers from what could be apprehended as the Black man's propensity to become part of white human civilization. However, Long's justification of Williams's exceptionalism through the climate also suggests that the environment provided Long with a vocabulary to articulate the ontological statuses of those who vexed social order. Climatic theories enabled Long to downplay Williams's adroit abilities by shifting Williams's agency to the natural world. As I will show, Long's employment of the earth to articulate contentious figures such as Williams and anxieties about the Haitian Revolution's reconfiguration of human civilization could mix together to express a profound sense of disorientation.

Long was aware of the events on Saint-Domingue as he revisited *The History of Jamaica.*

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[39] Edward Long, "Long's, 'History of Jamaica;' the Sheets of the Printed Work, with Considerable Additions and Alterations in Manuscript, MS 12405, 470.
[40] See Vincent Carretta, "Who Was Francis Williams?" *Early American Literature* 38, no. 2 (2003): 213–37.
[41] Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 2:476.

He received multiple letters from planters who detailed their gravest concerns. The absentee plantation owner John Scott exclaimed, "The slaves, seeing the white people in a state of discord with each other, would do what they have done at Hispaniola; they would rebel, burn the estates, and destroy the inhabitants."[42] Another planter echoed these fears about the revolt's spread to Jamaica.[43] Ultimately, these letters do not appear in Long's copy of *The History of Jamaica*. But it would be incorrect to suggest that these planters' fears were completely removed from the natural history. Indeed, various newspaper clippings enmeshed in the textual revisions demonstrate concerns about the unfolding events in Saint-Domingue. One in the *Royal Gazette* on March 15, 1794 directly called for the appointment of a "fit" person to oversee British affairs in the French colony.[44]

The Haitian Revolution contested Long's endeavors to vest all disorder into the neater and more manageable figures of Tacky or Williams. As *The History of Jamaica* was revised, consolidated tumult spilled out. Consider page 955 [*Figure 11*]. Three specific passages were cut out. Descriptions of indigenous persons who possessed a "natural genius unaided by books of information" become empty cut-outs on the page. More than merely creating a disjunctive reading experience, these removed paragraphs demonstrate a conscious attempt to sever all ties with Saint-Domingue. This includes disavowing scenes of indigenous and Black persons who directly challenged white Europeans' sovereignty and bodily autonomy. Long's original

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[42] John Scott, "REPORT of the Committee of the Assembly of Jamaica on the Slave Trade (Printed), 1792, with Letters to Mr. Long on the Subject;-The New Act of Assembly, Called the New Consolidated Code...," December 1792. The British Library Archives and Manuscript Collection, MS 12432: 1788-1792.
[43] Unknown planter, April 18, 1792. The British Library Archives and Manuscript, MS 18959.
[44] Edward Long, "Long's, 'History of Jamaica;' the Sheets of the Printed Work, with Considerable Additions and Alterations in Manuscript," The British Library Archives and Manuscript Collection, MS 12408, 828.

contention of indigenous Antilleans who differed from those in Mexico who "were fierce, savage, and rapacious; led a roving piratical kind of life…carrying off captive," became a cut-out void. [45] On the following page, specific references to Haytians and their possible ties to Jamaica are also removed. Absent is the line, "We are not assured whether the Indians of Jamaica had more than one cacique; but as their form of government resembled that of the Haytians, it is likely that the island was quartered into provinces subject to the authority of their respective chiefs."[46] Moreover, another cut-out passage characterized Haytian society as "established more on policy and cunning than on violence."

One might surmise that it was no longer possible to view Haytians as a manageable population who could be "raised above the common heard of Blacks." But these cut-outs create material voids where claims of power fall apart. Descriptions of ground-level violence and the violent act of cutting pages collapse and create a less navigable textual topography. Ultimately, readers are left with jagged pages attesting to a disorder that could no longer be suppressed by the commanding authority of printed texts. The deconstruction fueling Long's ambitions became too much and transformed *The History of Jamaica* into a specimen of tumult and distress as British forces were actively engaged in Saint-Domingue. Crucially, these textual modifications create an alternative context to approach how Long's images of Jamaica as picturesque functioned as metaphors for human civilization. These removed engravings cannot be separated from the removed references to Saint-Domingue.

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[45] Britain's attempt to seize Saint-Domingue is still one of the least studied components of the Haitian Revolution. There is only one book-length study dedicated to Britain's conquest of the French colony. David Patrick Geggus, *Slavery, War and Revolution: The British Occupation of Saint Dominque, 1793-1798*, (London: Clarendon Press, 1982).

[46] Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 3:956.

LANDSCAPE AND ARCHIVING LOSS

William Berryman's unfinished watercolor of Long's Lucky Valley Estate does not appear in *The History of Jamaica*, but it was acquired with Long's copy of his illustrated natural history by the British Library [*Figure 12*].[47] Arrested in a material state of perpetual incompleteness, the watercolor is formally unstable and aesthetically defies fixity. It provides a glimpse of the Longs' vision for Jamaica in the aftermath of the Slave Trade Abolition Act in 1807. Wafting plantain leaves displace evidence of enslaved labor, recent revolts, or inclement weather patterns. The plantation machine's mode of governing space and regulating social order endured even though trading enslaved beings ended. Berryman died before he finished his watercolor and before he obtained a commission to paint Long's estate. However, the circumstances surrounding the picture demonstrate how the desire to uphold the planter's viewpoint became entangled with a lack of control and disorder.[48] The watercolor's incompletion created an aesthetic that challenged landscape's claims of stability and of presenting audiences with an unmediated view of the natural world. Like the margins surrounding the imprinted texts, the unconquered spaces of the page were left to become pockets where disorder can materialize.[49] It becomes a microcosm of how printed pictorial content and paper came together to unsettle the authoritative power vested in *The History of Jamaica.*

Berryman's watercolor attests to landscape's role in responding to a broader crisis in visual representation. For Kay Dian Kriz, British landscape paintings demonstrate a shift away

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[47] British Library Manuscripts, MS 43379E.
[48] For an art historical reading of Berryman's watercolor see, Tim Barringer, "Picturesque Prospects and the Labor of the Enslaved" in *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica Isaac Mendes Belisario and His Worlds*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 41-61.
[49] I am thinking with Christopher Wood's reading of Albrecht Altdorfer's landscapes in Christopher S. Wood, *Albrecht Altdorfer And the Origins of Landscape*, (London: Reaktion Books LTD, 1993), 72.

from history paintings which had failed to live up to universalizing ideals that promoted national unity and allegiance.[50] Britons inspired by philosophers such as the Third Earl of Shaftesbury understood the underlying order of nature as a powerful tool in promoting the ideal "man of taste."[51] Watercolor, which underwent significant innovations during the 1790s, aesthetically amplified this emphasis on supranational harmonious temper and moral conduct. Watercolor cultivated the individual subjectivity of both the artist and of the spectator through its tonal richness and bodily opacity.[52] Berryman's employment of watercolor fails to promote the picturesque intricacy and variety needed to cultivate an understanding of the ideal human subject. With scant outlines of foregrounded leaves, a backgrounded hill, and even a trajectory, the picture brings attention to its material surface instead of an idea of the plantation machine's uncontestable endurance. Berryman's attempt to combine the aesthetic valences of the watercolor landscape with the valences of the plantation estate leaves viewers with an image that fails to safeguard the image of the plantation estate as a metaphor for the idyllic human civilization in the colonial periphery.

Art historians have crucially shown how the picturesque landscape provided Britons with a vocabulary to address the disorder associated with the end of enslavement. Circulating images emphasizing landscape's inherent fixity aesthetically functioned to capture enslavement as an ideal era to both mourn the plantation machine's demise and reinvigorate imperial prospects. As Tim Barringer points out, Joseph Bartholomew Kidd fulfilled a commission by the Tharp family (1836) to capture their plantation's similarity to the English estate [*Figure 13*].[53] He

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[50] Kay Dian Kriz,. *The Idea of the English Landscape* Painter, 9.
[51] Kay Dian Kriz, *The Idea of the English Landscape Painter*, 23.
[52] See David H. Solkin's analysis of watercolor and landscape in David H. Solkin, *Art in Britain, 1660-1815*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015), 259-265.
[53] Tim Barringer, "Land, Labor, Landscape: Views of Plantation in Victorian Jamaica" in

argues, “The paint was barely dry on Kidd’s culminating work of the Jamaican picturesque before the scene it depicted, and the ideals it promoted, vanished beneath tropical vegetation, swept aside by forces of historical change.” Jennifer Raab contends that landscape enabled artists to articulate an unrepresentable sense of colonial loss. Turning to Frederic Edwin Church’s painting of post-emancipatory Jamaica, she analyzes crippled leaves and smoking flames as visualizations of Empire’s bankruptcy [*Figure 14*].[54] Landscape downplayed contestations of hegemony just as much as it created a language to articulate losses that could not be seeable or sayable. Following these art historians, I show how Berryman’s watercolor materially demonstrates a representational problem in which landscape’s veiling of colonial conquest slips into a revelation of the loss of an idyllic human civilization in the Atlantic World.

Watercolor developed alongside advancements in engraving techniques. Thomas Bewick (1753-1828) has already received substantial scholarly attention because eighteenth and nineteenth-century Britons lionized his innovative approaches to casting images.[55] Cutting on the end-grains of hard boxwood instead of on the plank-grain of traditional woodcuts enabled Bewick to achieve extravagant detail on par with far more expensive copper-plated engravings. Moreover, Bewick’s approach bridged the gap between texts and images.[56] Pictures no longer needed to be printed on separate pages. Less than two decades before Bewick’s imprinted images

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Victorian Jamaica, (Duke University Press, 2018), 281-321.

[54] Jennifer Raab, “Frederic Church and the Landscape of Post-Emancipation Jamaica.” *Art History* 34 (September 2011): 714–31.

[55] James Mosley, “Technologies of Printing” In *The Cambridge History of The Book in Britain: Volume V, 1695-1830*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 163-199 and Esther Chadwick, “Bewick’s ‘Little Whimsies’: Printmaking, Paper Money and Currency Radicalism in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain.” *Association for Art History* 41, no. 1 (2018): 42–71. One might also see Jenny Uglow’s biography of Bewick. Jenny Uglow, *Nature’s Engraver: A Life of Thomas Bewick*, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

[56] This is art historian Diana Donald’s argument. See Diana Donald, *The Art of Thomas Bewick*, (Reaktion Books: London, 2013), 18-29.

appeared in his own illustrated works of natural history, Bewick's mentor Isaac Taylor worked on *The History of Jamaica's* copper-plated engravings of Jamaica's arcadian splendor.[57] Bewick mentions Taylor's supervision of several woodcuts he made.[58] Although Bewick closed the gap between the coarse vulgarity of woodcuts and the exquisite detail of copper plates, the copper-plated engravings were appreciated by Long's pundits for their particular aesthetic valences of newfound wealth and refinement over disorder. Copper as a raw material from the New World enabled early modernists to link the "discovery" of the Americas to the "discovery" of copper-plated engravings.[59] Copper-plated engravings may have thus appeared as a particularly suitable medium to depict the taming of Jamaica's landscape. However, Berryman's watercolor also shows how attempts to close the gap between text and image failed to keep disorder at bay.

Art historians often center on Reverend William Gilpin's call to view the earth through the guise of a picture. His essays and tours were intended to instruct bourgeois amateurs how to create drawings based on seeing scenery through the guise of landscape painting. As Kriz contends, "Sketching landscapes, then, was an accessible cultural accomplishment for the man of business."[60] But an anxiety about failing to exemplify elevated taste elides this emphasis on landscape's technical accessibility.[61] This apprehension manifests itself in Gilpin's own essays. Diverting his attention toward an artist who obtains a "correct knowledge of objects" from

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[57] In his *Memoir*, Bewick explains that he began creating the illustrations for *A General History of Quadrupeds* (1790) on November 15, 1785. Further, he began his *A History of British Birds* (1797) only July 16, 1791.
[58] Thomas Bewick, *A Memoir of Thomas Bewick Written by Himself*, (London, 1862; Project Gutenberg, August 9, 2019), <https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/60075>.
[59] Michael Gaudio shows that Johannes Stradanus's *New* Discoveries begins with an engraving of the Americas and ends with an engraving depicting the process of making copper-plated engravings. Michael Gaudio, *Engraving the Savage*, xvi.
[60] Kay Dian Kriz, *The Idea of the English Landscape Painter*, 23.
[61] See David H. Solkin's analysis of picturesqueness as a mark of "genteel taste and refinement" in David H. Solkin, *Art in Britain, 1660-1815*, 227.

nature, Gilpin contends that illegible strokes or scratches "raise in our minds the remembrance of the beauties they humbly represent."[62] The boundaries between empirically observable views of the external world with less articulable ideas in the psychic interior become porous. At the same time, Gilpin addresses an anxiety about a traveler's more irksome encounter with nature. Implying landscape representation maintains superior qualities to direct experiences, Gilpin elaborates, "It flatters us too with the idea of a sort of creation of our own; and it is unallayed with that fatigue, which is often a considerable abatement to the pleasures of traversing the wild, and savage parts of nature."[63] The superiority of picturesqueness and its connotations of distinguished gentlemen, however, only hold so long as the image yields an unmediated view of the natural world.

For Gilpin, optical instruments enhanced the aesthetic effects of untouched nature. Gilpin ultimately ignores how landscape representations might fail to orient bourgeois amateurs as subjects who separate themselves from an external object world. He instead elaborates on the artist's ability to improve unmediated representations of the earth:

> The imagination becomes a camera obscura, only with this difference, that the camera represents objects as they really are; while the imagination, impressed with the most beautiful scenes, and chastened by rules of art, forms its pictures, not only from the most admirable parts of nature; but in the best taste.[64]

Of course, camera obscuras frequently failed to represent objects according to the highest principles of scientific precision and perfected order. As Jill Casid has shown, image casting

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[62] William Gilpin, *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: To Which Is Added a Poem, on Landscape Painting,* (London: R. Blamire, 1792), 51.
[63] William Gilpin, *Three Essays*, 52.
[64] William Gilpin, *Three Essays*,52.

devices also created disorientation.[65] The camera obscura illusively bridged close and faraway places, the real and the imagined, and the intangible and the material. The camera obscura solidified as much as it agitated the spectating subject who masters objects from an external position.[66] In short, Gilpin's employment of the camera obscura as a metaphor for landscape representation also introduces the opaquer aspects of vision into the seemingly fixed and beautiful scene. The scientific instrument could combine with landscape to establish an unrulier scene. While drawing on the camera obscura and landscape to emphasize an imperial subject of science and reason, Gilpin also did not foreclose the possibility of an overwhelming optical encounter that might fail to situate the spectator as the innocent seer of landscape discourse.[67]

Moreover, Gilpin's analysis neglects the picturesque landscape as an aftereffect of the visitor's voyages.[68] Picturesqueness could amplify a sense of disorientation integral to a scene of an already settled place. Returning to Berryman's watercolor, its incompletion amplifies a struggle to orient the viewer's detachment from the plantation landscape. The page's empty gaps emphasize the watercolor's failure to present Lucky Valley as an unmediated visual object. Long's plantation appears more phantasmagoric than empirical. Like the camera obscura's casting of an image, the watercolor distorts time and place. Berryman presumably relied on pictorial ambiguity to underscore the plantation's tranquility and order amidst the uncertainty accompanying Britain's passage of the Slave Trade Act (1807). However, the watercolor's

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[65] See Jill H. Casid's reading of image casting technologies as what failed to produce the disembodied subject of rational judgment in Jill H. Casid, *Scenes of Projection: Recasting the Enlightenment Subject*, (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2015), 304.
[66] For another reading of the camera obscura see Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century*, (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1992), 25-66.
[67] See Jill H. Casid, *Scenes of Projection*, 20.
[68] See Jill H. Casid's reading of Gilpin in Jill H. Casid, *Sowing Empire: Landscape and Colonization*, 88.

incompletion mars an ability to perceive Lucky Valley as a natural extension of untouched nature. The protruding page further interrupts cohesive unity and reveals how the watercolor's divorcement from the actual location it claims to depict. At base, the watercolor creates a model to return to *The History of Jamaica*'s excised engravings. The material relationship between printed image and paper creates space to assess how representation strained to represent colonial Jamaica without taints of agitation.

Long's engravings maintain a closer semblance to Berryman's watercolor than to Kidd's or Church's paintings. Like watercolor, copper-plated prints rely on a complex affinity between marks and the materiality of paper to create an illusion of a solid or fixed object. Only dense hatchings can convey density and fixed stability. Even the most diminutive of errors could result in a picture's failure to function as an unmediated representation of an external object world. After coating the copper plate with varnish, the artist employs the burin or v-shaped graver to scratch out the design on its surface. Warming the plate softens the printing ink and enables the engraved lines to be penetrated.[69] As Michael Gaudio contends, the material processes of using copper plates often belies the illusion of fixed meaning. Attention is diverted towards a confrontation with or struggle "to make meaning out of matter."[70] Copper plate reminds "us how vision was mediated by imperfect human beings working with tools."[71] Copper-plated engravings return to the sense of disorder integral to the processes of image making. Hence, Long's engravings that transform picturesque landscape into a metaphor for the successful cultivation of human civilization cannot be entirely detached from this formal agitation. The

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[69] For a description of how copper plate engravings were made see James Mosley, "The technologies of printing" in In *The Cambridge History of The Book in Britain: Volume V, 1695-1830*,163-199.
[70] Michael Gaudio, *Engraving the Savage*, xxii.
[71] Michael Gaudio, *Engraving the Savage*, xx-xxi.

aesthetic produced by these prints could combine with depictions of ordered terrains to create an unwittingly portal into the social disorder Long aimed to keep at bay.

For Gaudio, the copper plate fails to map onto a rational grid of ethnography. The copper plate promises to advance human civilization by achieving visual clarity of the New World. However, the copper plate itself also belongs to the final engraving as its leftover.[72] It is a palpable or material thing that troubles representation in its semblance to the disorder printed images cast out. The copper plate is "precisely the stuff the savage is made of."[73] Aesthetically, print displaces the copper plate to thwart all possible associations with "unenlightened" practices, such as tattooing or idol worship. Copper-plated engravings camouflage the untamed or the base for the artist to inscribe his own subjectivity onto the New World. Yet, landscape representation in the Longs' archives and *The History of Jamaica* failed to conceal such disorder. This is precisely why significant textual changes were made to the illustrated books and images were excised.

However, Berryman's watercolor also elucidates another relationship between the struggle to make meaning out of virgin paper and of untamed places in the world. Britain's termination of perpetual copyright laws and burgeoning paper trade amplified engravers' confrontation with a seemingly unexploitable or unconquerable supply of books and paper.[74] Artists and travelers could use paper to navigate the earth For the early modern art critic and engraver Roger de Piles (1635-1709), engravings aided the traveler or artist in managing and controlling what they experienced in the natural world. Engravings prepared travelers for "the

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[72] Michael Gaudio, *Engraving the Savage*, xxi.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Michael Rose, "Copyright, Authors, and Censorship" in *The Cambridge History of Jamaica: The Book in Britain, Volume V, 1695-1830*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 118-131.

things they are to see."[75] As for artists, collecting and comparing engravings of nature prompted improved judgments over the burin to achieve the most desired light, tones, and shadows. De Piles also recognized how too many engravings could overwhelm the viewer. He recognized the ability to perceive "nature rising out of her chaos."[76] Hence, Piles considers a sense of chaos fueling the desire to both create and collect representations of the natural world. Long's copper-plated prints, like Berryman's watercolor, give the aesthetic effect of content emerging out from chaos associated with an empty page. As I will show, this disorder created a fricative pressure fueling the excisions of *The History of Jamaica*'s accompanying prints.

De Piles and Gilpin strained to transform picturesqueness and landscape representation into useful tools for navigating an unrulier object world. Perhaps, it was not coincidental that their texts were published as anxiety about disorder in the Atlantic World reached new heights. De Piles's *The Arts of Painting* was reprinted in London two decades before *The History of* Jamaica's publication. Gilpin's *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape* was also printed in London just one year before British troops landed in Saint-Domingue. *The History of* Jamaica's accompanying prints demonstrate how landscape representation mitigated as much as it amplified a sense of an unrulier object world. The engravings' excisions embody more than a mere disavowal of what may have reminded Long and his audiences of Britons' inability to curtail the demise of their human civilization by failing to seize Saint-Domingue. Rather, the excisions attest to a profound disorientation that only became more palpable.

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[75] Roger de Piles, *The Arts of Painting, with the Lives and Characters of above 300 of the Most Eminent Painters*. 3rd ed, (London: Thomas Payne, 1754), 52.
[76] Roger de Piles, *The Arts of Painting*, 32.

LONG'S LANDSCAPE IMAGERY

Peter Mazell's *View of the Roaring River Cascade* and *View of Port Royal and Kingston Harbours*, William Walker's *A View of the Bath Hot Spring*, Isaac Taylor's *A View of Cascade at Y S River*, and an unknown artist's *View of Montego Bay* are absent from Long's copy of *The History of Jamaica* [*Figures 15-19*]. Although printed images were frequently removed from illustrated books, especially since works were often sold unbounded, it was uncommon for an author's hand-written texts to replace specific engravings. As the only remaining illustration, Taylor's *View of the White River Cascade* [*Figure 20*] offers clues about what could have prompted the five other engravings' absences. A scrawled-out note in the margins of the page next to Taylor's engravings reads, "But to those who gaze on it at a distance of 7 or 8 miles off at sea, it forms a very brilliant delightful object without any horror."[77] Perhaps, Long left Taylor's engraving in the illustrated book because readers could still approach it as a compelling specimen of Jamaica's status as an uncontestable and forever enduring part of British Empire. The other illustrations, by extension, would have appeared too close to the social disorder at the ground-level.

The text accompanying Taylor's *View of the White River Cascade* buttresses Jamaica's appeal to the white planter. Diverting the reader's attention towards enchantment and natural order, the descriptions emphasize "a beautiful intermixture of tall and stately trees [rising] gracefully from the margin on each side" and foliage of "the loveliest tints."[78] Long continues by describing the cascade as a composition, "the picture the bason is ornamented with two elegant

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[77] Edward Long, "Long's, 'History of Jamaica;' the Sheets of the Printed Work, with Considerable Additions and Alterations in Manuscript," The British Library Archives and Manuscript Collection, MS 12405, 94.
[78] Edward Long, *History of Jamaica*, 2:95.

trees of the palm kind, which spring like strait columns out of the water, placed by the hand of nature at such even distance from the banks on each side, that art could not have done the work with more attention to propriety and exactness."[79] An inserted poem paying homage to the cascade's awesomeness appears to further amplify a picturesque aesthetic. However, these textual descriptions also become entangled with a sense of disorder. Long's attention to a "wildly agitated" discharge of water and potential for "tumultuous violence" during rainy seasons instigates a closer look towards the disorder in the accompanying image.[80]

The poem's attention to "roaring" water cascading down from a "rude mountain" where it gathers a "triple force" conveys the sense of chaos inherent to the natural world. At the same time, the poem conveys the particular aesthetic of the accompanying print. Contoured lines framing Taylor's picture on a separate page visually recall Gilpin's call to view the world through the guise of a picture. The cascade is presented as an independent or autonomous object clearly outside of the viewer's immediate space. However, attention to rude and forceful elements of nature brings awareness to evidence of the ways in which the scene was mechanically engraved. "Rude" or "forceful" printed lines articulate the deluging water, curving tree trunks, and drooping leaves. The scene struggles to resemble a completely unmediated representation of the natural world. Reading the image through the poem, its chaotic marks illusively coalesce to form the solid body of a tree or even a diminutive human figure. Picturesqueness and promises of bucolic arcadia collapse into disorder upon closer scrutiny.

Although one can imagine Taylor's attempts to mitigate what marred an uninterrupted representation of a visual object, the illustration still formally transforms ornamental verdure into

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[79] Ibid.
[80] Edward Long, *History of Jamaica*, 2:94.

elemental abstractions of organic matter. Printed lines aesthetically transcend a static representation. Marks left from the copper plate divert attention back to the two-dimensional surface of the material page. With a gleanable aesthetic agitation or instability, the copper-plated engraving's unique formal characteristics cultivate a fuller expression of precipitating water or the gentle sways of dense palm leaves.[81] But this compacted hatch work also diverts attention to the surface where printed marks resemble incoherent matter more than a solid object. Under the magnifying glass, the water slamming against the rocks and the more tranquil basin lose their semblance to mimetic representation and become part of a flatter pictorial plane. Focusing too much on the image's particularities leads to an overwhelming optical experience. Evidence of the copper plate technique coil back to the surface, prescribing the depicted location with internal chaos that belies the imprinted image's posited authority. At bottom, the seemingly settled, fixed, or picturesque representation collapses into the formal disorder associated with its creation.

Focusing on the copper plate's unrulier aesthetic effects affords a different vantage point to approach scenes bearing the intent of appealing to the white planter. For Jill Casid, Mazell's *View of Port Royal and Kingston Harbours* plays a crucial role in employing what she calls the "intermixed landscape." Rectangular estates in ordered rows, lawns of transplanted grass, darkly shaded mountains, and meticulously rendered clouds set the stage for Long's later categorization and arrangement of "inhabitants."[82] Evidence of Jamaica's radical transformation from untouched wilderness to plantation estates organically becomes an extension of untouched nature. As Casid points out, the engraving's accompanying text also situates the colonial landscape of Jamaica as an extension of the landscape of rural England. Long emphasizes

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[81] See Christopher Wood's reading of frames and etched lines in Christopher S. Wood, *Albrecht Altdorfer And the Origins of Landscape,* 104.
[82] Jill Casid, *Sowing Empire: Landscape and Colonization,* 17.

"intermixed" ports, hills, forts, and a plain ocean.[83] A cloud reimagined as a curtain further unveils "very beautiful scenery." The ostensibly fixed image of the harbors cast by Mazell's adept chiseling of the copper plate might have been particularly fashionable for those who desired a representation of how planters chiseled human civilization out from Jamaica's untamed wilderness. However, Mazell still relied on dense hatchings and their relationships with the empty page to convey full-bodied objects. Viewers are still left with what might slip back into a two-dimensional surface where pictorial content becomes wrapped up with aesthetic disorder.

Mazell's engraving functioned as a metaphorical representation of an ideal social order. As Casid argues, Long's version of the picturesque intermixed landscape endeavored to maintain a hierarchical system of white sovereignty. Landscape appropriated the language of racial hybridization and subsumed Black labor and revolt into a beautiful gradation. The enslaved persons who performed the labor of transforming nature into the built environment supporting human civilization are absent in both the image and its accompanying text. For Casid, it is uncoincidental that Long's descriptions of Jamaica's landscape is sandwiched between his categorizations of Jamaica's "whites" and "mulattos" in book 2 and of enslaved persons in book 3. Landscape transferred the agencies of those who reconfigured Jamaica's terrains into the natural world.[84] Long's accompanying descriptions of transplanted European vegetables and exotic plants further exemplify an effort to subsume Black labor to a picturesque intermixture.

However, the engraving's accompanying text also diverts readers to what Casid recognizes as the picturesque intermixed landscape's possible failure to hold. Long describes the neighboring parish's "majestic Blue Mountains, rising above one another in gradation, till they

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[83] Edward Long, *History of Jamaica*, 2:126.
[84] See Jill Casid's analysis of the significance of displacing Black labor in Jill Casid, *Sowing Empire: Landscape and Colonization*, 24.

seem to touch the clouds: on each side, lively fields of canes, intermixed with elegant villas and pastures."[85] But a disagreeable climate and contentious bodies belie this "brilliant picture." According to Long, the "distressing" effects of the air caused "the Negroes and horses; they quickly grow sluggish and miserable."[86] He further described, "Those summits have been explored by very few persons; the air at such a height is almost too pure for human respiration."[87] Long abated possible threats posed by the Blue Mountains by referring to "some Negroes [who] died in passing over them, some years ago, before the pacification was made with the rebels in this island."[88] Ultimately, components integral to Long's picture turn back to the Black labor and revolt that landscape subsumed. An awareness of social disorientation is never entirely severed from promises of the planter's prospects.

The leaflet replacing Mazell's engraving divulges this sense of disorder. Of course, the hand-written text appears to augment the harbor as a paradigmatic example of the intermixed picturesque landscape. Palisades protecting the harbor, rock lines creating a natural defense against enemies, and shoal-free water corroborate how the harbor was "fortified by nature and art."[89] However, the harbor's most saliently delightful features are also interspersed with tempestuous conditions that vex social order. First, the text addresses Black servants who rebelled against a white traveler who attempted to traverse to the Blue Mountains. They amplified the traveler's "bleak situation" with hot temperatures and a paucity of food by mixing

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[85] Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica*, vol 2., 124.
[86] Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica*, vol 2., 129.
[87] Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica*, vol 2., 130.
[88] Edward Long, "Long's, 'History of Jamaica;' the Sheets of the Printed Work, with Considerable Additions and Alterations in Manuscript," The British Library Archives and Manuscript Collection, MS 12405, 127.
[89] Edward Long, "Long's, 'History of Jamaica;' the Sheets of the Printed Work, with Considerable Additions and Alterations in Manuscript, MS 12405, 102-103.

the traveler's drinking water with rum. Moreover, the text turns to hurricanes and the 1679 earthquake. Razed houses and completely demolished wharves bring attention to an unsettled ground. Recognizing Kingston's construction atop "brick mould, intermixed with gravel" or soil amalgamated with "sea-sand and ooze," ground may fail to support Jamaica's plantations as what were "not excelled by any town in the world."[90] Landscape might thus give way to a different kind of intermixture in which hurricanes or earthquakes collapse imposed social order.

View of Montego Bay and its accompanying textual description is a paradigmatic example of a slippage into disorientation. Exquisitely capturing Long's text, viewers can appreciate anchored ships in the bay, excellently constructed roads leading to acres of rich soil, and limestone useful for building full neighborhoods.[91] At the same time, this scene emphasizes a forcible transfer of Black enslaved labor to the intermixture. Built architectural components serving as decorative accessories, serpentine pathways leading the eye from foregrounded pastures to the backgrounded bay, and gentle hills further naturalize the claim of ordered arrangement. Positioning the scene as an example of the adept ability to ground a civilization in the colonial periphery, Long delineates "the improved state of Montego Bay; the vast value of its trade; its building, rents, goods and shipping; the opulence which is likely to centre in it."[92] Yet, evidence of disorder is inseparably linked to this vision of Montego Bay as a manifestation of an idyllic human civilization. Indeed, Long immediately proceeds to recognize "the hazard to which all these may become exposed, on any sudden revival of war."[93] He is particularly apprehensive about Montego Bay's potential to become a "capital neglect of government." Long

[90] Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 2:103.
[91] Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 2:212-214.
[92] Edward Long, *History of Jamaica*, 2:215.
[93] Ibid.

acknowledges surrounding Black communities and inconveniently placed militaristic architecture, including a decayed fort that "scarcely deserves to be rebuilt, as it does not, from its situation, appear to have been ever capable of guarding the entrance." As much as Black labor and revolt were transferred to the intermixed landscape, it left behind traces of disorder.

This print was ultimately excised from Long's copy of his illustrated work. It strained to detach or dispel evidence of decay, propensity for war, and blurrier boundaries between white and Black inhabits from claims of picturesque splendor. Of course, the picture itself does not entirely adhere to the conventions of picturesqueness. The tree in the center bifurcates the composition into two equal halves. But it also impedes an unobstructed view of the cultivated pastors and distanced bay. Moreover, another tree on the left belies symmetry. It instigates a look toward what is not represented but nonetheless hovering in the edges, namely the textual evidence of Montego Bay's possible plunge into disorder and atrophy. Evidence of disorder can no longer be easily contained to the text just outside of the printed image.

In Long's copy of *The History of Jamaica*, disorder from the text consumes the entire scene. A leaflet analyzing the relationship between inclement weather and social disorder replaces *View of Montego Bay*. Although it recognizes Montego Bay's "wonderful fertility" and possible health benefits, the newly inserted descriptions also address the catastrophic loss of life during a gale storm.[94] Blown debris killed a family on a boat only a few yards offshore. Next to a corroborating newspaper clipping, Long turns to a white family who died during a gale storm. He also elaborates on a handsome Black figure who dove beneath tumultuous sea waves to protect a white crowd on shore from an unanchored vessel. In the maelstrom, the seemingly

[94] Edward Long, "Long's, 'History of Jamaica;' the Sheets of the Printed Work, with Considerable Additions and Alterations in Manuscript, MS 12405, 212-213.

uncontestable social order between Black and white bodies becomes undone and jumbled up. Black agency transferred to the picturesque landscape becomes undone. The storm's different ways of seeing bodies in space reintroduced what colonial landscape pushed aside. Indeed, an accompanying annotation considers "wild" Maroons who set fires to estates immediately outside of Montego Bay.[95] From the white planter's viewpoint, the tempestuous agitation of social order and annihilation of white figures might be taken as a metaphor for the Haitian Revolution and Jamaica's future after the end of the enslavement.

Long was particularly concerned about social disorder consuming Jamaica. Trevor Burnard identifies a passage in which Long takes Jamaica's Bath Spring as a microcosm for the island's flagging prospects.[96] Whereas Cape Nicola on Saint-Domingue continued to grow, Bath Spa became a wizened relic of a bygone era.[97] Fashionable lodgings with active card tables and lively music became a ghost town. Long described, "Most of the houses that were built have, from neglect and want of inhabitants, gone into decay; the half finished frames of some, which were just beginning to read their heads, have mouldered into dust."[98] Tattered cloth in an abandoned billiard room and wild animals roaming around a desolate terrain further corroborates Bath Spring's failure to uphold the vision of intermixed picturesque landscape. At base, Long uses the contrast between Bath Springs and Cape Nicola to inspire a reinvigoration of Jamaica by emulating their French counterparts.[99] Bath Springs might thus serve to inspire the readers to follow the example of Saint-Domingue. Considering *A View of the Bath Spring* was removed

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[95] Edward Long, "Long's, 'History of Jamaica;' the Sheets of the Printed Work, with Considerable Additions and Alterations in Manuscript, MS 12405, 218.
[96] Trevor Burnard, *Jamaica in the Age of Revolution*, 43-44.
[97] Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 2:165.
[98] Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 2:166.
[99] Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 3:944.

from Long's copy of his illustrated work, Bath Springs may suggest that Jamaica's revitalization was no longer possible.

For Burnard, Long believed "what happened at Bath, Jamaica would not have happened in the more enlightened realm of Saint-Domingue."[100] The image certainly appears to corroborate this by depicting figures who experienced Bath Spa's rejuvenating benefits. However, the image and the passages Burnard uses to buttress his claims were removed from Long's copy of his work. A drawn line also strikes the following comparison between the English and French colonies and critique of Britain's neglect of Jamaica.

> In the English colonies, where no systematic order prevails, where almost every thing, in respect to their policy, their taxation, the administration of government and justice, their population, and their trade, is wrong, or left to chance; for whom the mother state contrives no plans, executes no regulations, except to draw a present tribute form them we do not observe the like flourishing progression: and they would very soon decline into their original wilderness, if it were not for that preserving spirit of industry, so peculiar to the English, and which is the result of their liberty. I should not have drawn comparison between our colony government and that of the French, but with a design to show the propriety of this conclusion; 'if, under all the disadvantages of arbitrary rule, the French by the pure force of a found policy, have conducted their plantation so successfully; what degree of vigor and opulence might not our English colonies arrive at, by united the fittest maxims of that policy to our characteristic genius for industry, supported by the spirit of national freedom.[101]

Perhaps, this extended footnote was slashed because Saint-Domingue could no longer be held as a paragon of ordered civility as *The History of Jamaica* was revisited. The imperial dream of social order safeguarded by the plantation went up in the smoke of Cap Français. With uncontainable revolt in Saint-Domingue, the French model of colonial governance could no longer be apprehended as a way to restore Bath Spring. These revisions do not afford an

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[100] Trevor Burnard, *Jamaica in the Age of Revolution*, 44.
[101] Edward Long, "Long's, 'History of Jamaica;' the Sheets of the Printed Work, with Considerable Additions and Alterations in Manuscript, MS 12404, 96-97.

alternative suggestion about how to return to Bath's promises of luxuriant opulence. Instead, readers are left with the sense of disorder spurred by cross-outs and torn pages.

Combining landscape's horizontality with the copper-plated technique was ultimately not enough to transform *A View of the Bath Spring* into an idiomatic image that kept disorder at bay. Bourgeoning trees as unmanageable bursts of unpruned shrubbery threaten to overpower and consume the entire scene. Blurring the lines between organic form and mimetic representation, tree branches dissolve into plume-like swaths of drooping leaves or bundles of foliage. Three figures on the left are circumscribed by monolithic boulders. Three figures on the right, one of whom resembles a Black servant, are surrounded by a well-articulated trunk and billowing foliage. Further corroborated by trees wafting beyond the engraving's parameters, the illustration becomes a warning about what a failure to manage the intermixed landscape might yield. The once lavish Bath Spring slips back into an original state of untamed wilderness before European colonization at the same time as the engraving's imprinted marks collapse back into a state of disorganized matter.

The print's excision brought Bath Spring closer to an undergirding sense of disorder that became more palpable when Long returned to *The History of Jamaica*. According to the leaflet replacing the picture, Bath Spring became a site of frequent drownings.[102] Even more, an added annotation addresses a traveler whose mule might stumble or fall on slippery stones when venturing out to the medicinal waters, in which case "you either break your bones or dash out your brains." Bath Spring leaves viewers of Long's copy of *The History of Jamaica* with an illustration of a body disaggregated by a tumultuous climate instead of a sovereign colonial

[102] Edward Long, "Long's, 'History of Jamaica;' the Sheets of the Printed Work, with Considerable Additions and Alterations in Manuscript, MS 12405, 160.

subject who is separated from an object world. The vision of fragmented human bodies intermixing into rocky mountains and springs returns to the disorder integral to the copper plate needed to cast the scene.

Like the engraver who relied on the copper plate to make a picture, Long relied on landscape to make Jamaica into an apprehensible object for the white planter. Long described, "France, like a skillful gardener, has been careful in the choice of plants, and treated her colonies as a favourite nursery, in which none should be fixed that were not vigorous, healthy, with all the promising appearances of thriving luxuriantly, and producing good fruit, Britain."[103] This is in contrast to Britain's treatment of "her plantations as a distant spot, upon which she may most conveniently discharge all her nuisances, weeds, and filth, leaving it intirely to chance, whether any valuable production shall ever spring up from it."[104] Landscape provided Long with a less-troubling language to describe the dilapidated state of Jamaica's plantations and Britain's failure to regulate social order. Long used landscape to go even further, calling to "mix a little of the French policy in our system of colony government."[105] From the vantage point of Long's return to his text during the early 1790s, bringing French policy to Jamaica would have appeared to amplify Bath Spring's sense of overwhelming engulfment.

Long seemed aware of how landscape aesthetically functioned as a double-edged sword. On the one side, landscape helped bolster Jamaica's appeal to white planters. On the other side, landscape created a portal into a less articulable or representable sense of disorder. Landscape could represent Jamaica as a suitable place for colonials' establishment of a human civilization just as much as it could represent Jamaica as a place of annihilation. As this chapter has shown,

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[103] Edward Long, *History of Jamaica*, 1: 433-434.
[104] Edward Long, *History of Jamaica*, 1:434.
[105] Ibid.

landscape became too wrapped up with disorder to maintain the human subject's separation from an object world. Viewing Jamaica through the guise of a landscape helped transformed the island into a site of overwhelming engulfment and the breakdown of the sovereign agency so crucial for characterizing the human as a distinguished figure. Textual-visual representations straining to depict Jamaica as picturesque property lays the groundwork to study John Gabriel Stedman's *Narrative, of a five years' expedition against the revolted Negroes of Surinam* in the next chapter. More than affirming a struggle to see the Atlantic world through the guise of a seemingly settled landscape, *Narrative* demonstrates how landscape's formal agitation is evidence of the Black forces who actively resisted European presence.

CHAPTER TWO: BLACK ECOLOGIES OF REVOLT

INTRODUCTION

John Gabriel Stedman's *Narrative, of a five years' expedition against the revolted Negroes of Surinam in Guiana on the wild cost of South America* (1796) follows the author's experiences as an officer in the Scots Brigade. On loan to the Dutch Republic from King George III, the Scots Brigade was tasked with thwarting runaway slaves and Maroons in Suriname.[1] They ultimately failed to achieve their goals and departed South America with an understanding of the world that was less amenable to European understandings of human civilization. Of course, the Scots Brigade's formal dissolution in 1782 was not the end of British presence in Suriname. British forces from Barbados arrived in Essequibo and Demerara as *Narrative* was published in 1796.[2] William V of Orange (1748-1806), the last stadtholder of the Dutch Republic, requested help from Britain when the French revolutionary army invaded the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands in 1795. Recognizing *Narrative*'s accompanying engravings were made during the 1790s, I contend landscape in these pictures reveals a disorder that Stedman and his publisher sought to disguise. Landscape helped readers position the Scots Brigade's failures as part of a larger story about a crumbling human civilization in the Atlantic World.

Narrative's landscape imagery often looks quite dissimilar to the pictures accompanying *The History of Jamaica*. Rather than an idealized view of the earth, landscape appears in

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[1] James Ferguson, *Papers Illustrating the History of the Scots Brigade in the Service of the United Netherlands, 1572-1782*. Vol. III, (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, 1899), 471-473.
[2] For a historical analysis of colonial presence in South America, see Bram Hoonhout, *Borderless Empire: Dutch Guiana in the Atlantic World (1750-1800)*, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2020) and Pieter Emmer, "The Dutch in the Atlantic Economy, 1580-1880: An Introduction." In *The Dutch in the Atlantic Economy, 1580-1880*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 1–10.

diagrams of military encampments and taxonomies of bodies in space. Backgrounded mountains and palm trees or verdant terrains in the foreground appear as part of an effort to clarify a narrative about European soldiers' transformation of chaos into order. However, landscape often ends up distorting Stedman's preferred narrative. Landscape makes the very places and taxonomic specimens intended to corroborate Stedman's authority as both an author and soldier into testaments of colonial loss and failure. This creates a vantage point where the Black forces who contested the Scots Brigade's presence and reminded readers of the revolts in Saint-Domingue can be gleaned.

Stedman's illustrated book cannot be understood as a first-hand account detailing everyday plantation discourse. Stedman's publisher, Joseph Johnson, and editor, William Thompson, made substantial changes to the original manuscript. For scholars Richard and Sally Price, these revisions amplify the author's ambitions to circumvent more radical content and demonstrate Johnson's desire to moderate the illustrated book.[3] Stedman transformed his diaries into a book manuscript by softening descriptions of disease, bloodshed, and inclement weather. Moreover, Johnson and Thompson removed Stedman's vehement criticism of Thomas Clarkson, linkage of universal emancipation to the mass starvation of Black populations, and description of a figure who played a key role in the Berbice Rebellion (1763-1764).[4] Tempering Stedman's viewpoints increased *Narrative's* appeal to Britons as the Haitian Revolution prompted them to turn away from anti-slavery movements. Britain had already responded to social disorder across the Atlantic World by restricting the publication of books deemed contentious towards the

[3] Richard Price & Sally Price, "Introduction" in *Stedman's Surinam: Life in an Eighteenth-Century Slave Society*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1992), xi-lxxv.
[4] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative, of a Five Years' Expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam,* 1790, 184-190, 527.

constitution and monarchy.[5]

However, landscape in *Narrative*'s accompanying engravings holds on to the disorder that Stedman, Johnson, and Thompson sought to dispel. Published just two years before British forces surrendered on Saint-Domingue in 1798, *Narrative* was read after Britain's definitive failure. Stedman's audiences were certainly aware of the Black Revolutionaries' successes. Inigo Barlow, whose engravings appear in *Narrative*, also made the pictures for the first full account of the Haitian Revolution in the English language. I will examine these illustrations in the next chapter. Readers may have been particularly cognizant of the burning flames or tumultuous mountains in his pictures as Saint-Domingue became Haiti. Yet, these traces of disorder that landscape failed to disguise were also more readily discernable because the illustrations were made before Johnson and Thompson completed revising Stedman's original manuscript. I show how diagrams of specific places and taxonomies of animals and Black bodies combined with landscape to create unstable rhetorical mixtures that challenged Stedman's authorial position.[6]

Engraved as Britain seemed poised to reclaim Suriname and seize Saint-Domingue, *Narrative's* frontispiece appears to diagram the relationship between humanness and colonial power [*Figure 21*]. A white figure wearing the King of Britain's colors stands over a prostrate Black figure in an act of dominion. With an elbow and verdant plane supporting a bayonet, bourgeoning palm trees naturalize the white figure's superior position. Vegetal surroundings

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[5] For an analysis of Britain's attempts to curtail the publication of radical books in the wake of the Haitian Revolution, see John Barrell, *Imagining the King's Death: Figurative Treason, Fantasies of Regicide*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[6] See Elizabeth Bohls, *Slavery and the Politics of Place: The Colonial Caribbean, 1772-1833*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 62.

corroborate the white figure's sovereign authority. The cleared foreground further indicates the white figure's transformation of untamed wilderness into a terrain suitable for human civilization. However, the landscape grounding of white dominion literally goes up in smoke. It recedes into a plume of smoke with burning buildings. Fire threatens to cast the entire scene ablaze. Surrounding vegetation naturally fences the white figure as much as it creates fuel for the burning fire. Tying fire to the Black body, the white man gestures toward both the prostrated Black figure and the encroaching flames. This affinity ultimately invites a way of reading *Narrative* from the vantage point of imperial loss.

The address of the engraving's caption appears to point to the relationship between the two principal figures rather than the smoke or flame. The direct address of the caption reads: "Twas Yours to fall—but Mine to feel the wound." Describing the complex relationship between the figures and the relation of the scene to the viewer in terms of a yours versus mine, the language of feeling seems to elide the ground and the threat of flame in favor of the figures. Marcus Wood takes the white gentleman as the author himself. For him, the caption redirects our sympathies toward Stedman as the real victim instead of the slain Black subject.[7] Stedman deserves the reader's sympathy in his struggle to remain unmoved by the Black figure's physical pain. Yet, power may not be so easily vested in a reciprocal exchange between Stedman and the Black figure. Because the Black figure and Stedman are constituted by what is done to them, "Yours to fall" may direct back to the ground where the Black figure fell. The agent of wounding in "Mine to feel the wound" might also be taken as the burning flame in the background. Thus, the caption never forecloses and may even invite a reading in which power is entwined in a

[7] Marcus Wood, *Slavery, Empathy, and Pornography*, (London: Oxford University Press, 2002), 98.

greater ensemble of making fall and feeling wound.

Read historically, the burning flames behind Stedman may capture one of the numerous times Black forces fended off colonials through fire.[8] It might even recall the 1793 burning of Cap-Français. But Suriname had long plagued British Empire. Indeed, the Dutch Republic seized Suriname from British Barbadians in 1667. British forces arrived to Dutch South America in the 1790s when France invaded the Dutch Republic. The Netherlands officially ceded Suriname to Britain in 1814. Weapons strapped to or held by both men, Stedman's hardly civil position over the Black figure, and the burning wick attached to the author's hat are subtle reminders of these longer histories of deeply imbricated social disorder. At base, burning flames threatening to overwhelm the entire scene challenges colonial landscape's valences of stability and incontestability.

Although I start with the frontispiece, this plate is hardly exceptional. Landscape holds on to and even accentuates what Stedman and his publisher sought to dispel, dissolve, or consolidate to perpetuate claims of colonial management. Landscape throughout the engravings maintains an aesthetic agitation. On its own, landscape conveys a mastering sense of knowing or what Mary Louise Pratt analyzes as a "monarch-of-all-I-survey."[9] When coupled with settlements, animals, or figures, landscape rendered humanness with a greater sense of precarity. Seemingly less troubling genres of disinterested scientific diagrams or visual taxonomies amplified landscape's ability to belie senses of ownership, entitlement, and familiarity propelling the colonial enterprise.

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[8] Some examples include: John Stedman, *Narrative, of a Five Years' Expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the Wild Coast of South America, from the Year 1772, to 1777*, (London: J. Johnson, 1796), 1: 1, 51, 54, and 76.
[9] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 95.

Beyond an enumeration of incidental visual elements, this chapter demonstrates a different way of reading *Narrative*. Its engravings indirectly register elements of a visual story about the collapse of a human civilization in the Americas. First, I take my cue from Bartolozzi's frontispiece to look towards the integration of fiery tumult in Stedman's distanced and detached views of towns and military encampments. Borrowing key features of the English landscape garden to dissolve contentious elements into a more wholesome environment conversely reveals the limits of human sovereignty. Next, I explore how landscape and animal taxonomies collide in ways that impede the specimen's conformation into classificatory modes of knowledge production. Neatly plowed terrains, trimmed trees, and carefully arranged rows of buildings do not signal the domestication of foreign animals. Instead, exotic animal specimens transform colonial settlements into stranger places. I lastly reconsider William Blake's well-known engravings of the violence white settlers inflicted upon enslaved persons. Enfleshed Black bodies challenge the setup in which Black subjects depend on the sympathy of white settlers for liberty. Landscape overdetermines Black flesh in these engravings, indexing how diasporic Africans unsettled human civilization.

THE LANDSCAPE GARDEN IN FLAMES

Narrative opens with a description of a taxonomically arranged garden. Stedman explains, "I have endeavored to arrange matters in some degree like a large garden, where one meets with the sweet smelling flower and the thorn, the gold-bespangled fly and loathsome reptile."[10] Like the garden, Stedman's two volumes are products of his careful arrangement of elements into a unified whole. The ostensibly hideous reptile and the pain-inducing thorn seem

[10] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative,* 1796, 1:iii.

less irksome alongside aromatic flowers and a colorful fly. At the same time, the garden positions Stedman as the commanding agent over the most troubling bodies. The "whole so variegated" reworks what disturbs or unsettles into testaments of Stedman's adept managerial skills. However, using the garden or book to define the author as a commanding or exceptional figure also creates a problem. The landscape garden as a metaphorical representation of human civilization and as evidence of human dominion over the earth is an inherently fragile construction. The garden might collapse and, in turn, transform the carefully arranged landscape into what engulfs. This becomes a real possibility when one must "sort the flowers from the weeds—divide the gold skillfully from the dross."[11] Failing to organize an assemblage of verdant matter enables it to overwhelm the gardener.

Instead of experiencing Suriname as an ordered landscape garden, the Scots Brigade experienced it as where their bodies became enmeshed with muddied swamps, poisonous plants, bloodied corpses, and smoke. The preface makes no attempt to downplay or ignore the soldiers' experiences with Suriname as a colony "reeking and dyed with the blood of African negroes."[12] The text supposedly softens the severity of this gruesome representation of Dutch South America by turning to other nations whose economies were supported by enslavement and to the "diabolical barbarity" of Jewish persons.[13] However, these turns do not mitigate the shock of violence as much as create a more precarious understanding of humanness. Distinguishing white Europeans as exemplary figures made humanness Stedman's Antisemitism and his racism towards diasporic Africans defined humanness based on that often collapsed on the very ground

[11] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative,* 1796, 1:v.
[12] Ibid.
[13] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative,* 1796, 1, v.

appearing to support them.[14] Failing to separate diasporic Africans, indigenous Americans, and Jewish persons from Europeans could imbricate the colonial traveler in a messier amalgam of jumbled up bodies. Ultimately, the landscape garden's promise of discipline was not enough to assuage an anxiety about the traveler's potential to become imbricated in such disorder.

Johnson's and Thompson's extensive modifications of Stedman's textual-visual illustration of the garden suggest that they were concerned about its ability to hold distinctions between contentious objects. Consider how the garden appeared in Stedman's original 1790 manuscript.

> Which may also be call'd an ample field or garden wherein carefully sorting the woods many very beautiful flowers may be call'd in wandering along—may even a mine in which by those who know how to separate the dress from the mettal many valuable drops of Gold & even some inestimable Gems may be Discover'd[15]

Johnson and Thompson kept the flowers. But they are less aromatic. They also replaced woods, metal, gold, and gems with a thorn, fly, and reptile. More significantly, the garden's agency in having performatively "call'd" to the subject is redirected to the author. Replacing the image of wandering with a description of the author's role as a gardener consolidates and invests sovereign power in Stedman. The landscape garden helps transform Stedman into an example of the ideal human figure. Yet, the earth's ability to dwarf human agency is never foreclosed. Buried in *Narrative* is the original suggestion that agency is manifested in the environment rather than the white European observer as the human subject.

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[14] For more on the relationship between AntiSemitism and racism in the Atlantic World see, Stanley Mirvis, *The Jews of Eighteenth-Century Jamaica: A Testamentary History of a Diaspora in Transition,* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2020) and Aviva Ben-Ur, *Jewish Autonomy in a Slave Society : Suriname in the Atlantic World, 1651-1825*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020).

[15] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative, of a Five Years' Expedition,* 1790, viiii.

Beyond an anxiety about the landscape garden's undergirding instability, Stedman and his publisher also maintained apprehensions about positioning *Narrative*'s readers. After acknowledging a few unavoidable errors, the published texts concludes by exclaiming, "these Volumes are not entirely unworthy of the attention of a British Public."[16] Stedman's unedited manuscript similarly contains an extended elaboration on his intent to address Britons.

> To begin then—I am going to be told that my Narrative besides it not being interesting to Great Britain has neither stile, orthography, order, or connection—Patched up with superfluous quotations—Descriptions of animals without so much as proper names—Trifles, Cruelties—Bombasted to all which Accusations I partly plead Guilty—I say partly but with great Sincerity—Next that some of my Paintings are rather unfinsh'd—That my plants fully prove I am nothing of a botanist—And that the History of Joanna deserves no place at all in this Narrative.[17]

Stedman recognizes he is neither an artist nor a natural scientist. Further, he is aware of how his coarser writing style, replete with dashes and strange capitalizations, may exacerbate *Narrative*'s lack of appeal. But Britons might be uniquely equipped to handle the dizzying arrangement of taxonomic descriptions of animals and undesired syntax. With the English landscape garden as a key source of inspiration, Britons can transform vertiginous chaos into "interesting" or "informative" descriptions. This would also enable British readers to understand themselves as the sovereign human subjects who were best suited to acquire the Dutch Republic's colonial outposts in South America.

Stedman aimed to appeal to a British audience. Remarking "the Colony of Suriname not appearing as yet to have been very much explored by any British Subject," Stedman defines the place he describes as worthy of "His present majesty's Reign—being replete with new Discoveries."[18] Suriname appears closer to an untouched terrain requiring exploration, taming,

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[16] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative,* 1796, 1:v.
[17] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative, of a Five Years' Expedition*, 1790, vi.
[18] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative, of a Five Years' Expedition,* 1790, vi.

and cultivation than to a place British planters from Barbados had resided in until its seizure by the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century. By appreciating Suriname as a newly discovered "garden," British readers could imagine themselves as explorers. They could also forget the loss of the American colonies, the struggle to restore order in Jamaica in the aftermath of the Second Maroon War, and the mounting deaths in the attempt to conquer Saint-Domingue.[19] Suriname can kindle British Empire's success into the future despite mounting losses. Indeed, contemporaneous newspapers reporting on Britain's struggle to acquire Saint-Domingue often turned to Paramaribo or Suriname as a bourgeoning colony replete with luxurious estates ready to accommodate British settlers. [20] One directly drew on Stedman's *Narrative* to corroborate Suriname as an especially suitable ground for Britons.[21] However, another contemporaneous newspaper offered a contrasting view by describing Suriname as a "pitiful situation."[22] Suriname was viewed by Londoners as the site of a reinvigorated empire and as the site of human civilization's demise.

Stedman tasked the landscape garden with downplaying the disorder he experienced in Suriname. Moreover, gardening helped him separate himself from an unrulier object world. But using the landscape garden to approach Suriname was especially arduous. Disorder was so deeply imbricated in Stedman's diaries that it was difficult to remove from his descriptions.

> the following sheets being compiled in a small green almanack that I carried in my pocket during the Expedition through Danger, Disease, Famine, Smoke, & Fire—to which long & constant Hardships having so much defaced this above little Green book that its most Recent Contents, became to all but myself unintelligible.[23]

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[19] David Geggus, "British Opinion and the Emergence of Haiti, 1791-1805." In *Slavery and British Society, 1776-1846*, (New York: Macmillan Press LTD, 1982), 123–49.
[20] Missionary Magazine. December 7, 1798.
[21] British Critic, November 1, 1796 and Monthly Review. May 1, 1797
[22] Missionary Magazine. November 20, 1797.
[23] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative, of a Five Years' Expedition*, 1790, vii.

With traces of disorientation materially defacing his journal, descriptions of Suriname as an ordered landscape garden cannot be easily divorced from ground-level turmoil. Viewing Suriname as a landscape garden was not enough to completely dissolve evidence of the Scots Brigade's failures to reassert order. As I will show, it was difficult to assimilate or dispel these deeply imbricated remnants of disorder through fastidious editorial processes. Landscape in the accompanying engravings held on to evidence of Suriname as a more vexing environment. In short, landscape divulges the limits of gardening by emphasizing what could not be edited out.

This becomes a central problem in the exquisite and ostensibly less troubling distant view of Paramaribo's lively shipping route from across the Suriname River [*Figure 22*]. Expanding across multiple pages, the engraving reconstructs Stedman's position as a new arrival to the town. Unfolding prospects of newfound splendor and a visual repertoire of militaristic diagramming combine to elicit a sense of human dominion. The scene highlights what Stedman takes as Paramaribo's defining aesthetic feature—an oblong square replete with verdure and a gravel walkway "not inferior to the finest garden walks in England."[24] Diverting attention to the English garden, this disinterested diagram positions Paramaribo as Britain's natural appendage. Legible distinctions between the sky, land, water and buildings that meld into an arranged setting as if they had always been to naturalize a sense of consolidated sovereignty. The Suriname River aesthetically functions as a fence that safeguards the town and reinforces the vantage point of a "monarch-of-all-I-survey." At the same time, mundane gray roofs and oblong structures underscore Paramaribo's closer semblance to a town in Europe free from threats of disorder. Such settled banality or fixity amplifies the English garden's claims of quaintness,

[24] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 1:286.

domestication, and tranquility. In combining imperial power with characteristics of an idyllic human civilization, landscape aesthetically performs the important labor of conveying Paramaribo's amenability to the propagation of human civilization.

But a sense of fragility is interwoven into this representation. It loses sight of the town's distinguishing features. By emphasizing natural enclosure and the harmonious integration of built objects into a unified whole, the picture fails to assign anticipation of a safeguarded paradise in the tropics to the particular place it claims to map. Absent are the blooming orange, shaddock, tamarind, and lemon trees with heavy branches of fragrant fruit Stedman described. No city hall, mayoral manor, Lutheran Church, and synagogue appearing in the text can be discerned.[25] Rather, spectators are presented with numerous multi-storied buildings lacking particular features on a thin plane of verdure. The engraving's distanced and detached viewpoint also fails to afford an opportunity to see the elaborate interiors of the buildings Stedman presents to his readers. Awnings and gauze pavilions mitigating the detrimental effect of the Surinamese climate as well as fine furnishings consisting of mahogany and Brazilian cannot be appreciated. By capturing a detached and distanced viewpoint, the picture presents a banal diagram of plainly colored buildings that could seemingly resemble a multitude of places or no place at all. It resembles a colonial dream rather than an actual tangible location. Without the grounding of a particular terrain, imperial power might collapse and, in turn, transform the image of an ideal human civilization into the planter's nightmare.

This becomes a real possibility with the view of Paramaribo. On the right side, Fort Zelandia, known as Fort Willoughby, until the Dutch Republic officially seized the territory from Barbadians in 1667, appears with a flag. Four Dutch flags in the distant background further

[25] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 1:288.

confirm Paramaribo's position in the Dutch Republic. However, the red ensign flag indicating British mercantilism waves from another frigate. This particular flag was flown by ships belonging to the Thirteen North American Colonies before the American Revolution, underscoring another instance of where imperial power failed to hold. It also formed the basis for the current flags of British overseas territories such as Bermuda, the Cayman Islands, and Turks and Caicos. Moreover, distressing plumes of smoke waft away from the most predominant Dutch vessel and move closer to shore. The fort appears unable to safeguard Paramaribo, just as it had with Willoughby's settlement in the previous century. Further buttressed by unsupervised enslaved workers in the immediate foreground, the picture fails to completely dispel or dissolve agitating menaces. Viewing Paramaribo through the guise of a landscape garden was not enough to position the town as a natural extension of British Empire.

English gardening was closely related to Britain's expansions in the New World. For Horace Walpole (1717-1797), the English garden helped transform terrains into zones suitable for human occupation by improving nature's innate beauties.[26] Borders ought to become smoother, streams more serpentine, banks tamer, and trees with extending branches sprinkled around. As Jill Casid's reading of Walpole's praise of William Kent highlights, exotic or foreign species especially enhance the garden's overall aesthetic.[27] Capability Brown went either further than Walpole or Kent. A Brownian landscape consisted of the vast clearing of local terrain to create space for introducing new plantings. Although his designs became known in Germany and the Dutch Republic for blurring the distinctions between native and exotic plants, Brown was

[26] Horace Walpole, ed. John Dixon Hunt, *The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening*, (New York: Ursus Press, 1995), 45.
[27] Jill Casid, *Sowing Empire: Landscape and Colonization*, (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 51.

known in England for working with military men such as Admiral George Anson. Admiral Anson became the first Lord of Admiralty during the Seven Years' War, sailed around Cape Horn, and coordinated with a series of British attacks on French colonial possessions with William Pitt.[28] The Brownian landscape may have been fashionably desirable for those who sought property in Britain's plantation zones or Surinamese landowners whose properties were ransacked by anti-colonial forces.[29] Yet, it may have also been fashionable for those who wanted to claim Suriname's amenability to human civilization while facing grim prospects in Saint-Domingue.

The artist may have drawn on the Brownian landscape to elicit a sense of civility and sovereign control amidst social disorder. Engraved in 1794, it was made just one year before the French revolutionary army invaded the Dutch Republic, established the Batavian Republic, and overthrew William V of Orange in 1795. Disgruntled planters, financial turmoil, and divisions between pro-French and pro-British factions also plagued the Dutch colonies. Thus, planters in Suriname welcomed Britain's intervention at the request of William V of Orange. English possession afforded stability when the collapse of the Dutch Republic appeared imminent. However, Brown's transnational influence and planters' self-interestedness also indicates that many saw British imperialism as a means of safeguarding the dream of a human civilization across the Atlantic Ocean anchored in enslaved labor. France's abolishment of enslavement

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[28] For more on Capability Brown, see: Michael Rohde, "The English Garden in Germany: Some Late Eighteenth-Century Concepts of the Landscape Garden." In *Capability Brown, Royal Gardner: The Business of Place-Making in Northern Europe*, (Sheffield & York: White Rose University Press, 2020) 151–64 and Jan Woudstra and Willem Zieleman, "Lancelot Brown and the Notion of the Landscape Garden in the Netherlands: Illustrated with Het Loo Palace" In *Capability Brown, Royal Gardner: The Business of Place-Making in Northern Europe*, (Sheffield & York: White Rose University Press, 2020), 165-180.

[29] For an analysis of how Brown's designs played crucial roles in imperial projects, see Jill Casid, *Sowing Empire*, 52-53.

amplified anxiety in Dutch South America. Taking poor French governance as the root cause for the insurrection on Saint-Domingue, Dutch planters assumed even stauncher anti-French attitudes. Victor Hugues, the Governor of Guadeloupe, who as a former colonist on Saint-Domingue knew all too well how disruptive revolt could be, had already encouraged revolts throughout the British Atlantic world to prepare for France's invasion of the Dutch Republic.[30] Rumors of Hugues's impending arrival in South America, French invasion and slave revolt cemented further consolidated support for King George III across Dutch South America.[31]

Stedman articulated concerns about a possible French invasion on British soil in his diary a few months before the view of Paramaribo was printed.[32] Moreover, he attributed British possession of Berbice to thwarted insurrections on Jamaica and British soldiers who were killed on Santo Domingo to France's failure to contain insurrection.[33] Stedman also celebrated Prussian General Möllendorf's beating of a Frenchman who guillotined twenty-nine people and the British seizure of French ships in the month before "the bloody Robespierre" and his "cabal" were brought to an end.[34] Viewing Paramaribo as an English garden walk downplayed Stedman's celebration of incivility. But recognizing the smoking ships and Black laborers, the picture never completely eradicates all threats of disorder. Stedman's transformation of his diaries into a manuscript and his publisher's transformation of the manuscript into a published illustrated text failed to dispel the tumult lodged in textual-visual representations of landscape.

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[30] Edward L. Cox, "The British Caribbean in the Age of Revolution," in Empire and Nation: The American Revolution in the Atlantic world, ed. Eliga H. Gould and Peter S. Onuf (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 276–279.
[31] Bram Hoonhout, *Borderless Empire*, 71.
[32] John Stedman, Diary, December 1793.
[33] John Stedman, Diary, December 1793.
[34] John Stedman, Diary, June & July, 1794.

The landscape garden did not dissolve potential menaces as much as mediate the viewer's confrontation with them.

For art historian Douglas Fordham, the engraver's employment of aquatint enabled bourgeois readers to approach the view of Paramaribo as if they were explorers.[35] Color allowed perceivers to appreciate individual components without fear of becoming overwhelmed. Vibrant hues positioned readers as sovereign gardeners, helping them separate gold from dross. However, the view of Paramaribo was not always printed in color [*Figure 23*]. Clouds resembling plumes of smoke and dark gradients inscribe a somber mood into a scene otherwise appearing to evoke the grandeur of Paramaribo's flourishing port. Further, readers of Joseph Johnson's 1813 edition of *Narrative* experienced a different employment of color [*Figure 24*]. Waves are bluer and roofs are more colorful. Changes between different copies of the same picture crucially undermine claims of incontestability and unchangeability. While color enriched the meanings of prints by making faraway places appear richer and more stunning, it also destabilized the places these images claimed to map even further. Subtle differences and variations wittingly or unwittingly point towards the limits of prints' abilities to invite perceivers to approach Suriname as sovereign travelers themselves.

Color plays a central role in mitigating the sense of engulfment. From the diagram of Wanna Creek in the first volume to views of L'Esperance or Hope on the Commewine in the second volume, vibrant hues corroborate the bucolic splendor of the military encampments [*Figures 25* and *26*]. Color amplifies a sense of an idyllic human civilization. Blue facades and roofs distinguish the buildings at Wanna Creek from the green ground or canopying trees.

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[35] Douglas Fordham, *Aquatint Worlds: Travel, Print, and Empire, 1770–1820*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), 10-11.

Likewise, red facades and beige roofs distinguish abodes from adjacent trees or surrounding woods at Hope. Color distinguishes human components from unrulier verdure without compromising a harmonious relationship between civilization and nature. However, Wanna Creek's structures and respective inhabitants are entirely engulfed by an obscure conglomeration of unrulier verdure. The adjacent tree and immense sense of scale, as evoked by the figures in the boat, further attest to the human figures' diminutive sizes and sense of powerlessness.

Landscape in *Narrative's* accompanying engravings strained to suppress the the visual engulfment articulating the Scots Brigade's overwhelming experiences at Wanna Creek. While describing Colonel Fourgeoud's and Major Rughcop's three distinct camps along the creek's mouth, Stedman also explains, "our situation at the Wanna Creek, which, however beautiful on paper, was a dreadful post to many unfortunate sufferers."[36] The entire camp contracted a particularly bloody case of distemper and Stedman experienced a swollen foot requiring possible amputation. "Wretched negroes" whose "abdomens are shrunk with hunger" further underscore the woods as a place that elicited repulsion and challenged Scots Brigade's attempts to establish shelter.

Wanna Creek might actually be preferable to Magdenberg and Cosaweenica [*Figures 27* and *28*]. Despite buildings grounded by a cleared mountaintop or a settlement situated across from a quant pasture with grazing animals, these illustrations evidence Europeans' struggles to curtail revolt. Stedman passes "plantations having been all laid in ashes by the rebels in 1757" while marching from Hope to Magdenberg and Cosaweenica.[37] Magdenberg. As Stedman explains, "was formerly an estate, but has now not a vestige of cultivation left."[38] Stedman

[36] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 1:271.
[37] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 1:270.
[38] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 2:6.

cannot get over the ashes of the estates that once stood as expressions of human civilization. Further buttressed by the backgrounded forest where fugitive slaves were known to hide and ignite fires, seemingly tranquil settlements are actually places of immanent disorder. Ostensibly settled terrains bearing closer semblance to English garden walks cannot be divorced from plantations razed by fire. Like the view of Paramaribo, the landscape garden did not displace as much as create a veil disguising colonials' inabilities to regulate social order in Dutch South America and beyond.

These illustrations demonstrate how landscape articulated irreconcilable loss. They helped mourn Saint-Domingue's transformation into a flaming landscape and reinvigorate empire before Napoleon's failed attempt to reconquer Saint-Domingue in 1802. Accompanying P.F Henry's French translation of *Narrative* (1799) is an addendum written by the former governor of French Guiana, Daniel Lescallier. Penned at the request of the publisher, Lescallier addresses the unspeakable losses of Saint-Domingue. Looking to the Americas where revolt appeared more contained in the year following Britons' departure from Saint-Domingue, Lescallier asks his readers, "Do you not see all the French colonies devastated by iron and by flame, and that this one has somehow escaped the general desert only by its isolation, by the weakness of a population scattered over vast extended, and who could not unite against us?"[39] Lescallier concludes that colonial culture, morality, and politics can be reconciled after comparing Stedman's vision of Suriname to his own experiences in French Guiana.[40] However, landscape also provided Lescallier with a language to recognize the Haitian Revolution's effects. He remarks, "In our poor colony of Cayenne, the establishment of freedom has not been

[39] John Gabriel Stedman, trans. by P.F Henry, *Voyage a Surinam et Dans l'intérieur de La Guiane*, (Paris: Chez F. Buisson, 1799), 3 : 317-318.
[40] P.F Henry, *Voyage a Surinam et Dans l'intérieur de La Guiane*, 3 : 317-318.

accompanied by any horror comparable to that of Saint-Domingue; but the crops there have withered away."[41] While transcending the boundaries between Britain and France, Lescallier's employment of landscape points toward the unstable ground supporting human civilization in the Americas.

Burning fires engulfing the Scots Brigade's encampments metaphorically attest to the aims of preventing revolt from destabilizing settlements across the Atlantic World [*Figures 29* and *30*]. Engraved by Inigo Barlow who also represented Marcus Rainsford's experiences in Saint-Domingue as an officer, these illustrations crucially link Suriname to Saint-Domingue. The enslaved laborers at Java Creek and the soldiers with smoking guns at Jerusalem underscore how the landscape garden could become a blazing field. Moreover, Stedman directs readers to the formidable Markoory tree in the foreground, which "kills every thing around it" when on fire.[42] A burning Markoory tree could transform the encampment into the site of annihilation. Yet, the Markoory on fire also becomes a complex testament to social disorder. Stedman acquires his knowledge about the tree's toxicity from diasporic Africans and notes "some of the Indians render their arrows fatal by dipping the barbs of them in its sap."[43] The Markoory's prominent position in the picture brings us back to the disorientation colonial landscape sought to dissolve or dispel.

Recognizing Stedman's description of Java Creek as "intolerable beyond every description, the tree allows the author and his publisher to consolidate tumult into a clearly identifiable object.[44] Stedman became "weary of life" while suffering from deep ulcers spurred

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[41] P.F Henry, *Voyage a Surinam et Dans l'intérieur de La Guiane*, 3 : 341-342.
[42] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 2:183.
[43] Ibid.
[44] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 2:184.

by insects.[45] Johnson removed Stedman's following poetic meditation on the complete annihilation of human civilization.

> "Life makes the soul dependent on the dust, death gives her wings to mount above the spheres thro chinks. Still'd organs. Dim life peeps at light Death bursts the involving cloud and all is day. All eye. All ear. The disembody'd power Death has Feign'd Evils, nature shall not feel Life, ills substantial. Wisdom cannot shun. Is not the mighty mind, that son of Heaven and By Tyrant life Dethron'd, impassion'd, pain'd?[46]

In this removed passage, the distinctions between the human corpus and the terrain it occupies collapse. The human figure becomes undone by the very ground that was supposed to sustain its distinction as a sovereign and mastering agency.[47] The soul entwines with dust and the eye or ear as stilled sensorial organs enmesh with crevices of light. More than evoking an understanding of landscape where bodies break down, landscape also collapses into what it had allegedly been able to keep at bay.

Johnson and Thompson maintained Stedman's original contention that proper order might make Suriname "a garden of Eden, not only for the European settlers, but also for their African domestics."[48] However, they failed to completely abolish all evidence of the landscape garden's possible collapse. Stedman continues, "I have undertaken the unpleasing talk of showing how, by the desperate means of blood, the colony was frequently saved from total annihilation. How much more glorious would it be for those who have it in their power to not only save the colony of Suriname, but many other West India settlements."[49] Discord accompanies the landscape garden's transformation inhospitable terrains into places amenable to

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[45] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative,* 1796, 2:183.
[46] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative, of a Five Years' Expedition*, 1790, 588.
[47] I am thinking with Jill Casid's understanding of "being undone" in Jill Casid, "Doing Things with Being Undone." *Journal of Visual Culture* 18, no. 1 (2019): 30–52.
[48] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative,* 1796, 2: 79.
[49] Ibid.

Europeans' cultivation of human civilization. While conveying the Scots Brigade's possible successes, the text also alludes to human civilization's fragility across the Atlantic World. Alleviating distress in Suriname is inextricably linked to the stability of settlements on other islands. Beyond demonstrating an awareness of how the landscape garden became wrapped up with a sense of disorder, these descriptions also allow us to glean a sense of disorientation in images otherwise appearing to promote stability and order.

Stedman's original watercolor diagramming his temporary shelter in the woods indicates a tension between desired social order and the disorder associated with the Black forces who contested the Scots Brigade [*Figure 31*]. Indicating a sharper sense of place in the Surinamese forest, the vertical format emphasizes trees reaching far above Stedman's reclined position. But this also undermines claims of the author's commanding presence. Smoke, flames, and verdure dwarf the author. Sandwiched between the hammock's scorched material and an overarching palm frond wafting smoke into the air, Stedman is engulfed by unruly vegetation, erupting flames, four Black figures, and two cabins. The burning flame's dark soot further defines landscape as a tumultuous and disorienting ground. Stedman is part of a disorganized space that fails to articulate his exceptionalism as a distinct figure.

Inigo Barlow's heavy manipulation of Stedman's watercolor is uncoincidental, considering the aims of neutralizing Stedman's radical opinions and disorienting experiences. For art historian Sarah Thomas, Barlow's re-representation of Stedman's watercolor demonstrates a strengthening clarification of Stedman's original ambition to map his reclined position in the woods [*Figure 32*].[50] However, I would argue that what Thomas takes as a

[50] Sarah Thomas, *Witnessing Slavery: Art and Travel in the Age of Revolution*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019), 109-110.

solidification of the author's intent is also an aesthetic of asserting dominion. It is hard to imagine a late eighteenth-century viewer who apprehended Stedman's watercolor as a testament to sovereign order. By manipulating the landscape grounding the figures in space, Barlow evokes a greater sense of stability. He creates an ordered bifurcation between two ensembles. In the first ensemble, Stedman sleeps in his hammock with an arm dangling over the edge. The second ensemble centers on two Black figures surrounding hanging laundry as flames under a pot waft plumes of smoke into the air. Together, these two distinct components help differentiate Stedman from the fire and Black bodies. Barlow's diagram of Stedman's temporary shelter in the woods creates the illusion of landscape's ability to safeguard Stedman's posited status as an exceptional human subject despite his imbrication in disorder.

However, landscape in Barlow's engraving may also fail to hold the ordered bifurcation between these two ensembles. Stedman's ostensible state of repose above the cleared ground heightens his corporeal vulnerability. Instead of bolstering Stedman's commanding presence, vegetal surroundings vest agency in the animated Black figures whose feet are on the ground. The engraving immediately below the diagram of Stedman's hammock possibly downplays Stedman's defenselessness [*Figure 33*]. Bearing closer semblance to provincial England than to the Surinamese forest, the smoke-free sky, tree framing the quainter abode on cleared ground, and heterosexual family evidence uncontestably. Stedman intended to present both dwellings together: "the first may be considered as the emblem of domestic felicity; the second of rustick hardship and fatigue."[51] But not all editions or translations of Stedman's illustrated book upheld his original intent to evoke a contrast between the two shelters. For instance, *Narrative*'s 1799 publication in German separated the two engravings and made the diagram of Stedman in his

[51] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative,* 1790, 736 & John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative,* 1796, 2:324.

hammock the frontispiece [*Figure 35*].[52] The frontispiece's opposite page features a new illustration by David Heinrich Hoppe [*Figure 36*]. Capturing a Black figure's corporeal alignment with a tree in the woods across the Suriname River from Paramaribo, the illustration suggests an awareness of those who obtained a transformative power associated with revolution from nature. This new engraving allows us to apprehend Barlow's more ordered diagram of the woods as evidence of how Black persons appeared better equipped to inhabit nature.[53] Whereas Stedman was left exhausted and isolated, the Black subjects communally share a fire.

The figure-ground relationships in Barlow's and Hoppe's engravings evoke the intimate affinities diasporic Africans maintained with their surroundings. These relationships even evoke histories of those who contested Europeans' understandings of themselves as exceptional human subjects. As Monique Allewaert has shown, Europeans were concerned about experiencing corporeal disorganization.[54] William Blake's engraving of Stedman's march through the swamps is her primary evidence [*Figure 7*]. While Black bodies align with trees and confidently walk through muddied waters, the white bodies maintain directionless positions in a swampier disaggregation.[55] This demonstrates how the Scots Brigade's failure to restore order was mapped onto their material bodies. Hoppe may have thought about Blake's illustration as he engraved the Black figure in the woods. Yet, Hoppe's picture suggests that Barlow's manipulation of landscape evidences a desire to maintain order when disorientation could no longer be kept at bay.

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[52] *I. G. Stedmann's Reisen in Surinam*, (Berlin: In der Schüppelschen Buchhandlung, 1799).
[53] For an example of this argument, see Susan Scott Parrish, *American Curiosity: Cultures of Natural History in the Colonial British Atlantic World*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 18.
[54] Monique Allewaert, *Ariel's Ecology: Plantations, Personhood and Colonialism in the American Tropics*, (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 2.
[55] Monique Allewaert. *Ariel's Ecology*, 47.

Landscape in the representation of Stedman's hammock fails to dispel all evidence of the tumult he experienced in the woods. Stedman slept amongst masses of stinking warrapa fish that died from dried-up marshlands.[56] Moreover, a Mexican opossum created a "confounded tumble."[57] The published book downplayed the fish and the opossum. Fish were characterized as a mere "intolerable nuisance" instead of what "stunk worst than Billingsgate, being sufficient to poison."[58] Even more, a murine opossum prevented Stedman from handling the animal.[59] Absent is the other mammal that invaded the author's temporary shelter. By minimizing the stench and introducing another opossum species to dull the Mexican opossum's disturbance, Stedman's published work enhances the hammock as a place of repose. But these descriptions also point towards animals that transformed seemingly bucolic encampments into more unstable grounds where Stedman appeared less exceptional and less powerful. As I will show, the taxonomies of animals Stedman encountered transform landscape in what articulates the Scots Brigade's failures at their chief mission.

ANIMAL AS FLAMING MENACE

Although forty taxonomic illustrations depict the numerous animals Stedman encountered, seventeen of which were engraved by Barlow, none portray the stinking warrapa fish or the Mexican opossum. Anker Smith's picture of the murine opossum appearing in an earlier chapter of Stedman's manuscript is the closest visualization of the original animal that disturbed the author's hammock [*Figure 37*].[60] Rather than depicting the relationship between

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[56] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 2:325.
[57] Ibid.
[58] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1790, 2: 732.
[59]John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1790, 737 & John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 2:325.
[60] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1790, 737.

the biting opossum and the author, Smith depicts the relationship between the opossum and a verdant foreground. Landscape frames the opossum as a less troubling specimen that can be observed through the natural scientist's eye. Yet, landscape still presents viewers with a synecdoche of Stedman's hardships in the forest. Landscape grounds the human authority associated with naturalism as much as the opossum's agency. As I will show, landscape's posited valences of provinciality or quaintness were not enough to disguise the disorder spurred by the animal specimens. The animal specimens instead make the landscape and the human subjects inhabiting them more unstable and more unknowable.

Take, for another example, Smith's illustration of a vampire bat [*Figure 38*]. The bat hovers above a decapitated hog head and a quainter dwelling along a serene stream. With wings spreading across the water, the bat brings the decapitated hog head and the less-troubling abode together. Its wings surround the permanent shelter with a pruned tree on either side as well as the grotesquely severed head replete with grinning teeth and pointed horns. Both appear on the same ground clear of foliage or other hindrances, even though a body of water separates them. While providing viewers with a sense of the animal's complex physiology, the bat's aesthetic relation to the landscape instigates a look toward a polished and less vexing whole. But the bat's visual engulfment of the decapitated hog and the building belies unified harmony and semblance to the English landscape garden. Landscape becomes an indeterminate place where different elements fail to cohere into an assimilable whole.

This stranger conglomeration of animals and animal parts fails to resemble a disinterested taxonomy corroborating colonials' mastery of knowingness. Instead, these bodies and bodily fragments combine with landscape to express the disorientation associated with imperial failure. The bat flew amongst Stedman and his hammock, rather than a decapitated hog and permanent

shelter. It allegedly bit Stedman while sleeping in his hammock and transformed his body into a corpus "weltering in congealed blood."[61] According to Stedman's original manuscript, he physically resembled a "cold fowl."[62] Stedman was also concerned about his fellow soldiers mistaking his body for an apparition. Although these modifications may indicate the publisher's desire to augment Stedman's credibility, they also demonstrate an attempt to downplay evidence of the Scots Brigade's imbrication in disorder. The decapitated head might depict the large hog head Stedman fell over or a remnant of the wild boars the Scots Brigade killed with sabers and bayonets after a "large drove" broke through their line.[63] The soldiers overzealously cut the hogs into pieces and distributed their corporeal fragments amongst the troops as sustenance. Beyond modifying hyperbolic descriptions, scrutiny of these changes between the original manuscript and the published work reveal a greater anxiety about landscape's transformation of the human corpus into another body.

As a more liberal idealogue who maintained relationships with Mary Wollstonecraft and William Blake, Johnson was aware of radical anthropomorphism. Animals played principal roles in anti-slavery debates.[64] Johnson and Thompson expanded Stedman's original description of planers' diabolical cruelty by comparing the subjection of enslaved persons to "mules or asses."[65] This addition highlights Blake's contention that an act of violence committed against an

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[61] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 2:142.
[62] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1790, 535.
[63] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 2: 132-133, 2: 150.
[64] For a historical study analyzing the relationship between anti-slavery rhetoric and animal rights rhetoric in Britain, see Ingrid H. Tague, *Animal Companions: Pets and Social Change in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015) and Stephen F. Eisenman, *The Cry of Nature: Art and the Making of Animal Rights*, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2013). For a study of Stedman's relationship to Blake and Blake's relationship to Johnson, see: Gerald P. Tyson, *Joseph Johnson, a Liberal Publisher*, (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1979).
[65] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1790, 527 & John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796 vol. 2,

animal is also an act of violence committed against a human being. [66] Moreover, Stedman's encounter with the vampire bat follows a more disturbing textual illustration. The author shoots a Black subject who emerged from the woods upon smelling the soldiers' tobacco fumes.[67] Stedman refers to the bat as the "vampire of spectre of Guiana" after he spots the same Black subject in a canoe and at the same time as he employs a poem about a spirit or goblin to address the trauma spurred by the bat.[68] More than a radical anthropomorphism, animals and parts of animals become wrapped up with the Black figures who contested the Scots Brigade in the woods. This closer semblance made possible through landscape enables both animals and Black figures to obtain richer and more complex meanings.

Animals or insects often resemble the Black forces Stedman encountered. After concluding the twenty-first chapter with an old warrior's promise to seek vengeance upon Black subjects who looted a nearby plantation, the twenty-second chapter begins with a description of "perfectly black" ants that can "pillage a tree of all its leaves in a short time."[69] Stedman's observations of a tree pillaged by black ants is not entirely different from his conjured up image of Black forces who pillaged a plantation. Describing the ants as a "whole army of these creatures crawling perpetually the same way," Stedman marvels at their infliction of tremendous damage by cutting and carrying small pieces of the tree.[70] These ants who carry tree fragments

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[66] For an analysis of Blake's role in advocating for the rights of both animals and the enslaved, see Stephen F. Eisenman, "The Real 'Swinish Multitude.'" *Critical Inquiry* 42, no. 2 (Winter 2016): 339–73.

[67] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative,* 1796, 2:140.

[68] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative,* 1796 , 2:141-142.

[69] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative,* 1796, 2:137.

[70] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative,* 1796, 2:138.

underground echo the Black figure Stedman shoots at for carrying a bundle of table linen, a gold-laced hat, and superb India petticoats.

Ants helped evade direct representation of disorder and articulate a different story of colonial resistance when the British Monarchy curtailed the spread of "hostile" publications. As Joseph Johnson revised Stedman's manuscript and recruited engravers, William Pitt established new laws suppressing radical societies.[71] Johnson was also arrested shortly after *Narrative*'s publication for printing materials with alleged aims of libeling the King.[72] Johnson tasked William Blake, who had already acquired a reputation for critiquing British governance through animals, multi-headed monsters, and formal chaos to create numerous engravings for Stedman's illustrated work.[73] Perhaps, other engravers, including Smith, followed Blake's lead. The blurrier relationship between animals and enslaved beings suggests that the collision between taxonomy and landscape became an aesthetic of disorientation associated with fugitvity and revolt.

Stedman and his publisher frequently positioned enslaved subjects as what Srinivas Aravamudan calls the "subordinated aristocratic pet."[74] For instance, consider the description of Colonel Fourgeoud's preferred servant, Gousary. Gousary beats another enslaved person for not taking up a complete load during a march. As the primary figure responsible for treating the

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[71] For a detailed analysis of the specific laws passed in Britain to prevent the spread of liberal ideologies, see John Barrell, *Imagining the King's Death: Figurative Treason, Fantasies of Regicide*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 19-29.
[72] For a biography of Johnson, see Helen Braithwaite, *Romanticism, Publishing and Dissent: Joseph Johnson and the Cause of Liberty*, (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave, 2003), 155.
[73] For studies about Blake's critiques of British governance, see Stephen Eisenman, "William Blake and the Age of Aquarius" and Jacob Henry Leveton, "William Blake and Art against Surveillance" in *William Blake and the Age of Aquarius*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018).
[74] Srinivas Aravamudan, *Tropicopolitans*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), 33-34.

enslaved persons as mules, Gousary functions as an extension of Fourgeoud's power. But Gousary is also a synecdoche for revolt. Johnson and Thompson removed a passage explaining Gousary's more contentious role.

> I have before remarked that the above Gousary with his companion Ackera had been rebel Captains in the Colony of Berbice where before they surrendered they had committed the most diabolical murders. These were the men whom now Fourgeoud employ'd to manage the Slaves And with whom they had no more compassion than if they Had been beating on tann'd leather.[75]

On one hand, Gousary's transformation from a formidable foe into a subordinated pet attests to colonials' domestication of those who were deemed too unruly. On the other hand, Gousary could bring his previous role as an insurrectionary leader into Colonel Fourgeoud's domain. Gousary still yielded potential to agitate the soldiers' desired social order. While recalling the tactic of integrating a more contentious figure into an ordered surrounding to dissolve contestations of sovereign unity, Gousary also brought the potential for disorder into the Scots Brigade. Gosuary opens up a mode of reading landscape's amplification of the pets' lack of subordination.

Consider the peacocks and flamingos that became demonstrations of colonials' domestication of wild animals. With beautiful peacocks in front of the plantation and an agamy perch on elevated branches, the illustration compellingly depicts how "of all the feathered creation this bird is the most tamable, and the greatest friend to man, whom it follows, caresses, and even seems to protect with the attachment of a dog" [*Figure 39*].[76] Birds safeguarding the estate from the backgrounded woods also exemplifies Stedman's claim to have seen many of them reared for domestic uses on estates.[77] Likewise, flamingos occupy foregrounded positions

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[75] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1790, 527.
[76] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 1:262.
[77] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 1:263.

on cleared ground while Fort Zelandia maintains a palpable presence in the background [*Figure 40*]. Stedman explains, "on the plantations they are frequently seen walking and feeding among the poultry."[78] These taxonomies indicate the animals' successful integration into the plantation, and by possible extension, the successful integration of enslaved laborers. Yet, the foregrounded animals' disproportionately large sizes might also indicate how these pets failed to faithfully serve their owners. They struggled to fit into the landscape garden and therefore attest to colonials' struggles to assimilate bodies into an ordered whole.

From Stedman's vantage point of having spent a "very uncomfortable and gloomy" night in his hammock with the "howling of the baboons; the hissing of the snakes, tigers, & c," these pets transformed landscape into an unrulier and less determinable ground.[79] The estate behind the peacocks resembles a relic of former glory. Over-grown trees drape over the building, clusters of leaves droop, and peacocks graze on a foreground reduced to weeds. Recognizing how Stedman's description of the agame's suitability for husbandry is interrupted by a passing "gang of rebels," we might imagine the plantation's seemingly cleared ground as what had been set aflame by Black forces. The plantation has been abandoned and animals have taken over. Moreover, Stedman's encounter with the flamingos residing by an "Elysian plantation" is also where he learns of Mr. Passalage of Amsterdam's death.[80] This news causes Stedman considerable distress since Mr. Passalage, who was responsible for Joanna's manumission. Stedman describes, "It was now that I saw a thousand horrors intrude all at once upon my dejected spirits."[81] Beyond indicating how the domiciliation of wild animals to serve humans

[78] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative,* 1796, 1:340.
[79] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative,* 1796, 1:260.
[80] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative,* 1796, 1:341.
[81] Ibid.

was not enough to preserve the plantation machine, animal-ground relationships bring us back to Stedman's dependency on his faithful servant or companion animal, Joanna.

Narrative's initiation of antislavery discourse by turning to Joanna builds on a fantasized project of subordinating the enslaved as pets.[82] Stedman is definitively more distraught than Joanna upon hearing news of Mr. Passalage's passing. He depends on "the mildness of her temper" to support inconsolable grief upon learning that the plantation would be sold to a new master.[83] Like the frontispiece, pain and suffering are redistributed to Stedman instead of Joanna. But Stedman's grief also coils back to the landscape garden. Johnson and Thompson removed a line appearing in Stedman's manuscript preceding Stedman's meditation on his dejected spirits: "It was now that I saw the wretchedness of my situation, as much as Adam had done by tasting the forbidden fruit."[84] Taking up the Fall of Man, Stedman's manuscript returns us to the collapsed landscape garden. Flamingos and peacocks give way to where Stedman, as the authoritative human subject, lost the ability to control his own sentiments. Ultimately, these taxonomic representations attest to landscape's contestation of human exceptionalism and empowerment of those who had been understood as subservient pets.

Other examples include diagrams of an armadillo and porcupine or two colorful hummingbirds [*Figures 41* and *12*]. Employing landscape to domesticate the animals ends up distorting their legibility.[85] The porcupine's elongated body conforms to the space between two branches and its tail spirals around the upper limb. At the same time, the armadillo's arched back

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[82] Srinivas Aravamudan, *Tropicopolitans*, 49.
[83] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 1:341.
[84] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1790, 324.
[85] For an analysis of the aesthetic transformation of animals into settings, see: Yi-Fu Tuan, *Dominance & Affection: The Making of Pets*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), 4.

and curved tail gently frame the engulfed encampment from below. Even the coloring and patterning of both animals' furs resemble the hues and crevices of the adjacent tree. As for the hummingbirds flying over open water, the shape and coloring of their wings mimic the contours and shades of the abutting leaves. Both engravings crucially capture these animals' revolutionary abilities to maintain intimate relations with their surroundings that were supposed to make them suitable for husbandry. Indeed, Stedman notes the porcupine's extremely sharp and highly polished quills and the armadillo's ability to burrow so deeply underground "that the strongest man cannot draw it out."[86] He also observes the hummingbird's "hardly perceptible" motion and feathers.[87] Between the armadillo's adeptness of seeking shelter underground, the porcupine's adroit climbing skills to seek food in trees by twisting its quills amongst branches, and the hummingbird's imperceptibility, these animals appeared better poised to inhabit the terrains than the colonials themselves.

Landscape introduces a sense of imperial loss into scenes that elicit a way of knowing the earth through natural science. According to Stedman, the hummingbirds flew over an estate where tremendous devastation occurred. Two hundred monkeys destroyed the plantation's entire field of sugar canes. The monkeys echo descriptions of Black forces who plundered plantations. Stedman explains, they as a "whole company hop into the forest, each with his plunder in his paw" by coming out from and retreating into the woods. [88] The destroyed sugar canes below the hummingbirds creates space to glean undergirding tumult that landscape otherwise dispelled or

[86] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative,* 1796, 1:223.
[87] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative,* 1796 vol. 2, 220.
[88] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative,* 1796, 2:220. Also see how Stedman describes monkeys as mischievous near the sugar plantations, John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative,* 1796, 1:168.

disguised. Descriptions of rangers who killed several Black figures in the woods solidifies the monkeys' complex relationship to the Black forces the Scots Brigade endeavored to thwart. Echoing the killing and distribution of the hogs, one "rebel" was even "cut to pieces with sabers."[89] But monkeys were different from the other animal specimens and arguably even more indicative of the struggle to domesticate animals through the landscape garden.

Monkeys played a particular role in mediating humanness.[90] For literary scholar Debbie Lee, Blake's two illustrations of monkeys allow social order to see itself [*Figures 41* and *42*]. Monkeys acquire multiple meanings by mimicking the behaviors of the white soldiers and Maroons.[91] Stedman delineates how the monkeys "threw small sticks and excrements" at him and his fellow soldiers.[92] Moreover, the monkeys regularly followed "each other like a little army, with their young ones on their backs, not unlike little knapsacks."[93] Stedman closes the gap between people and animals by comparing the monkey's countenance to "an old Indian woman"[94] For Lee, Stedman oscillates "between identifying with the monkey and distancing himself from it, between calling Africans 'monkeys' and calling them 'brothers.'"[95] The central role ape imagery played in the debates about the relationship between humanness and race corroborates her claims even further.[96] However, the monkeys' complex ontological positioning in Stedman's text cannot be divorced from the formal obscurations in Blake's taxonomic

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[89] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 2:223.
[90] For example, see: David Bindman, *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the Eighteenth Century*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).
[91] Debbie Lee, *Slavery and the Romantic Imagination*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 66.
[92] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 2:10.
[93] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 1:166.
[94] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 2:10.
[95] Debbie Lee, *Slavery and the Romantic Imagination*, 85.
[96] See David Bindman, *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the Eighteenth Century*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).

engravings.

Blake's engravings highlight the monkeys' integration into their surroundings. Monkeys hanging from frontally located trees or serene rivers with backgrounded mountains and forests convincingly visualize Stedman's awe of their abilities to attach their extremities to trees from large differences. With tails mirroring the curvatures of branches or spiraling around tree limbs, the monkeys contort their bodies to fit into spaces between bundles of leaves. This is a strong contrast to Stedman and his fellow soldiers, who struggled to navigate the woods "where the air is impregnated with myriads of invisible animalcula."[97] Both engravings emphasize a formal dissolution of distinctions to create a harmonious relationship between the trees and the monkey's physiology. However, the engravings indicate a problem in which specimens that Stedman takes as the most "easily tamed" become too distorted to convey the colonial sovereignty integral to human exceptionalism. Integrating the monkeys into landscape as a metaphor for human civilization ends up facilitating the collapse of imperial power.

A key testament of the Scots Brigade's failure to cultivate unified order is Stedman's attempt to eat the monkey. While Colonel Fourgeoud relentlessly forced the Scots Brigade to continue their marches, Stedman killed a monkey for sustenance.

> I seized him by the tail, and taking it in both my hands to end his torment, I swung him round, and hit his head against the side of the canoe; but the poor creature still continued alive, and looking at me in the most affecting manner that can be conceived. I knew no other means to end this murder, than to hold him under water till he was drowned, while my heart felt sick on his account: for his dying little eyes still continued to follow me with seeming reproach, till their light gradually forsook them, and the wretched animal expired. I felt so much on this occasion, that I could neither taste of him nor his companion, when they were dressed, though I saw that they afforded to some other a delicious repast.[98]

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[97] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 1:160-161.
[98] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 1:164-165.

Consuming the monkey is an undeniable expression of colonial dominion and human exceptionalism. Yet, Stedman's inability to eat the monkey and disgust with his actions suggests a failure to assert mastering power. The monkey's close resemblance to a human body vexed Stedman too much to complete his endeavor. The monkey's drowning may not exemplify Stedman's unlimited power to kill as much as a collapse between the human and the animal. Gesturing towards Kyla Wanzana Tompkins's understanding of ingestion as what underscores the limits of white Europeans' consumption, the monkey troubles an understanding of Stedman's posited authority.[99]

Stedman attempts to consume the monkeys a second time. He explains, "I have eaten them boiled, roasted, and stewed, and found their flesh white, juicy, and good: the only things that disgusted me was, their little hands and their heads, which when dressed, being deprived of skin, appeared like the hands and the skull of a young infant."[100] Like the previous monkey Stedman attempted to ingest, the monkeys' semblance to the human form impedes Stedman's consumption of the animal.[101] Scrutinizing the animal's physiology further closes the ontological distinctions between the human figure and the monkey's corpus. However, Stedman's repeated efforts to integrate the fragmented animal into his own body might also be understood as a metaphor for the integration Suriname's marshlands or woods.

Immediately before his second encounter with the monkeys, Stedman swam through a flooded marsh and heavy rain. Stedman's clothing and musket made him sink to the bottom "like a stone." Stedman also describes his closer semblance to a mulatto. While emerging from the

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[99] Kyla Wanzana Tompkins, *Racial Indigestion: Eating Bodies in the 19th Century*, (New York: NYU Press, 2012).
[100] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 1:165.
[101] Kyla Wanzana Tompkins, *Racial Indigestion*, 92.

tumultuous water, Stedman was almost shot at by the Black servant belonging to another commander who mistook him for a rebel force. He explicates, "being almost naked and so much sun-burnt; besides my hair, which was short and curly, I entirely resembled a mulatto."[102] Stedman comes out from the flooding waters bearing a closer semblance to one of the bodies he was tasked with managing. Surrounded by a watery conglomeration of trees, mud, and grass, Stedman finds himself in a landscape where the taxonomic distinctions between white, vegetal, Black, and animal bodies collapse. He finds himself in a subverted set-up where the master is now subordinated to the pet, and the pet becomes the master. Thus, readers might have imagined the marshy terrain immediately below the quato and sarcawinkee monkeys in Blake's engraving as the place the author lost his sense of exceptionalism as a superior human figure. Blake's unfixable monkeys are linked to an understanding of ground that was not amenable to the idea of the landscape garden.

Between Gousary, who contested colonials in Berbice, and the monkeys and Mulatto, who directly contested the Scots Brigade, animal-ground relationships afford a different history of colonial contestation. *Narrative*'s first publication in 1796 coincided with Britain's attempts to seize Saint-Domingue and immediately followed the 1795 revolts in Demerara and Curacao.[103] Johnson also reprinted *Narrative* a third time after an especially belligerent revolt in Venezuela between 1811 and 1813.[104] Moreover, Stedman's own diaries evidence his desire to consider the

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[102] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 2:9.
[103] For an analysis of the relationship between the Haitian Revolution and revolt in the Dutch Atlantic World, see David Geggus, "Slave Rebellion during the Age of Revolution." In *Curaçao in the Age of Revolutions, 1795-1800*, (Amsterdam: Brill, 2011), 23–57.
[104] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative, of a Five Years' Expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam*, (London: J. Johnson, 1806) and John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative, of a Five Years' Expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam*, (London: J. Johnson, 1813).

events on Saint-Domingue in the wider Atlantic World.[105] The stranger animal-ground relationships and failures to digest fragmented animals cannot be divorced from the failure to integrate foreign terrains and the bodies who resided there into a single empire. If the fragmented monkey choked Stedman back as he attempted to digest the animal, then the marshlands below the hanging monkeys in Blake's engravings choked the Scots Brigade back as they attempted to integrate those terrains into empire.

These animal-ground relationships also give Stedman an unsettling appearance that might be taken as a revolutionary aesthetic of colonial resistance. Consider Blake's diagram of the Black figures who skin a serpent [*Figure 43*]. With a trio of Black figures keeping the hissing serpent or "monster" whose eyes seem "to emit sparks of fire" at bay, a cleared terrain anchors Stedman's commanding position with a pointed arm. The snake also upholds a sense of social order. Draping from the tree trunk and intersecting the composition into two halves, the snake helps differentiate Stedman from "a man stark naked, black and bloody, clinging with arms and legs round the slimy and yet living monster."[106] However, Stedman's visual distinction is not necessarily tantamount to human exceptionalism. Stedman only attempted to shoot the snake after persistent encouragement from his enslaved subject or pet, David.[107] The snake was so well camouflaged that Stedman did not see it until after David exclaimed, "Me see snake!" Only after several failed attempts and David's accompanying bullet is Stedman able to successfully shoot the snake.[108] While formally distinguishing Stedman from the Black bodies, the snake also plays a principal role in conveying Stedman's failure to assert control over other bodies.

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[105] John Gabriel Stedman, Diary, May 1796- June 1798.
[106] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 1:174.
[107] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 1:171.
[108] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 1:171-173.

According to Stedman's original description in his diary, "I shoot a snake eighteen feet long."[109] Stedman expands his delineation of the incident in his manuscript to include the Black figures and his struggles to both see and shoot the snake. While elaborating on his encounter with the serpent, the text distorts the snake's physiology. Taxonomies of bodily difference collapse. Stedman describes the snake's ability to swim "like an eel" and "thickness about that of my black boy Quaco."[110] Assuming an almost paranormal status, the snake lives despite being "deprived of his intestines and skin."[111] The serpent hisses at and anthropomorphically exchanges grinning glances with one of the Black figures who slashes the reptile's neck. Beyond demonstrating Stedman's failure to manage other bodies, his encounter with the snake attests to how landscape did not make animals appear more amenable to taxonomic descriptions as much as make them less agreeable to taxonomically inspired ways of knowing the earth. Integrating contentions bodies into a landscape garden conversely ends up making them more difficult to manage.

For scholar Emily Senior, Stedman's fascination with cut-up monkeys and serpents is linked to his concerns about bodily integrity in a colony teeming with disease. Disaggregated animals attest to how the Scots Brigade's encounters with illnesses and violence are mapped onto skin.[112] By dissolving the taxonomic distinctions between different bodies, Stedman's elaborate delineations of skinned animals and wounds render the colonial corpus with vulnerability. But this also extends to the enfleshed Black corpus. Bodily entanglements, such as the one between

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[109] John Gabriel Stedman, *Diary,* August 26, 1773 and Marcus Wood, *Slavery, Empathy, and Pornography*, 114-115.
[110] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 1:173.
[111] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 1: 174.
[112] Emily Senior, ""Perfectly Whole ": Skin and Text in John Gabriel Stedman's Narrative of a Five Years Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam." *Eighteenth Century Studies* 44, no. 1 (2010): 39–56.

the skinned servant and Black servant, impede the enfleshed Black corpus's transformation into an object of the white viewer's sympathy. In Senior's words, attention to flesh can "forestall any straightforward identification of the reader with either Stedman or the objects of his sympathy." Analyzing the prominent role marshlands or other terrains that challenged colonials' understandings of themselves as exceptional human subjects pushes Senior's reading of skin further. Flesh became too overdetermined to be neatly assimilated into the landscape garden and ultimately led to collapse.

BLACK BODIES AND SPILLED BLOOD

Like the animal taxonomies, *Narrative*'s accompanying illustrations of Black figures fail to secure the bodies' ontological positionings. Landscape does not fix Stedman's mulatta lover, Joanna and figures identified as a "family of negro slaves from Loango,"as much as make these subjects less determinable [*Figure 44* and *Figure 45*]. Stedman intends to contrast Joanna's beauty to preceding scenes of horror and use the Black family to corroborate the "tranquil happiness" of enslaved persons.[113] Joanna's exquisite jewelry, fine clothing, and ideal complexion and the Black family's autonomous stances on the verdant foreground attempt to downplay the horrors of enslavement. Along with an accompanying description emphasizing how a "mild master" allows a "negro's labour [to be] no more than a healthy exercise," bodily gestures and adornments enhance the figures' untroublesome finesse.[114] But Joanna appears alongside an estate located in the upper part of the Comerwina River, where fugitive slaves frequently hid and ignited revolts. Stedman also refers to the "slave garden" in the text appearing

[113] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 1:86 and John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 2, 280.
[114] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 2:280.

alongside the illustration of the Black family.[115] Beyond forestalling the sympathy from white audiences that Black subjects depended on for emancipation, these images bring together enfleshed Black figures together with the very places they were known to revolt.

Landscape in these engravings of Black bodies play a central role in representing what Hortense Spillers understands as flesh. She explains, "before the 'body' there is the 'flesh,' the zero degree of social conceptualization that does not escape concealment under the brush of discourse, or the reflexes of iconography."[116] Interrogating the fleshy distinctions of racialization, Spillers scrutinizes the processes through which the enslaved become flesh and are subjected to the pleasures of bodied subjects.[117] Flesh as the temporal and conceptual antecedent to the body is not entirely biological. It requires an apparatus of violent weapons and laws. Because these instruments leave behind markings or what Spillers calls "hieroglyphics," flesh designates life through depravity while also transmitting these conditions to future generations of Black subjects. Lacerations left on the captive's body play a substantial role in overdetermining the Black body and subject with markers of mythical preposition in the visual truth-value domain. There is ultimately no easy way for the agent buried beneath these markings to come clean without stripping down through layers of attenuated meaning. While landscape as the site of racial-sexual subjugation amplified the planter's apparatuses of power, landscape in the engravings also amplified the Black body's overdetermination.

Landscape accentuates the instability of the Black figures' identities.[118] Stedman

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[115] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1790, 688.
[116] Hortense J. Spillers, "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book."
[117] Alexander G Weheliye, *Habeas Viscus: Racializing Assemblages, Biopolitics, and Black Feminist Theories of the Human,* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014), 39.
[118] See Darcy Grigsby's reading of Joanna in Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, *Creole: Portraits of France's Foreign Relations During the Long Nineteenth Century*, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2022), 117.

emphasizes Joanna's grace, glowing cheeks, and native modesty. Moreover, Stedman compares her teeth to snowcapped mountains, her eyes to ebony, and her hair as a "beautiful globe of small ringlets, ornamented with flowers and gold spangles."[119] Stedman is also fascinated by the markings the Loango made on their own skin.[120] Comparing them to sharks, turning to animals distorts their the Loango's identities even further. Subsequent descriptions of other diasporic Africans as "amphibious animals" and "ground-eaters" confirm an inability to ossify the meaning of Black flesh. Animals, topographical features, and vegetal surroundings made Black enfleshed bodies richer and stranger. Closing the gap between Black flesh and the exterior environment, Black flesh becomes too overdetermined to be restrained by the ordered landscape garden. As I will show, Black flesh ends up transforming the landscape garden into a place of disorder.

Illustrations such as *Flagellation of a Female Sambre Slave* and *The Execution of Breaking on the Rack* capture how apparatuses of violence were mapped onto Black flesh [*Figures 46* and *47*]. The woman is surrounded by four figures, one of whom has a dagger strapped to his waist and two of whom hold whips. As for the latter engraving, a Black man is crucified at the stakes. A second Black figure performs the act of violence with a bar and an ax. A chopped-off hand is held by the immediate foreground. Along with modest clothing, poured blood confined to the wounds exemplifies an attempt to visually evade or downplay violence to offset European cruelty.[121] Reminiscent of *Narrative*'s frontispiece, wounded Black flesh might also demonstrate a desire to position the engraving's respective spectator as the victim who is

[119] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 1:87.
[120] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 2:254-256.
[121] For an analysis of their clothing see, "Anne K. Mellor, "Sex, Violence, and Slavery: Blake and Wollstonecraft." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 58, no. 3/4 (1995): 345–70.

forced to confront direct evidence of planter's incivility. But this friction between unequivocal cruelty and attempts to soften a blatant disregard for Black life evidences the overdetermination of Black flesh. Black flesh (and blood) operates in excess to the body and seeps into the verdant surroundings, transforming landscape into a site where corpuses materially break down and can no longer be ordered.

Textual descriptions link Black figures to unrulier landscape gardens. Before turning to the flagellated woman, Stedman describes the "negro garden" of her plantation estate. A "baneful plant [that] had inadvertently been permitted to grow in a negro's garden" carefully distinguishes the plantation's bucolic fields from plots of land allotted to enslaved persons.[122] Known as the duncane, the shrub spurs an "instant death to whatever animal eats of its leave." It must therefore be rooted out from all grass, savannahs, or meadows. Stedman also addresses the yam that is "very agreeable, either boiled or roasted, easy of digestion, and very wholesome" or an Indian corn "which the Creoles make excellent puddings and cakes, which are of a nourishing quality."[123] While returning to digestion as a metaphor for integration, Stedman acknowledges how diasporic Africans appeared to possess an innate talent for cultivating crops and knowing which plants were toxic.

But digestion extends beyond plants and animals to the relationship between planters and Black flesh. By describing the garden's different components, Stedman forestalls attending to the Black woman's lashing. He only delineates the violence she was forced to endure after expressing his desire to "remain happily silent upon the subject of cruelty."[124] Stedman proceeds to define the Black woman as both an "object" worthy of his attraction and the site of the

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[122] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 1:323.
[123] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796 , 1: 323-324.
[124] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 1:325.

overseer's saturation. Characterizing the overseer as a "detestable monster, like a beast of prey, [who] continued to enjoy his bloody feast, till he was glutted," Stedman's description of the enfleshed Black woman echoes the brutally attacked monkey he struggled to ingest.[125] She signals the limits of what the white European could consume. Stedman's analysis of the overseer's jealousy and desire for revenge further amplifies the inseparable link between the hieroglyphics imprinted on the Black woman's flesh and the overseer's incivility. Like consuming the duncane that grew in the garden, consuming her through violence ends up choking the subject who attempts to discipline, manage, or order her enfleshed body back.

Look at Blake's engraving closer. The Black woman's frontal position with toes brushing the verdant foreground and wrists tied to an above tree signal a complex relationship with the surroundings. While landscape forces viewers to confront the imprinted hieroglyphics on her flesh, her pronounced size renders the four surrounding figures with diminutiveness. One of the dandified white gentlemen is the overseer. Their pointed hands direct attention toward the bleeding gashes across the Black woman's flesh. Two shadowed figures bearing whips stand on the cleared terrain in the background. As much as these men add what Spillers might take as a "lexical and living dimension," landscape also creates space for a reparative reading. The men's hands also direct attention her alignment with the vertical tree trunk. Recognizing that the woman survived these cruelties and absconded from the scene, the surrounding landscape and vegetal bodies index emancipation and what transforms her Black flesh into what gluts the whip bearers.

Like the engraving of the flagellated woman, Blake's representation of Neptune emphasizes the aesthetic relationship between his flesh and landscape. The foregrounded terrain

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[125] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796,1: 326.

presents the grammaticism of Neptune's wounds as his corpus spreads across in a cruciform shape. It also grounds the second Black figure whose role as the executioner enables him to operate as an extension or even consolidation of white colonial power. Further underscored by exposed pectoral and quadricep muscles, flesh cannot be divorced from landscape. The surroundings render Black flesh with more precarity. With blood conglomerating into the dirt below, flesh drips with overdetermination. His severed hand alongside pooled blood (a detail removed in the 1812 edition), as well as attention to the iron bar that broke Neptune's bones to shivers until the "marrow, blood, and splinters flew above the field" further corroborates the landscape garden as a place where bodies and parts of bodies became obscurer.[126]

Neptune's sprawled-out body on the stakes and his corporeal fragments scattered throughout the surrounding terrain, even as he bears the marks of unjustifiable violence, becomes an occasion for resistance. Recognizing his fractured body as what chokes up its consumer by failing to integrate or be digested, Neptune's corpus aesthetically functions similarly to the duncane. Stedman recounts Neptune's final words, "'Then I will make you a present, sir,' said the negro; 'first, pick my hand that was chopped off clean to the bones, next begin to devour my body, till you are glutted when you will have both bread and meat, as best becomes you.'"[127] More than exemplifying Neptune's adept and agentive ability to destabilize his own body, he borrows eating as a metaphorical mode of propagating a particular understanding of the human subject as a contained autonomous self who asserts power over other bodies.[128] Consumption of

[126] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 2:295.
[127] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796 , 2:297.
[128] See for example, Wood's analysis of Neptune's remarks: Marcus Wood, *Slavery, Empathy, and Pornography*, 106.

his enfleshed corpus enables overdetermined Black flesh to contest the white body from the inside out.

Calls for digestion prompt a blurrier relationship between those who were deemed to be human and those who were deemed to be nonhuman. Stedman dispassionately observes, "Wonderful it is indeed, that human nature should be able to endure so much torture, which assuredly could only be supported by a mixture of rage, contempt, pride, and the glory of braving his tormentors."[129] The description presumably softens the posited inhumanity of the scene. Stedman points toward the "dreadful spectacle in the annexed drawing" and claims that such severe punishments were never put into practice in the British colonies.[130] However, the description also reinforces Neptune's exemplary ability to endure such violence and even vex his oppressor by glutting him. Neptune's official crime was the murder of a particularly jealous overseer. Because the overseer decided to hang Neptune for endeavoring to win the favor of a young woman by stealing a sheep, Neptune shot the overseer dead "among the sugar-canes."[131] Neptune's lacerations attest to a violent apparatus of violent and laws while also attesting to the planters' inabilities to practice self-restraint when confronted with feelings of extreme power and envy.

Stedman proclaims Neptune's execution "must revolt the feelings of all who have one spark of humanity" as if to instruct readers how to "correctly" perceive the textual-visual representation of the punishment.[132] Yet, this pronouncement may also point back to the backgrounded hills in Blake's engraving where Black forces revolted by sparking flames and

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[129] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796 , 2:297.
[130] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 2:297-298.
[131] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 2:295.
[132] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796 , 2: 297.

shooting an overseer. With the scant outlines of a corpse hanging from the gallows in the distanced corner, Neptune's exposed flesh is also inextricably linked to another execution. A footnote based on an embedded description appearing in Stedman's original description of the execution provides a clue about Neptune's relationship to the hanging corpse. Stedman attends to "thirty-two wretches" who were executed in Demerara in October 1789.[133] Stedman does not indicate what prompted these executions. However, these executions may have been related to the 1789 Bomba Plot, when insurgents from three plantations revolted at the end of September.[134] This turn to the Berbice Revolt to justify his descriptions of diasporic Africans' "proneness to anger and revenge" further cements an affinity between the scene of Neptune's execution and rebellion.[135]

Landscape unravels the histories of insurrection vested into Neptune. Beyond a figure who revolted his overseer by disclosing his uncontrollable propensity for revenge, Neptune also became a consolidated and scapegoated figure for the other unfolding revolts Stedman details. Imagining Neptune had already died after repeated blows and his lopped-off hand, Stedman delineates how Neptune writhed himself from the cross to only fall on the grass. Neptune implores to be beheaded, but his request is denied. Neptune also exclaims, "though he had deserved death, he had not expected to die so many deaths."[136] These numerous deaths align with the others who were executed for their roles in the Bomba Plot. At base, Neptune reminds us of landscape's ability to ground an idyllic human civilization as much as a place where European understandings of humanness become more complex.

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[133] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1790, 708 and John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 2, 297.
[134] For an analysis of the Bomba plot, see Bram Hoonhout, *Borderless Empire*, 101-104
[135] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 2:266.
[136] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 2:296.

Diasporic Africans' relationships with their surroundings challenged Stedman's understanding of humanness. Beyond Stedman's awe for their bravery and endurance of cruel punishments, he points towards cultural practices that exceed the rationalism governing human discourse.[137] Stedman strains to comprehend their complex ways of knowing the earth.[138] Of particular importance are Maroons who possessed "the same superstitions of the rebels, with regard to their amulets or obias."[139] More than contesting diasporic Africans' posited baseness, practices by spiritual leaders contested imperial dominion by exceeding colonials' ways of knowing the earth and instigating rebellions. Stedman is particularly perplexed by Gramman (Great Man) Quacy or Kwasi. Stedman points toward Quacy's tremendous influence over the Maroon community, including an ability to prevent their "mischief" through the sale of amulets. Perplexed by how Quacy was "adored and respected [Quacy] like a God," Stedman claims that the amulets consisted of nothing other than "trash" such as small pebbles, shells, hair, fishbones, and feathers.[140]

While Stedman and other Europeans perceived his "wonderful ingenuity and artful conduct, non-Europeans, including the Saramkas, apprehended Quacy as a figure of great betrayal.[141] Colonial masters rewarded Quacy with a golden breastplate for his conduct. He even became the preferred enslaved subject of the governor of Suriname, Johan Jacob Mauricius in 1744. Once emancipated, Quacy met Carolus Linneaus in Dutch Suriname, where a tree was named in his honor, and even visited the Prince of Orange at the Hague, in 1776. However, the

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[137] See David Bindman, *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the Eighteenth Century*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).
[138] Susan Scott Parrish. *American Curiosity: Cultures of Natural History in the Colonial British Atlantic World*, 18.
[139] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 2:138.
[140] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796 2, 347.
[141] Ibid.

Saramkas were right to be apprehensive about Quacy. Legend has it that Wamba (the forest spirit) warned them of Quacy's propensity for evil. Considering Quacy frequently led European soldiers through the woods, the Saramkas' apprehensions were not unwarranted.[142] They ended up chopping off his ear as a warning to others who conspired with Europeans, a detail Blake chose to include in his portrait of Quacy [*Figure 48*].[143]

Blake's portrait highlights Quacy's adept ability to navigate the relationships between Maroons, indigenous, and white communities. Quacy wears the fine coat and gold medal gifted to him by the Prince of Orange that Stedman takes as visual evidence of the extreme wealth awaiting planters in Suriname.[144] In the background, one can discern miniature figures, a diminutive plantation estate, and fort waving a Dutch flag. Actual fences and trees as natural borders further elicit an understanding of landscape as secure and unwavering. The plantation estate setting reinforces how Quacy's exceptionalism and freedom hinged on his acquiescence to the plantation machine However, Quacy disproportionately large size, possibly indexing his status as "one of the most extraordinary characters of all the negroes in Suriname, or perhaps in the world," suggests his overdetermination.[145] The plantation landscape strains to physically support Quacy while also fueling his commanding presence.

The portrait of Quacy becomes the frontispiece of the second volume of *Narrative's* reprinted edition (1813).[146] Perhaps, the shift is tied to changing attitudes about diasporic Africans and enslavement in the wake of Hayti's establishment. Enslavement did not officially

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[142] Richard Price, "Kwasimukamba's Gambit."
[143] Parrish points this out. See Susan Scott Parrish, *American Curiosity*, 4.
[144] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796 vol. 2, 346.
[145] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 2:346.
[146] Stedman leaves a blank page for the illustration to be included the twenty-nineth chapter of his 1790 manuscript. John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1790, 761.

end in Britain until the passage of the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833. But the Slave Trade Act of 1807, which prohibited the sale of enslaved persons, was already in full force by the time Johnson reprinted *Narrative*. Beyond the liberal publisher's possible attempt to commend diasporic Africans' tremendous achievements or critique governmental incompetence, moving the picture also forges a different vantage point for the reader to approach the second volume. The portrait helped readers attribute the Scots Brigade's failures and struggles to a tumultuous climate rather than Black forces who menaced the European soldiers. Ultimately, Blake's portrait emphasizes Quacy's formidable stance with both feet on the ground.

Colonel Fourgeoud proclaimed the Scots Brigade's success at "rooting out the rebels, by destroying twenty-one towns or villages, and demolishing two hundred fields with vegetables of every kind, on which they depended for subsistence." [147] Stedman also reports the capture of a runaway slave named Cupido. Yet, Cupido escapes and runs away into the forest. Cupido undermines Colonel Fourgeoud's claims while also becoming a salient reminder of the Scots Brigade's failures. Colonel Fourgeoud celebrated pushing Maroons into the French Colony of Cayenne, "who not only gave them shelter, but supplied them with every thing they wanted."[148] Although these particular Maroons were no longer in Suriname, they were certainly not thwarted. They had been merely moved into France, an empire Stedman and his other contemporaries had blamed for spurring the Haitian Revolution. Thus, the portrait's shifted location might be linked to the Black forces who were not dispelled as much as moved to a different locale.

Pushing Black figures aside left the landscape that helped overdetermine their flesh

[147] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 2:350.
[148] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796, 2:351.

behind. Without landscape anchoring the Black figures in space, landscape engulfed colonials and dwarfed their agencies. Stedman wrote in his original manuscript upon departing Suriname, that the overwhelming majority of the 1,200 soldiers who were dispatched to Suriname were "lost, kill'd; & murdered by the Climate."[149] Johnson kept but softened his line to "So very destructive was the service to Europeans in such a climate; and such ever must be the result of the most successful operations in the unwholesome atmosphere of woods and marshes."[150] Black agencies who contested colonials' claims of exceptionalism maintained a felt presence in landscape, one that became even more explosive during the years British forces actively attempted to seize Saint-Domingue. Referring to Britons' conquest of Saint Domingue, Stedman remarked in his diary, "I am truly sorry to say that after so much bloodshed so little has been gained or lost on either side."[151] Landscape also failed to keep tumult confined to the borders of French Empire and forced a reconciliation with the limits of colonials' power.

This chapter has revealed how landscape agitated *Narrative*'s diagrams of military settlements, taxonomies of animals, and even representations of planter violence tasked with augmenting colonial power. Landscape divulges the real anxieties authorial, editorial, and artistic changes sought to disguise. Despite changing the format of Stedman's original watercolors or confining traces of disorder to the background or surrounding edges, such modifications were not enough to dispel all evidence of Stedman's imbrication in tumult. Stedman could no longer maintain the guise of an exceptional figure who safeguarded civilization from collapse. These scenes even enabled French readers to consider Saint-Domingue's transformation into Haiti. As I will show in the next chapter, landscape enabled British print culture to transform the Haitian

[149] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1790, 797.
[150] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative*, 1796 vol. 2, 350.
[151] John Gabriel Stedman, *Diary*, December, 1793.

Revolution into what revealed the mythical status of an uncontestable human civilization in the Caribbean.

REVOLUTIONARY ECOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

Marcus Rainsford's *An Historical Account of the black empire of Hayti* is the first chronicle of the Haitian Revolution in the English language (1805). Beyond detailing Rainsford's ground-level experiences as an officer in the British Army, *Historical Account* also chronicles some of the Haitian Revolution's most defining moments. This includes the more well-known Battle of Cap Français (1793) and the lesser-studied surrender of British General Maitland's to Toussaint Louverture's forces (1798). Unlike Long's *History of Jamaica* or Stedman's *Narrative*, *Historical Account* directly details Britain's attempts to seize Saint-Domingue (1793-1798) as Black slaves revolted against French planters. But Rainsford did not arrive in Saint-Domingue until several years after British troops arrived. He was also forced to return to England in 1797 due to a physical injury and Yellow Fever. Thus, Rainsford was not actually present for many of the events *Historical Account* describes.

Rainsford nonetheless claimed to only describe what he saw. This resulted in witting and unwitting misrepresentations of historical facts. As literary scholars Paul Youngquist and Grégory Pierrot note, Rainsford intentionally changed the date of his arrival in Saint-Domingue. [1] He conveniently placed himself on the island after British surrender. Downplaying colonial failure and changing the date diverts attention away from Britain's disastrous campaign and humiliating defeat by Black forces. The principal object of Rainsford's story is the glorious Haitian Revolution. Focusing on happier outcomes, such as the author's ability to escape death, cleverly conceals direct testimony of the events that precipitated the end of enslavement across

[1] Paul Youngquist & Grégory Pierrot, "Introduction" in *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti,* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013), xxxiv.

the Atlantic World. Youngquist and Pierrot go even further to analyze these changes as a process of "Britishizing" the Haitian Revolution's events. In their words, Haiti becomes the "heir of British liberty and Britain the executor of Haitian freedom."[2] Rainford skillfully tricks readers into thinking British Empire supported Haiti's establishment. However, reconfiguring the relationship between Britain and what became Haiti also proved to be a particularly thorny endeavor.

Landscape in *Historical Account*'s nine accompanying illustrations played a crucial role in negotiating, downplaying, and re-representing Britain's disastrous affairs in Saint-Domingue. Like Barlow's engravings for Stedman, the ones he made for Rainsford also include verdant terrains or mountains to increase the author's credibility. Landscape in these illustrations help readers understand Rainsford as an eyewitness observer because they often represent specific places or emphasize identifiable landmarks. Despite these aims, landscape also perpetuates a sense of the fantastical that belies the author's intentions. Landscape becomes part of an unstable and less legible mixture with specific topographical features, plants, animals, European soldiers, and Black bodies. As this chapter will show, reading *Historical Account* through its accompanying illustrations opens up another story about colonial loss Rainsford attempted to disguise. Landscape's obscuration of the author's desired narrative creates space to address how Europeans selectively retold Haiti's establishment to augment their own understandings of an ideal human civilization.

Of course, landscape in Rainsford's illustrations shifts the Haitian Revolution away from British loss by repositioning the Black Revolutionaries' successes in relationship to a Eurocentric idea of human civilization. Cleared foregrounds and surrounding verdure hold white and Black

[2] Paul Youngquist & Grégory Pierrot, "Introduction," xxxix.

figures in shared spaces. Hence, the primary focus is on an abstract understanding of humanness, including human variation, rather than British nationalism. This abstraction helped make the Haitian Revolution a more comprehensible, cohesive, and manageable narrative. However, landscape collides with bodies and plants in ways that unsettle a neater dichotomy between a sovereign white subject and a subjugated Black person. One particularly frustrated reader remarked, "there is not a "single negro represented with any of the features peculiar to the race."[3] Considering the disgruntlement of Rainsford's contemporaries, namely because of a failure to uphold racist taxonomies of human difference, I contend that landscape in Barlow's illustrations actually underscores the struggles to make the Haitian Revolution into a vaguer representation to support a desired view of the world. Readers' chagrin gives way to a different understanding of the Haitian Revolution based on the imaginary and in what exceeds language.

One example is Barlow's representation of Rainsford's visit to a temple [*Figure 49*]. Focusing on the shrine commemorating the French revolutionaries who allegedly inspired Haiti's establishment shifts attention away from General Maitland's failures and towards broader philosophical ideas about enlightenment. However, the image also leaves viewers with a particularly strange representation of Rainsford. It is hard to miss the sharp contrast between Rainsford's feebleness and embodied vulnerability with the two formidable Black soldiers. While landscape naturalizes Haiti's position as the supposed successor of European Revolutionary thought, landscape also fails to corroborate Rainsford's authoritative presence. Landscape brings Black soldiers and the author's body together in ways that fail to corroborate the European soldier's uncontestable sovereignty. Situating Haiti as the product of European

[3] "An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti." *Edinburgh Review*, April 1806.

civilization rather than agentive Black subjects who were commanded by brilliant leaders also created a less recognizable representation of white Man.

Throughout *Historical Account*, Rainsford does not resemble the expected colonial travel writer. He rarely, if ever, resembles an autonomous subject whose separation from an eternal object world remains secure and unwavering. The illustrated book catalyzes in the complete usurpation of the author's power. After his vessel springs a leak, Rainsford is forced to land ashore. He is then confronted and arrested by Black soldiers suspecting him of being a spy.[4] Rainsford is kept in a prison cell while awaiting trial. Ultimately, the laudable Toussaint Louverture rescues Rainsford from both his confinement and condemnation to death. *Historical Account* participates in a larger textual-visual repertoire of transforming Toussaint into an exceptional figure who rose above the ranks of fellow Black men.[5] However, Toussaint's valorization is linked to contestations of Rainsford's positioning as a soldier, author, and white European. *Historical Account*'s most dramatic moment crucially diagrams the central tension that plays out in the landscape of its accompanying engravings. The more the Haitian Revolution was repositioned in ways that minimized colonial loss, the more confusing representations of humans became.

I draw on Sylvia Wynter's dictum known as the overrepresentation of Man to explore how landscape imagery in *Historical Account* represented but also agitated European understandings of humanness. For Wynter, humanness on a secular self-constituting process. Wynter explains, "humans inscript and institute themselves/ourselves as this or that genre of

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[4] Marcus Rainsford, *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti*, 230.
[5] See Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby's analysis of Toussaint Louverture in Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, *Creole: Portraits of France's Foreign Relations During the Long Nineteenth Century*, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2022), 46-50.

being human."[6] Man employed descriptive statements to overrepresent himself as the normative human. Certain populations, namely indigenous and Black persons, were made to represent the bottommost position or least developed place. This made white Man appears as the normative human. At the crux of Wynter's formulation, the process of creating descriptive statements about the human Other maintained and perpetuated Europeans' understandings of themselves as earth's superior beings. Descriptive statements are thus imbued with a sense of colonial power. They grounded the rise of enslaving diasporic Africans and the development of humanist thought. As I will show, landscape played a vital role in enabling Man to overrepresent itself as if it were the human. But landscape at the same time impeded the perpetuating the coloniality of being. Although landscape in *Historical Account* helped uphold Europeans' understandings of themselves as exceptional human subjects by lessening colonial loss, it also attests to the author's strains to maintain a privileged ontological being through overrepresentations.

Returning to Barlow's picture, overrepresentation transforms Rainsford into a wizened man. Landscape grounds and even brings the temple and its valences of advanced metropolitan thought to the colonial periphery. It links the Black soldiers and their autonomous stances to the monument attesting to a longer history of human civilization originating from classical antiquity. Moreover, the flag beside the backgrounded forts underscores the Europeans who brought human civilization to the colonial periphery. A windmill alongside neatly sowed rows of crops on the right may even evoke the idea of white settlers who had already made the island suitable for the Black Empire's establishment. However, landscape introduces too many objects and other bodies that challenge Rainsford's authority in the center of the scene. The complex relations

[6] Sylvia Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation-An Argument." *The New Centennial Review* 3, no. 3 (2003), 277.

between plants, the temple, the mountainous backdrop, the author, and the Black soldiers gesture toward but ultimately overwhelm the binary logic of Wynter's dictum. In short, landscape's aesthetic function in the illustration corroborates what Wynter and her interlocutors have shown.[7] Closer scrutiny of descriptive statements can divulge moments when the self-replicating process of creating descriptive statements fails. It can even disclose alterative vantage points where other ways of inhabiting space beyond human discourse can be imagined.

From the vantage point of landscape's failure to secure Rainsford's exceptional status as a human figure, the temple looks more like a mausoleum. It may commemorate the loss of Europeans' understanding of themselves as exceptional human subjects that accompanied the imperial loss of Saint-Domingue. British forces seized Port-au-Prince in the same year Robespierre was guillotined (1794). Furthermore, Étienne Polverel died while on trial in France one year later. Historian David Geggus shows how it was easier for Britons to maintain a unified disdainful attitude for the French Revolution than for the Haitian Revolution.[8] Londoners were divided between fears of revolt spreading to the British colonies and glee over France's impending collapse. With the Black soldiers left to safeguard the monument, the image diverts attention away from these contradictory attitudes and the expiration of revolutionary thought. But landscape appears more ambivalent toward the author's intent. Overgrown leaves protrude into the temple and treacherous mountain slopes enter the scene. Further corroborated by Rainsford's embodied fragility, the colonial metropole's waning influence over Haiti is never entirely evacuated from the image.

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[7] See Katherine McKittrick, *Dear Science and Other Stories*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2021), 42-43.
[8] See David Patrick Geggus, *Slavery, War and Revolution: The British Occupation of Saint Dominque, 1793-1798*, (London: Clarendon Press, 1982), 80-95.

Reading *Historical Account* through Barlow's engravings, I analyze landscape as the site of a tension between a longing for imperial sovereignty by positioning Haiti as the inheritor of Enlightenment thought and stranger representations of humanness that question colonial power. For Rainsford, "Mere descriptions convey not with so much force as when accompanied by graphic illustration, those horrors which are wished to be impressed upon the public mind."[9] Despite the important role of imagery, Barlow's engraving of the monument is *Historical Account*'s first illustration after its frontispiece (not including two maps in the first chapter). No engravings adorn the first part of *Historical Account* dedicated to the events between Christopher Columbus's 1492 "discovery" of the island and English General Thomas Maitland's surrender. Erasing French presence before Haiti's establishment, engravings are strategically used to create the illusion of a seamless transfer between Britain and Haiti. This also enables French soldiers in the final images depicting Napoleon's attempt to recapture the island to appear as barbaric and unwelcome visitors. From a foreground positioning Rainsford on equal footing with a Black solider to imaginary beasts leaping out from untamed wilderness, landscape forges complicated relationships between different species and real and fictitious actors. The white Man's exceptional status no longer holds in these complex amalgams of bodies.

Three principles form the arc of this chapter: describing, grounding, and plotting. Thinking with Wynter, I first explore how landscape challenges taxonomic categories of racial difference in *Historical Account*'s frontispiece and portrait of Toussaint Louverture. Landscape complicates descriptions of Black subjects' posited inferiority. It mediates textual descriptions of human Others and renders them as not necessarily subservient to Man. In grounding, I analyze how landscape, as the cleared terrain intended to support colonial settlements, came to support or

[9] Marcus Rainsford, *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti*, xix.

"ground" the agencies of Black subjects. This includes a Black judge and a Black woman who visits Rainsford in his prison chamber. Black subjects begin to appear as exceptional beings and Rainsford stumbles into a different web of relations where he actually loses the ability to describe other subjects. Lastly, I use the term plotting to address landscape's positioning of dangling white bodies, Black limbs floating in the sea, and Black bodies devoured by beasts. Plotting conveys landscape's ability to create a less determinable scheme where bloodshed does not appear as disturbing grotesqueness as much as erotically desired.

DESCRIBING

Historical Account opens with a frontispiece capturing the encounter between Rainsford and an anonymous Black insurgent [*Figure 50*]. Beyond articulating the ostensible binary between their white and black bodies, the engraving also depicts three different areas or even "grounds" of the island. On the left, the expansive space of the ocean backgrounds a hunting dog. Rainsford as the white Man stands alongside slopes with a plantation and a fort in the center. On the right, the Black subject stands alongside ungroomed vegetation. The encounter is further contextualized by the cleared terrain of the foreground and the clouded distant horizon. Revealing how taxonomies of difference are inextricably linked to geographical positionings, the frontispiece invites consideration of landscape's aesthetic role in describing Rainsford's privileged authorial position.

Like Wynter's understanding of the descriptive statement, landscape in the frontispiece does not "describe" how men appeared as human subjects in the world. Rather, landscape in the frontispiece describes how colonials, including Rainsford, wanted themselves to appear as human subjects in contested terrains. Landscape helps perpetuate the self-fulfilling prophecy of

descriptive statements that make Rainsford appear as if he were the paradigmatic human figure. Occupying the central position between the dog and an unnamed Black subject, Rainsford stands on the physical land Europeans cleared to build human civilization. The diminutive fort and estate immediately behind Rainsford reinforce Europeans' transformation of seemingly menacing topographies into sites for colonial habituations. Moreover, Rainsford's pin-striped trousers and handkerchief enhance his authoritative presence as an eyewitness observer. The hunting dog's tilted head and Black figure's outstretched arm toward Rainsford possibly convey reverence for Rainsford's authority.

However, landscape, like descriptive statements, can also unsettle colonial power. Wynter's study of the descriptive statements' evolution reveals how the coloniality of being is imagined or even fantasized. This creates space to attend to or even conjure up alternative vantage points outside of Man's self-authored classificatory systems regulating normative humanness.[10] Whereas Rainsford stands in open space and the hunting dog extends beyond the engraving's parameters, the Black figure is canopied by a towering breadfruit tree's fronds. Vegetal bodies frame and safeguard the Black soldier while his corpus aligns with the vertical breadfruit tree. Further buttressing the intimate affinity between the surrounding landscape and the Black figure, the feather of his headdress resembles a frond emanating from the tree's crown. Leaves brush the Black soldier's leg and a second trunk supports his shoulders. Just as much landscape describes the author as if he were the human, it could also unsettle the binary logic between the privileged self and the Other. Succulently stated, landscape intervenes in the illustration as a descriptive statement about the author and invites other ways humanness could

[10] See Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle,* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), xxv.

be described.

Rainsford's readers did not appreciate the frontispiece's failure to describe white Man according to European conventions of normative humanness. For instance, one critic complained, "Captain Rainsford appears as the advocate and the encomiast of the negro race, who are represented by him in a fairer point of view."[11] Another reviewer elaborated that the Black figure has the "high skull, and nose, and thin lips, and general expression of the European."[12] Having copied an engraving from Johann Caspar Lavater's *Essays on Physiognomy*, Barlow was certainly aware of racist pseudoscience and [*Figure 51*]. Barlow may have intentionally decided to abscond from Lavater's guide in depicting human variation according to racist stereotypes. Nonetheless, these critiques of the frontispiece's failure to ossify iconographies of racial difference indicate landscape's failure to function as a descriptive statement about white Man's positioning as a human subject.

Landscape formally frames the figures in a perpetual state of taxonomic difference while also amplifying some of these critics' most vehement critiques. A tripartite spatial distinction between the sea, the rising mountain, and the breadfruit tree reinforces the distinctions between the hound, Rainsford, and Black soldier. Yet, landscape also unsettles the complex osteology between the animal, author, and Black figure. A branch closes the distance between Rainsford and the Black soldier, leaving the dog exposed to the sea. Moreover, the breadfruit tree frames the Black soldier and leaves Rainsford and the hound vulnerable on cleared ground. Landscape closes the distinctions between these bodies. By prescribing the white male author with a more

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[11] "An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti." *The Critical Review, or Annals of Literature*, September 1806 and "Rainsford's History of Hayti." *Anti-Jacobin Magazine, or Monthly Political, and Literary Censor, 1798-1810*, December 1805.
[12] "An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti." *Edinburgh Review*, April 1806.

indeterminate location, landscape also describes Rainsford's unsettled ontological positioning.

Rainsford never describes meeting an unnamed Black soldier somewhere between ungroomed foliage and the seashore with a hound anywhere in the text. There are only two moments the frontispiece gestures toward. In the first, Rainsford lands on Saint Domingue in his American disguise. Rainsford and his crew are approached by Toussaint Louverture instead of a "private soldier of the Black Army" as the engraving's caption describes.[13] In the second scene, Rainsford unexpectedly returns to shore after his vessel springs a leak. Rainsford is soon thereafter confronted by Black soldiers and a Black General named Muro who, with a blind eye, questions him ashore.[14] The frontispiece only depicts one Black figure who appears unimpeded by blindness as he casts his look toward the author. Detached from the accompanying text, these scenes indicate how there are no words besides the caption describing the frontispiece. Landscape is left to describe the complex relationships between both figures and the animal. Operating in excess to the language Rainsford uses to describe himself in relationship to others, landscape highlights the limits of descriptive statements.

Colonials, including Rainsford, employed landscape to corroborate their superior ontological positionings. Landscape created a useful language for deeming those who were victims of racial-sexual subjugation as "ungeographic." As Black feminist geographer Katherine McKittrick's reading of Wynter's dictum underscores, landscape disguised important Black geographies.[15] Landscape helped construct a "neutral" or "scientific" language amenable to the ways Europeans wanted to perceive themselves and others. It also helped corroborate a white vantage point. However, landscape also failed to fix social relationships and could therefore

[13] Marcus Rainsford, *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti*, 215.
[14] Marcus Rainsford, *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti*, 230.
[15] Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds,* xi.

become wrapped up with other ways of describing humanness. McKittrick points to Black social practices undergirding landscape's illusion of security and could even intervene in Man's descriptive statements.[16] This is what aesthetically happens in *Historical Account*'s frontispiece. Because it captures Rainsford toe-to-toe with a Black figure, landscape as a tripartite division of space fails to perpetuate a language that maintains the white figure's privileged position. It even reveals where Rainsford's descriptive statements strain to uphold his understanding of humanness.

The frontispiece might thus be thought of as a visual representation of Rainsford's overture. For Younquist and Pierrot, Rainsford's exordium "anticipates at the level of historical narrative the neo-colonial agenda of British foreign policy toward an independent Haiti."[17] *Historical Account*'s first lines buttresses their claims. Rainsford exclaims, "It has frequently been the fate of striking events, and particularly those which have altered the condition of mankind, to be denied that consideration by their contemporaries, which they obtain from the veneration of posterity" buttresses their claims.[18] Rainsford recognizes how humanness as a stable discursive category hinges on disavowing contentious events. However, his statement also creates a complex tension between the unnamed revolutionary events and mankind. This suggests that bringing "striking events" destabilizes representations and manifestations of humanness. Like the frontispiece's sublimation of Rainsford's experiences into an imaginary encounter, histories of constructing estates and colonial resistance are subsumed into a more abstract description of mankind. Vague semantics and hyperbolized descriptions help downplay the events' possible modifications of ossified views of humanness. Yet, these descriptive

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[16] Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds*, xix.
[17] Paul Youngquist & Grégory Pierrot, *An Historical Account*, xxxix.
[18] Marcus Rainsford, *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti*, ix.

statements also appear overly sensationalized. Fictitious utterances are too far detached from the specificities of a particular time or place. Indeed, Rainsford's opening remarks do not even name the time and space his illustrated book addresses. The power integral to descriptive statements collapses.

Rainsford's critics ultimately did not find his agenda compelling. One reviewer described *Historical Account* as a plethora of "ill made abridgements from the most popular and accessible works upon the West Indies."[19] Rainsford's extended passages and quotations from other British colonial writers, such as Bryan Edwards and Robert Dallas, failed to convince readers of Rainsford's role as an authentic eyewitness observer. Moreover, the same reviewer criticized Rainsford's engravings, "We cannot give them any great commendation for taste or skill; and we are certain that, in some particulars, they have no claims to accuracy."[20] Other readers were similarly disgruntled by what they perceived as Rainsford's inaccuracy or even imposition of his own imagination.[21] For them, *Historical Account* failed to confirm other contemporaneous accounts of the revolutionary events in Saint-Domingue. Rainsford's text and images failed to describe what contemporaries expected and what happened at the ground. Crucially, Rainsford's descriptive statements failed to perpetuate exceptional humanism and its accompanying sense of imperial power.

Scrutiny of Rainsford's claims reveals the limitations of what descriptive statements can do. Rainsford's ambitions to become a poetic orator of history partially explain the sensationally august semantics of his introduction. By contextualizing *Historical Account* with other

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[19] "An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti." *Edinburgh Review*, April 1806.
[20] Ibid.
[21] "An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti." *The Critical Review, or Annals of Literature*, September 1806 and "Rainsford's History of Hayti." *Anti-Jacobin Magazine, or Monthly Political, and Literary Censor, 1798-1810*, December 1805.

pamphlets Rainsford wrote, one can observe an evolution of semantic expressions. Of particular importance is the relationship between Rainsford's first pamphlet about Saint-Domingue and his poems about Britain's Glorious Revolution of 1688. For Youngquist and Pierrot, the epic rhetoric these two texts enabled Rainsford to position Britain's 1688 Revolution as a harbinger of the Haitian Revolution.[22] Haiti's establishment is thus the product of revolution in Britain and a description of the 1688 Revolution's lasting legacy. But Rainsford was aware of how lofty descriptions also exposed blemishes. For instance, he acknowledged how his text might occasionally slip into "an inequality of style" or an "occasional confusion of persons." These flaws "must be attributed to the want of that tranquility, the desire of the enlightened in all ages, so necessary to a correct view of men and things, and which polishes, while it imparts the utmost reach of intellect."[23] A subtext threatening to taint Rainsford's sensational statements can never be entirely dispelled.

As Wynter explains, another subtext mars landscape's claims of unlimited sovereignty and an uncontestable human civilization. This other parlance discloses a different way of knowing how beings inhabited spaces outside Man's dominating vantage point.[24] Focusing on

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[22] Marcus Rainsford, *The Revolution, or Britain Delivered, a Poem, in Ten Cantos,* (London: R.B Scott, 1800), Marcus Rainsford, *A Memoir of Transactions That Took Place in St. Domingo in the Spring of 1799,* (London: R.B Scott, 1802), and Marcus Rainsford, *St. Domingo; or, An Historical, Political and Military Sketch of the Black Republic : With a View of the Life and Character of Toussaint L'Ouverture, and the Effects of His Newly Established Dominion in That Part,* (London: R.B Scott, 1802).

[23] Marcus Rainsford, *An Historical Account*, v-vi.

[24] Sylvia Wynter, "Beyond the Word of Man: Glissant and the New Discourse of the Antilles," *World Literature Today* 63, no. 4 (Autumn 1989): 637–48, Sylvia Wynter, "Afterword: Beyond Miranda's Meanings: Un/Silencing the 'Demonic Ground' of Caliban's 'Woman'." In edited by Carol Boyce Davies and Elaine Savory Fido, *Out of the Kumbla: Caribbean Women and Literature,* (Trenton: Africa World, 1990), 355–72, and Sylvia Wynter,. "1492: A New World View." In *Race, Discourse, and the Origin of the Americas: A New World View,* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 5–55.

Édouard Glissant's "root metaphor," Wynter identifies unsettling allegoric and linguistic expressions associated with those who were subjugated to racial-sexual difference.[25] The root metaphor refers to empirical obstacles impeding Antilleans' realization of the full potential of Antilleanity, including the linguistic subordination of Martinicans. They cannot be described using the words governing our discursive order or global forms of knowledge.[26] Wynter takes Glissant's employment of figurative descriptions as a new mode of revolt against conventional reason or the Word of Man. Of crucial significance, these "revolts" happen through what Europeans understood as a landscape. Wynter turns to Glissant's descriptions of property-owning villains whose homes block the Lézarde River and the reduction of life to a gutter of swirling mud. While landscape metaphorically describes Antillean forms of being, it also functioned as the vehicle for "performative acts of countermeaning directed against the semantic character or behavior-regulating program."[27]

Landscape in Barlow's engraving of Toussaint Louverture fuels these linguistic revolts against descriptive statements [*Figure 52*]. Not entirely dissimilar to the engraving of the temple, backgrounded mountains frame Toussaint as he clasps an elongated sword. The mountain on the left is taller than the one on the right and a fort with a tripartite flag occupies the most elevated point. Moreover, a band of foliage also distinguishes the inherently fixed terrain in the foreground from the swaying breadfruit trees and menacing slopes in the background. Landscape supports Toussaint's venerable presence as he stands on the flattened ground. As I will show,

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[25] Sylvia Wynter, "Afterword: Beyond Miranda's Meanings: Un/Silencing the 'Demonic Ground' of Caliban's 'Woman,' 94 and Sylvia Wynter, "Beyond the Word of Man: Glissant and the New Discourse of the Antilles," 637.
[26] Sylvia Wynter, "Beyond the Word of Man: Glissant and the New Discourse of the Antilles," 638.
[27] Sylvia Wynter, "Beyond the Word of Man: Glissant and the New Discourse of the Antilles," 639.

landscape in this illustration positions Toussaint outside of descriptive statements and beyond the discourse of humanness. This created space for a performative act of countermeaning against the forms of knowledge governing the histories of human civilization.

With Toussaint holding a document, the illustration invites a closer reading between text and image. It seems to confirm Rainsford's descriptive statements about the Black Revolutionary. Toussaint's refusal to raise his sword conveys "remarkable benevolence towards the brute creation."[28] Distinguished from the backgrounded mountains, Toussaint's abstinence from combat attests to Rainsford's anecdotes about Toussaint's civility.[29] According to Rainsford, Toussaint led his former master to freedom and refused to sentence four treacherous Frenchmen to death.[30] Landscape also characterizes Toussaint through his "general influence over his fellow negroes."[31] A second Black soldier stands behind Rainsford and other Black soldiers exit the space between the mountains. In short, the image confirms how the Black Revolutionary rose above the conduct of French General Charles Leclerc's "vilest treachery" as Napoleon attempted to reconquer Saint-Domingue.[32]

But the image also highlights Rainsford's struggles to bring Toussaint into the Word of Man. Rainsford's biography of Toussaint goes to extraordinary lengths to make him conform to defining characteristics of normative humanness. For example, Rainsford underscores Toussaint's "external polish, which imparted an uncommon grace to his manners."[33] Rainsford

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[28] Marcus Rainsford, *An Historical Account*, 242.
[29] Marcus Rainsford, *An Historical Account*, 241.
[30] Marcus Rainsford, *An Historical Account*, 246 and Dubroca, *The Life of Toussaint Louverture : Late General in Chief and Governor of the Island of Saint Domingo; with Many Particulars Never before Published*, (Charlestown: T. B. Bowen, 1802),
[31] Marcus Rainsford, *An Historical Account*, 245.
[32] *The Critical Review, or Annals of Literature*, September 1806.
[33] Marcus Rainsford, *An Historical Account*, 244.

also described Toussaint's role as a general. He remarked, "If during this early period of his life, the black general had shined conspicuously, through every disadvantage, with the brightest talents and the milder virtues, he now rose superior to all around him."[34] Descriptive statements collapse into overly august or sensationalized characterizations. In turn, Rainsford's attempts to position Toussaint in relationship to other Black subjects and even white Europeans end up revealing the Word of Man's limits.

Toussaint also aesthetically functions in surplus to the landscape in Barlow's engraving. His corpus becomes a structuring force. Intersecting the composition into two halves, Toussaint's body distinguishes settled forts grounded by flattened mountain slopes from the Black soldiers emerging out of the mountains. His foregrounded stance on the cleared terrain does not just convey his eminence by accentuating his disproportionately larger size. It also literally and metaphorically enables Toussaint to rise beyond the spatial divisions between the cleared ground, mountains, and horizon with clouds (or possible plumes of smoke). Taken as a whole, landscape strains to hold Toussaint in a place bearing a closer semblance to structured European environments. This divulges a subtext that obscures and agitates landscape's supposed valences of the unchangeable and uncontestable coloniality of being integral to humanness.

Barlow's picture reminds us how European colonial power is not automatically bound to landscape. Rather, dominating social practices made landscape play a central role in legitimizing imperial sovereignty.[35] Landscape's subtexts also describe Black identity and even help make diasporic Africans' claims of place and personhood. As Wynter shows, Maroons received their

[34] Marcus Rainsford, *An Historical Account*, 247.
[35] See Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle*. (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), xi.

name from the Spanish word for undomesticated animal, cinarrón.[36] The term described their statuses as runaway slaves. At the same time, the term accentuates their positions as non-assimilated figures with precarious geographical positionings. Maroons are inscribed between the rebellious or "non-domesticated" mountains of the ancestral African cultural model and the tamed landscape of the lowlands of the plantation model. For Wynter, formerly enslaved persons could either retreat to the mountains where a culture of an ancestral past could be maintained or to the plowed grounds of the plantation model where one could enter a mainstream flow of historical events by submitting their identity. Toussaint, in Barlow's illustration, ultimately appears to choose neither option.

Toussaint complicates the bifurcation between "non-domesticated" mountains and the plantation model. For Youngquist and Pierrot, Toussaint appears closer to the British colonial auxiliary than the French general he had become when Rainsford met him.[37] This conveys Britons' bias toward a "heroic fantasy of blackness." As Youngquist and Pierrot assert, "He is tall, handsome, and generic: a white man in blackface."[38] He moves toward the mainstream flow of historical events so long as he also obtains a closer semblance to a British soldier. However, Toussaint only became a Revolutionary hero after Rainsford's permanent return to England and General Leclerc's invasion of the island in 1802. Britons focused primarily on the appalling mortality of British troops when Rainsford claims to have encountered Toussaint.[39] Hence, we can surmise that this view of Toussaint is an aftereffect of Rainsford's ground-level experiences.

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[36] Sylvia Wynter, "Beyond the Word of Man: Glissant and the New Discourse of the Antilles," 638.
[37] Pierre Youngquist & Grégory Pierrot, *An Historical Account*, xlv.
[38] Pierre Youngquist & Grégory Pierrot, *An Historical Account*, xlv.
[39] See David Geggus, "British Opinion and the Emergence of Haiti, 1791-1805." in *Slavery and British Society, 1776-1846*, (Macmillan Press LTD, 1982), 123–49.

The slippage between Rainsford's direct encounter with the revolutionary leader and his later reproachment of it further exemplifies Toussaint's interruption of the flow of historical events. The figure-ground relationship in Barlow's engraving thus demonstrates Europeans' struggles to integrate Toussaint into the discourse of humanness.

As historians have recently pointed out, Toussaint often agitated historical narratives by maintaining a mythological or even more than human status. From Madison Smartt Bell calling Toussaint a figure who belongs in the "pantheon of Haitian national heroes" to C.L.R James's description of Toussaint as "one of the most remarkable men in a period rich in remarkable men," Toussaint maintains an eminent distinction from other revolutionary figures such as Georges Biassou and Jean-Baptiste Sans Souci.[40] Sensational and hyperbolic language helped bolster these distinctions and Toussaint's exceptional status. However, it also made Toussaint into a figure who enabled Europeans to negotiate colonial loss. As art historian Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby has pointed out, Parisian actors in the mid-nineteenth century played Toussaint through blackface. This demonstrates how "post-Revolutionary history could never be fully extricated from the mimicry of its former colony."[41] But Toussaint helped Frenchmen grapple with the relationship between the French and Haitian Revolutions just as much as he helped Britons grapple with their own imperial losses. Indeed, descriptive statements also positioned Toussaint beyond the confines of national boundaries.

Landscape plays a central role in describing Toussaint as a figure who did not belong to French or British history as much as a broader history of the world. Closing the distance between

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[40] Madison Smartt Bell, *Toussaint Louverture: A Biography*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 2007), 3 and C.L.R James. *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), x.

[41] Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, *Creole: Portraits of France's Foreign Relations During the Long Nineteenth Century*, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2022), 155.

Toussaint and the earth, descriptions of germinating acorns, verdant fields, and electrical fluids, nature appears to naturalize Toussaint's exceptional status.[42] Let us turn to an extended passage in which vegetal agencies make Toussaint into a Revolutionary figure.

> Thus proceeded the illustrious man: like the simple acorn, first promiscuously scattered by the winds, in its slow but beauteous progress to the gigantic oak, spreading its foliage with august grandeur, above the minor growth of the forest, defending the humble shrub, and braving the fury of contending elements.[43]

Analogizing Toussaint to an acorn, Toussaint metamorphosizes into a tree affording protection to the Black subjects. He maintains a closer semblance to the draping tree in the frontispiece than to a British white male. Yet, describing Toussaint through a vegetal agency attests to his positioning beyond the Word of Man. Descriptive statements conversely make him into a figure who exceeds human discourse. Toussaint, as a metamorphizing acorn, underscores the limits of the Word of Man. At bottom, employing landscape imagery to create descriptive statements creates space for Toussaint to agitate the coloniality of being integral to human discourse.

Toussaint as a germinating acorn in the forest also enables him to bring a semantic revolt against normative behaviors into Rainsford's descriptive statements. As an acorn, Toussaint maintains the legends, myths, and more obscure stories about resistance. Forest imagery recalls Dutty Boukman's vodou ceremony at Bois Caïman (1791) that allegedly germinated into the Haitian Revolution. Notably, Rainsford never addresses the ceremony or its leader. Rainsford attends to General Jean-Jacques Dessalines's role as an organizer of Black troops in the mountains. However, he ignores Dessalines's legendary status as a *lwa* (god, image, or spirit). Folklore explains he became an omniscient entity the moment his murdered body was torn into

[42] Marcus Rainsford, *An Historical Account*, 245.
[43] Marcus Rainsford, *An Historical Account*, 245.

pieces and thrown into a crowd.[44] Landscape created space to insert these other histories and alternative ways of knowing the world into the descriptive statements promoting man's status as the normative human. As I will show, landscape's role in creating descriptive statements supported revolts against the coloniality of being by grounding Rainsford's stranger inhabitation of space. Occupying taxonomically arranged terrains conversely reveals the author's struggles to describe himself as if he were the human.

GROUNDING

In employing the term "grounding," I think with Katherine McKittrick's reading of Wynter's dictum, which centers on what she calls demonic ground. Etymologically defined as a spirit, devil, or deity who can possess a human being, demonic is "attributed to the human or the object through which the spirit makes itself known, rather than the demonic itself."[45] It also implies unusual or cruel behaviors that are difficult to explain through the Word of Man and humanistic discourse. Mathematically connoting a system without a knowable outcome, the demonic operates as a non-deterministic and non-linear schema.[46] There is no organizing principle. Both understandings of demonic coalesce and invite a different way of understanding space beyond the human observer's space-time orientation. Geographically, the demonic model is wrapped up with a sense of absent presence. It connotes a geographical, ontological, and historical lack. For McKittrick and Wynter, the demonic becomes the slot for a missing racial-

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[44] Marcus Rainsford, *An Historical Account*, 287-88. David Geggus, "The Bois Caïman Ceremony," in Haitian Revolutionary Studies (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 81–92, Colin (Joan) Dayan, *Haiti, History, and the Gods*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1995), and Jeremy Popkin. *Facing Racial Revolution*, 2-3.
[45] Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds*, xxv.
[46] Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds*, xxiv.

sexual character. The demonic ground thus offers a very different geography that is inextricably linked to the spatial unrepresentability of Black femininity.

Demonic ground divulges an aesthetic problem at the crux of Rainsford's descriptive statements and employment of landscape imagery. While highlighting how colonials employed landscape to disguise important Black geographies, demonic ground also makes it possible to imagine alternative forms of being, geography, and knowledge.[47] Rainsford's descriptive statements, alongside their accompanying illustrations, never foreclose and even invite speculation of these alternative forms of being. Not always synonymous with Man's dominating geographies, *Historical Account*'s textual-visual representations diagram the alternative ways Rainsford inhabited space even when taxonomically ordered.

Rainsford's employment of landscape to articulate his desired social order conversely reveals other ways of inhabiting space. Consider his descriptions of what was known as the "negro ground." Maintaining a close semblance to both Man's dominating geographies and the demonic ground, it evokes obscurer social orders. So-called slave gardens were legally designated plots of land for enslaved populations to grow their own food. Insidiously intended as both a cost-cutting tool and a mode of binding enslaved persons to the plantation, slave gardens aesthetically integrate enslaved subjects into the plantation's dominating spatial order. Rainsford's introduction of the class of enslaved laborers by focusing on their gardens is a direct testament to the role landscape played in perpetuating Man's descriptive statements. Rainsford focused on their "gardens which produced the necessities of life; pigs, poultry, and even horses; and were sufficiently clothed, agreeably to the climate."[48] Even though landscape's valences of

[47] Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds*, 128.
[48] Marcus Rainsford, *An Historical Account*, 89.

quaintness or rustic benevolence bring the enslaved into the discourse of humanness, Rainsford's descriptions strain to distinguish them from other inhabitants. Rainsford immediately acknowledges how "they were considered and treated, as much beneath, the ordinary class of human beings."[49] While landscape closes the distance between the slave gardens and the planter's desired landscape design, Rainsford nonetheless holds on to the differences between these different classes of inhabitants. This friction between space and social order created space to address what other ways of inhabiting space landscape could ground.

Of course, Rainsford's bucolic descriptions of the slave gardens are closer to how he wanted to view them than to how they actually looked. Slave gardens often functioned as primary sites of resistance from within the plantation estate. These plots of land interrupted the plantation's architectural arrangements associated with cleanliness, proper cultivation, and imperial power. As Jill Casid argues, these gardens transplanted an "alien piece of Africa that imperial representation struggled to assimilate."[50] Slave gardens also became places where the enslaved could exercise more autonomy. Architectural historian Louis P. Nelson ties organic planning patterns to the agency of the occupants instead of the white planter.[51] By affording more agency to the enslaved, these gardens also prompted fears of revolt. Planters demanded the removal of trees and shrubs that obstructed surveillance sightlines or could be employed to poison masters.[52] The very grounds positioning the enslaved in the plantation's spatial

[49] Ibid.
[50] Jill Casid, *Sowing Empire*, 201.
[51] Louis P. Nelson. *Architecture and Empire in Jamaica*, (New York and London: Yale University Press, 2016), 125.
[52] Louis P. Nelson. *Architecture and Empire in Jamaica*, 129/

configuration and social order could give way to conjured up images of rebellious vodou ceremonies and noxious herbs.[53]

Many were concerned about the gardens' failures to assimilate into the plantation's spatial and social order. Take, for instance, William Beckford. He apprehensively explained, "When a tract of negro-provisions is regularly planted, is well cultivated, and kept clean, it makes a very husbandlike and a beautiful appearance."[54] Beautiful appearances are conditioned on proper maintenance. Jill Casid emphasizes Beckford's following contention, "the negro grounds, when highly cultivated and kept in order, are very pleasing to the eye, and have a double interest upon the mind of the observing and benevolent planter, who cannot fail to trace to their proper source the hand of nature."[55] Slave gardens merit delight and the enslaveds' submission to the estate when arranged according to the planter's omniscient eye. Of crucial importance, this suggests that a specter of disorder and disturbance never entirely absconds from Beckford's text. The term "when" and phrase "who cannot fail" imply a fricative pressure undergirding the deterministic order of the slave garden's relationship to the plantation estate. In short, the slave garden might very well fail to perpetuate the planter's desired scheme and could possibly germinate a demonic revolt against the Word of Man.

Slave gardens demonstrate how the enslaveds' agencies could remerge through landscape to contest colonials' understanding of themselves as exceptional human figures. Landscape imagery did not merely help Rainsford describe Toussaint but also the Haitian Revolution's specific origins. Likening its causes to seeds that "lie dormant through varying seasons,"

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[53] Jill Casid, *Sowing Empire*, 210.
[54] William Beckford, *A Descriptive Account of the Island of Jamaica*, (London: T and J Egerton, 1790), 256.
[55] Jill Casid, *Sowing Empire*, 210.

Rainsford claims that profound moments only occur when unseen forces from beyond the human domain call the seeds into a more obvious existence.[56] Man's happy stability hinges on these seeds' dormancy. Landscape is tasked with holding the agencies of the Haitian Revolution's Black revolutionaries at bay. Like Beckford's description of the slave garden, landscape could fail to hold and destabilize Man's seemingly secure and unwavering position. Man would instead be positioned by a ground appearing closer to the slave garden or the demonic ground. Germinating seeds give way to a different terrain or "ground" where Rainsford's descriptions of himself may not necessarily be synonymous with human exceptionalism. As I will show, landscape as germinating seeds or unmanageable slave gardens transform descriptive statements into a less determinable scheme.

Consider Barlow's engravings depicting Rainsford's trial for alleged spying and his subsequent imprisonment [*Figures 53* and *54*]. Treacherous terrains accompany *Historical Account*'s most catalytic moment. While Rainsford is on trial by a Black tribunal, a mountain slope enters the courtroom through a window. Colossal mountains also surround Rainsford's confinement to a chamber. Mountains coalesce with lush vegetation as Rainsford's sovereign power is usurped and his future as a living being is in question. At the same time, the images maintain a European understanding of order. Divisions between enclosed interiors and vast exteriors, barren and fecund plots of land, and male and female figures position Rainsford in taxonomically organized spaces. Moreover, the empty slope of the protruding mountain is contrasted with a neighboring windmill in the scene of Rainsford's trial. Sparse mountainsides outside Rainsford's prison cell are juxtaposed with the swaying breadfruit trees below. Despite unequivocal aesthetic dichotomies, ordered spaces give way to a less deterministic schema where

[56] Marcus Rainsford, *Historical Account*, 95.

Rainsford's sovereign agency is contested. European conceptions of space are no longer congruent with the author's uncontestable and unchangeable position.

Beyond capturing the drama of Rainsford's trial and imprisonment, these scenes combine different ways of inhabiting space. They also reveal whom McKittrick and Wynter might take as the absent racial-sexual subject. In the engraving of Rainsford's imprisonment, a towering breadfruit tree growing alongside prison bars separates Rainsford from whom the caption describes as a "benevolent female of colour." The Black woman intervenes in the austere division between the darkened chamber and the cleared ground. Despite her palpable presence in Barlow's illustration, she maintains a more elusive presence in Rainsford's text. Rainsford explains she visited him during the night. Only during her final visit does she attempt to communicate with Rainsford through muddled words. As "an angelic representation of mercy," the Black woman interrupts Rainsford's meditation on his graver predicament.[57] But her fungible appearance as a celestial or Devine Being within a European understanding of space challenges the contention that Black femininity was ungeographic.[58] Furthermore, her appearance also pushes Rainsford to the limits of the self-circular process of creating descriptive statements. Rainsford does not characterize her through more familiar tropes belonging to natural history or racist pseudoscience.

Her intervention in space makes Rainsford's descriptive statements stranger and less determinable. Indeed, an extended passage accompanying the engraving demonstrates how the Black woman brought Rainsford to the limits of language perpetuating colonials' desired social order.

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[57] Marcus Rainsford, *Historical Account*, 235.
[58] Katherine McKittrick, Demonic Grounds, xiii

> After lying two nights on a couch, formed of dried sugarcanes, with a very slender supply of food, the prisoner had resigned himself to the vacuity of despair; he was stretched out in silent agony, when, as the night closed in, and the mirthful troops had progressively retired, a gentle female voice, with the tenderest accents, aroused his attention. How long the benign object had been there, he could not ascertain; but, when he looked up, and behold her, his feelings were indescribable: she was a fine figure, rather tall, and slender, with a face most beautiful, and a form of symmetry, improved by the melancholy air which the scene had given her. She was dressed in a superior style, and possessed all the elegance of European manners, improved by the most expressive carriage. She held a basket, containing the most delicate food, with the finest fruits: she entreated him to receive them silently, and to destroy any remnants as a discovery would be fatal to her, and prejudicial to himself. He was about to reply with the ardour of gratitude, when, in an instant, she was gone![59]

Comparisons to European mannerisms and dress help render the Black woman with visual palpability. She becomes visible through defining characteristics of normative humanness. However, the Black woman's palpability is also marred by "tenderest accents" and "melancholy air." Rainsford is forced to describe her through felt sensations instead of observations. From his vantage point of "the vacuity of despair" and "silent agony," she appears as a benign object with "expressive carriage." Her specter-like presence and immediate disappearance further belie Rainsford's ability to behold her. Observations slip into "indescribable feelings." Located somewhere within and beyond the descriptive statements supporting the discourse of normative humanness, the Black Woman pushes Rainsford into a sensorial surplus of feelings where he cannot inhabit the world as a dominating white male author.

Landscape amplifies the Black woman's aesthetic intervention and solidifies the agencies of other diasporic Africans. Spreading cocoa leaves, charming fruits, and rich mountainsides from what Rainsford calls a "more delightful scene, which was more delightful than even fancy could picture" exist just beyond the confines of his cage.[60] Maroons who dance and sing on the

[59] Marcus Rainsford, *Historical Account*, 234-235.
[60] Marcus Rainsford, *Historical Account*, 233.

cleared valley's terrains replete Rainsford's textual illustration. Comparing their "dance of love" to ballets on the French or Italian stage, Rainsford explains, "he was nightly amused with the cheerful dance, the negros assembling when they quitted labour."[61] Some might interpret this scene as a redirection of sympathy from formerly enslaved persons to the white author. The dancers' movements in an animated terrain replete with spreading leaves and streams free of blockages is a far cry from Rainsford's own immovable position in chains. Yet, Rainsford's encounter with the dancers also reverses the colonial paradigm. The white male author is held captive as the Black women are free to dance. The cleared ground of the plantation model slips into the demonic. While the dancing diasporic Africans become more visible through Rainsford's desire for them, Rainsford's own position as an exceptional human figure becomes less tenable.

Rainsford's perception of their "dance of love" and the Black female visitor gestures towards but also complicates what Marcus Wood has understood as the psychodynamic relationship between slavery and literary sentimentality.[62] In his reading of Black enslaved women, Marcus Wood emphasizes the white male's eroticized vision of the tortured black female body and ties to an "obsessional power."[63] The Black woman becomes an "unstable object" as the author is torn between an objectifying gaze and elaborately romanticized diction. Wood goes even further to address a perverse sense of "who can suffer the more, the victim in her tortured state, or the sympathetic voyeur in his ability to think himself into her pain."[64] Ultimately, Wood's reading leads him to ask if the white male author's description of a

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[61] Ibid.
[62] Marcus Wood, Marcus. *Slavery, Empathy, and Pornography*, (London: Oxford University Press, 2002), 15.
[63] Marcus Wood, Marcus. *Slavery, Empathy, and Pornography*, 133.
[64] Ibid.

subjugated Black woman is a fantasy of sadism or masochism. But Rainsford's imprisonment once again denies him empathetic possession. He desperately clings to authorial power by reaching for a language that simultaneously describes his plight and maintains his position as the master describer of humanness. After attempting to compare the dancers to a Cytherian goddess, Rainsford describes, "The *hauteur* with which they passed the prison of 'the white man taken' was astonishing."[65] He immediately continues, "yet some seemed willing to pity and relieve, but it arose from ostentation than mercy."[66] The only way for Rainsford to subsume empathy into an aesthetic category of imperial sovereignty is to portray the dancers as incapable of maintaining "humane" sentiments. However, Rainsford is still left with the Black woman's haunting presence even when he obtains freedom and departs Saint-Domingue. Rainsford does not possess her as much as she appears to possess him.

Rainsford does not celebrate his liberation as much as mourn the absence of his visitor. In an extended passage, Rainsford remained enraptured by the Black woman even though he no longer needed her company to mitigate his extreme loneliness.

> To describe his feelings on such an unexpected reverse, would be difficult and useless. Reversed to himself once more, he did not long remain on a part of the island where his sufferings would have tended to efface the agreeable impressions received at Cape François. Once he tried to trace the haunts of his benevolent incognita, but in vain. She was impervious. He again bade adieu to this interesting soil, and at length reached his long desired destination, the island of Martinique.[67]

Rainsford gives his absent Black woman visitor a geographical location by naming Cape François. This performs the trick of subsuming Saint-Domingue to human discourse. Redescribing Saint-Domingue through the benevolent female figure downplays Britain's failure

[65] Marcus Rainsford, *Historical Account*, 234.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Marcus Ransford, *Historical Account*, 237.

to seize Saint-Domingue and Rainsford's condemnation to death. At the same time, his longing for the unmappable woman becomes wrapped up with the island's "interesting soil." Sentimentality is redistributed to the ground of the island when it cannot be bound to the bodies of the visitor or the dancers. As I will show, rechanneling desire to the island's terrains transforms landscape into an erotic scene of the human's collapse. Landscape transforms the possessive empathy redescribing white Man's position as the human by making Haiti's establishment contingent on Britishness into what overwhelms the human subject.

PLOTTING

In employing the term plotting, I refer to the rhetorical strategies Rainsford employed to position himself in relationship to unmappable subjects through landscape. Plotting refers to the complex relationships between narrative, geography, and mathematics that could be used to make the unrepresentable more palpable and accessible.[68] Plotting conveys the sense of mastering power integral to configuring multiple events into a cohesive narrative, dividing land into smaller parts, and charting bodies in space. At the same time, plotting does not let go of what also defied representation. It maintains another type of scheme bound to an undergirding cabal of disorder that can overthrow a mathematically precise, geographically perfected, or narratively cohesive arrangement. Although this unrulier underside escapes plotted relationships because it is outside the bounds of reason, attempts to access it can also render humanness with illegibility. Besides pointing towards the limitations of the strategies Europeans used to chart their positions as exceptional human figures, plotting also signals a desire to possess what

[68] "plot, v.1". OED Online. March 2023. Oxford University Press. https://www-oed-com.ezproxy.library.wisc.edu/view/Entry/145916 (accessed March 13, 2023).

exceeds the possessed object. It speaks to an untamable desire for what cannot be bound to a material object and thus engulfs the subject.

For some, plotting maintains a close semblance to Jack Halberstam's formulation of wildness. Wildness is a chaotic force of nature that refuses to submit to controlled social regulation.[69] It provides some of the language inherent to Wynter's dictum of the coloniality of being. Describing human civilization by connoting what was hostile toward human normalcy, wildness formed part of the alienating languages used to justify enslavement. It also operated as a shorthand for the deviant sexualities and posited savagery of indigenous persons. Wildness crucially affords a reparative reading, escaping a negative condition as the opposite of human normalcy. Wildness names a mode of being that absconds from possessive governance and maintains a seductively beckoning process of undoing. However, wildness is also difficult to map or access. It can only be accessed through alternative relations to vegetation, animals, beauty, politics, life, and death. "Plotting" incorporates the practices that mapped these alternative relationships. Yet, plotting also includes mapping and imagining a relationship with the less tangible subject of the demonic ground.

Halberstam borrows the term "wild" from Michel Foucault's *The Order of Things*. More specifically, wildness comes from an epistemological framework that takes shape around a core of unknowing and un-being.[70] Both Halberstam and Foucault contend that a fragment of the antinatural can be found within all natural histories. This antinatural fragment is tied to sexuality as death and a mode of embodiment and knowing ambivalently oriented toward un-being. "Wild" is the name Foucault gives to this ambivalent mode of knowing that life is forever in

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[69] Jack Halberstam, *Wild Things: The Disorder of Desire*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2020), 7.
[70] Jack Halberstam, *Wild Things*, 12.

danger of becoming. In Halberstam's reading of Foucault's contention, "life has left the tabulated space of order and become wild once more," the "becoming" indicates wildness is always still to come.[71] Wildness as an untamed ontology threatens to engulf life with what accompanies the knowledge of death. It threatens to metaphysically destroy us before our deaths. Holding on to the possibility of a reparative reading, Halberstam takes the relationship between death and wildness "as the beginning of the end of a colonial version of the human."[72]

Returning to Rainsford's farewell to Saint-Domingue, Rainsford's reach toward the objectless Black Woman is also a reach toward the end of the coloniality of being. The Black Woman's haunting presence is an aesthetic of Rainsford's unmappable intimacy with death and the erotic pleasures of bewilderment. Unable to "trace" her, Rainsford departs for another French island that had been seized by Britain during the Seven Years' War. The chapter ends and the next chapter begins with a "View of the Black Army, and the War between the French Republic and the Independent Blacks of St. Domingo."[73] Leaving the friction between death and erotic bewilderment objectless and unresolved, this tension is geographically and narratively plotted onto France's final attempt to reconquer Saint-Domingue through landscape.

Three especially grisly scenes of General Leclerc's militaristic escapade attest to how the overwhelming engulfment of the tension between death and erotic allurement is the beginning of the end of a colonial version of being human [*Figures 55* and *56*]. Of course, it is uncoincidental that Rainsford's descriptions of General Leclerc's failure are more elaborate than his descriptions of General Maitland's failure. Attention to French soldiers who appear especially uncivil and incompetent diverts attention away from the cruelty and failures of the British army. However,

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[71] Ibid.
[72] Jack Halberstam, *Wild Things,* 12.
[73] Marcus Ransford, *Historical Account*, 239.

landscape in these illustrations also becomes the site of a reconciliation between death erotic bewilderment. Landscape helped plot death onto France and leave erotic allurement for British audiences. Rainsford's redescription of the Haitian Revolution as the product of Britain's revolution a century earlier also makes the Haitian Revolution into a spectacularly enthralling scene. As I will show, Barlow's engravings only give a more welcome disguise to what contested Britons' coloniality of being and unmade their senses of being human. Plotting death onto France's occupation of Saint-Domingue failed to hold and conversely amplified the engulfing effects of the fricative force between death and erotic bewilderment.

Historical Account was the product of a textual-visual repertoire indexing an allurement of the Haitian Revolution's gore. Because Rainsford left the island long before the arrival of General Leclerc's forces in 1802, he based his descriptions of the French military campaign on other authors. Bryan Edwards, who Rainsford cites numerous times, redescribed the Haitian Revolution's earlier years as a "consuming fire between the different classes of mankind, which nothing but human blood can extinguish."[74] Sensationalizing rhetoric and abstract language transformed ground-level violence into fascinating spectacles of disaggregated bodies. Consider Edwards's description of how "human blood poured forth in torrents; the earth blackened with ashes, and the air tainted with pestilence."[75] By focusing on carnage, the Haitian Revolution's complex events become an obscurer scene of annihilation. But these august descriptions also speak to an allurement for the breakdown of bodies into a messier amalgamation. Death slips into erotic allurement. Recognizing Rainsford's close reading of *An Historical Survey of the French Colony in the Island of St. Domingo*, Edwards may have sparked Rainsford's own

[74] Bryan Edwards, *An Historical Survey of the French Colony in the Island of St. Domingo*, (London: J. Stockdale, 1797), xix.
[75] Bryan Edwards, *An Historical Survey of the French Colony in the Island of St. Domingo*, 77.

fascination with severed limbs, limp white bodies dangling from trees, and ravenous hunting dogs devouring Black flesh.

Rainsford and his readers would have also been familiar with the Haitian Revolution's violence through newspapers. Appeasing Britons' hunger for scenes of bloodshed, articles fantastically sensationalized the Haitian Revolution through imaginary tales and hyperbolized scenes of tumult.[76] Banging drums, children "running to and fro in wild confusion," and Black soldiers drinking whites' blood were particularly frequent. One newspaper exaggerated, "ruins still reeking with the blood of the children, women, and old men put to the sword" while emphasizing the "gross organs" of "blood-thirsty tygers."[77] Another article claimed it was better to drown in the ocean than approach the mountains and be "devoured by the anger of the children of Hayti."[78] While reducing complex events to fictitious abstractions, these "accounts" also created a problem in which Britons were plotting a relationship to the Haitian Revolution as an objectless abstraction. The Haitian Revolution's events began to look no different than Rainsford's visitor.

Landscape played a central role in transforming imaginary abstractions into an object. Turning to a conjured-up volcano, Rainsford plots his relationship to Britain's failure to seize Saint-Domingue. He explains, "like the verdant bosom of a volcano, unconscious of the flame about to burst; the people cheerful, the markets plentifully stocked, the lands loaded with production, and the colony, if *overwhelmed with debt*, it may be admitted to be so said, flourishing everywhere."[79] Rainsford was not alone in plotting a relationship to the Haitian

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[76] "Cape Francois, Amidst a Scene of Murder and Robbery." *The Times*. October 25, 1801 and David Geggus, "British Opinion."
[77] "Affairs of St. Domingo." *The Times*. July 23, 1804.
[78] *London Star*. July 21, 1804.
[79] Marcus Rainsford, *Historical Account*, 104.

Revolution through landscape. Numerous authors employed bursting volcanos to geologically situate Haiti's natural propensity for revolution despite the island's actual lack of volcanos.[80] As scholar Florian Kappeler explains, "It seems as if the empirical landscape of Haiti had to conform to the theoretical assumptions (and metaphors) of geology."[81] The Haitian Revolution's events became plottable through a made up landscape. This imaginary landscape made it possible to imagine other ways of inhabiting space where a colonial version of the human began to become undone.

Landscape also helps negotiate Rainsford's paradoxical attitudes about violence. On the one hand, Rainsford loathed overt representations of loathed. He explained, "civilized states" do not need to represent torture of "any kind familiar to vulgar minds, for they are exhibitions that live in memory, and steel the heart against those affections which form the grandest boundary of our nature."[82] Confronting torture unsettled posited understandings of normative humanness. On the other hand, Rainsford includes brutal images and particularly disturbing textual descriptions anyway. Perceiving the three illustrations as evidence of French incompetence makes it possible to consider them beyond the overt spectacles of violence Rainsford disdained. Colossal mountains and open oceans made the brutalities appear outside the boundaries of British empire. Yet, the strange coupling between abhorrent brutality and imagined terrains enables landscape to fold back onto itself to disclose a desire for a colonial dream that had taken shape around a fragment of disorder.[83] Rainsford did not witness these scenes and he even admits to having

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[80] See Florian Kappeler, "The Chronotope of Revolution. 'Volcanic' Narrations of the Haitian Revolution." *Nordic Journal for Caribbean Studies* 4, no. 1 (2018): 1–10.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Marcus Rainsford, *Historical Account*, 138.
[83] I am thinking with W.T.J Mitchell's and Jill Casid's analysis of dreamwork. See W.J.T Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape" in *Landscape and Power* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 5-34 and Jill Casid, *Sowing Emprie*, xvi-xviii.

conjured some of them up. Thus, landscape in these scenes divulges how normative humanness became an objectless dream. It could collapse into bewildering instances of the breakdown of human figures.

Current scholarship situates these three illustrations as a representational problem about the relationship between race and violence. Jeremy Teow contends that British authors mobilized black violence to ask if Haiti could truly be a civil nation.[84] Turning to *Revenge Taken by the Black Army for the Cruelties Practised on Them by the French* and *The Mode of Exterminating the Black Army, as Practiced by the French,* Teow contrasts the Black soldiers' "controlled form of violence" with the white soldiers' lack of restraint. But violence could also minimize Black agency. As Laurence Brown has argued, violence erases the Black revolutionaries' actual actions.[85] Black violence could also never be erased from the racist attitudes of the authors and metropolitan Britons. At base, the revolutionary events were only plottable through abstraction and hyperbole.

These scholarly conversations neglect landscape's aesthetic function in making the Haitian Revolution's seeable and sayable. In *Revenge Taken by the Black Army for the Cruelties Practised on Them by the French*, mountain peaks frame the hangings of two white men. One of their limp bodies drapes over a lower valley. With dangling bodies replacing sowed fields, the valley's cleared ground does not evoke a ripeness for imperial power as much as a ripeness for the human's imminent demise. The alignment between the hanging corpse in the center and the breadfruit tree further naturalizes the white soldier's usurpation of life and complete surrender to

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[84] Jeremy Teow, "Black Revolt in the White Mind Violence, Race, and Slave Agency in the British Reception of the Haitian Revolution, 1791–1805." *Australasian Journal of American Studies* 37, no. 1 (2018): 87–102

[85] Laurence Brown, "Visions of Violence in the Haitian Revolution." *Atlantic Studies* 13, no. 1 (2016): 144–64.

the Black soldiers. Landscape plots white and Black soldiers together in ways that do not perpetuate the posited colonial vocabulary between powerful Europeans and subjugated Black subjects. More than helping to transform the Haitian Revolution into an abstraction, landscape also discloses the struggle to plot what lacked an object. Landscape strained to prescribe violent encounters with a particular time and space and conversely reveals Rainsford's inability to maintain his position as a mastering describer of human discourse.

Rainsford gives no textual elaboration of the event in the engraving. There is no evidence at all that *Revenge Taken by the Black Army for the Cruelties Practised on Them by the French* actually happened. Indeed, all Rainsford describes is a relatively vague encounter between Black and French soldiers and a footnote about the terminology employed to map or "plot" the island's terrains. He addresses General Dessalines's Black soldiers who were "daily strengthened from every quarter."[86] After collecting a "considerable force upon the plain of the Cape," the Black troops moved inauspiciously toward Frenchmen who were immediately put to death or left moaning in mutilated states.[87] Rainsford plots the Black soldiers into his account by demonstrating how landscape combined with Black agency to overpower European forces. Moreover, Rainsford drew on landscape to plot the violence in space by including a footnote elaborating on the term "mornes." Rainsford explains, "This French provincial term, which has become a cant phrase in the public conversation on the war of St. Domingo, the writer conceives applies to heights divided by different mounts, separated by delightful vallies with which the island abounds."[88]

The picture's accompanying texts demonstrate how landscape strained to make objectless

[86] Marcus Rainsford, *Historical Account*, 336.
[87] Marcus Rainsford, *Historical Account*, 336-337.
[88] Marcus Rainsford, *Historical Account*, 337.

abstractions into a plottable narrative and geography. For Lawrence Brown, these illustrations cannot be seen as an unmediated window into ground-level catastrophes because Rainsford was an unreliable narrator.[89] Concurring with Brown, I contend that landscape played a central role in mitigating but also revealing Rainsford's lack of trustworthiness. Landscape gave Rainsford a ground to plot his own representations of events and actors just as much as it revealed his version of the Haitian Revolution to be ersatz. As a result, landscape led to a disorientation that invited other ways of imagining relationships with subjects. Landscape's frictions between imagination and reality and arcadia annihilation lead to a disorientation that unsettles the coloniality of being integral to humanness.

Rainsford's evasion of directly representing violence creates disorientation. By including Bryan Edwards's descriptions of violence written six years earlier, Rainsford collapses his voice with the voice of another author.

> 'Two of these unhappy men,' says Edwards, 'suffered in this manner under the window of the author's lodgings, and in his presence, at Cap François, on Thursday the 28th of September, 1791. They were broken on two pieces of timber placed crosswise. One of them expired on receiving the third stroke on his stomach, each of his legs and arms having been first broken in two places; the three first blows he bore without a groan. The other had a harder fate. When the executioner after breaking his legs and arms, lifted up the instrument to give the finishing stroke upon the breast, and which (by putting the criminal out of his pain), is called *le coup de grace*, the mob with ferociousness of cannibals, called out *arretez* (stop) and compelled him to leave his work unfinished. In that condition, the miserable wretch, with his broken limbs doubled up, was put on a cart-wheel, which was placed horizontally, one end of the axle-tree being driven into the earth. He seemed perfectly sensible, but uttered not a groan. At the end of the forty minutes, some English seamen, who were spectators of the tragedy, strangled him in mercy. As to all the French spectators, (many of them personas of fashion, who beheld the scene from the windows of their upper apartments,) it grieves me to say, that they looked on with the most perfect composure and *sang-froid*. Some of the ladies, as I was told, even ridiculed, with a great deal of

[89] Laurence Brown, "Visions of Violence in the Haitian Revolution."

> unseemly mirth, the sympathy manifested by the English at the sufferings of the wretched criminals.'[90]

Rainsford loses his commanding authorial voice while navigating evidence of French barbarism. Attempting to disentangle his voice from Edwards, Rainsford introjects with "says Edwards" in the first line. But switches between the first and third person in the extended passage continue to jumble up the two authors. Moreover, the scene moves between the Black subjects, uncivil Frenchmen, British seamen, French ladies, and narrators. Shuffling between different actors indicates a struggle to plot bodies in ways that uphold British superiority and the European's superior ontological positioning. Ironically, viewing the scene through Edward's text makes Rainsford not entirely different from the French onlookers. These shifts between different people, places, and moments in times indicate the failure to secure the fixed positionings required for Man to overrepresent itself as if it were the human. At base, the friction between repulsion and more pleasurable bewilderment spurred by these spectacles explodes into an orgy of un-being.

Consider *Blood Hounds attacking a Black family in the Woods* [*Figure 57*]. With a backgrounded mountain and breadfruit tree growing out from the right side, landscape frames hounds devouring a Black woman and her infant. The cleared terrain of the fore appears to plot the figures and animals in space while enhancing the scene's legitimacy. Distant plantations and windmills in the mountains characterize landscape as a secure, unwavering, and useful tool in grounding bodies in space. However, the bodies also breakdown into their surroundings. A Black Man's torso flails immediately behind the Black woman and her infant. Another beast has almost entirely consumed a different corpus. Furthermore, a "hound" maintaining closer semblance to a

[90] Marcus Rainsford, *Historical Account*, 142-143.

fantastical monster eats a three-armed Black man. Landscape in this scene does not function as what supported and naturalized colonial power by arranging and fixing bodies in space. Rather, landscape becomes part of an unstable mixture of disaggregated figures.

No bloodhounds ever attacked and consumed a Black family in Saint-Domingue. In a footnote, Rainsford's addresses a "dreadful experiment" in which dogs were used against Black forces.[91] Rainsford also elaborates on the hounds in *Historical Account*'s appendix. Rainsford confesses no bloodhounds were actually used to hunt down and consume Black families or soldiers.[92] Instead, hounds were a "successful, yet…dangerous experiment" tried by British soldiers" on Jamaica during the Second Maroon War. Rainsford goes even further and admits that bloodhounds are included in the text as a way of bolstering *Historical Account*'s appeal to British audiences. He explains, "Strange as it may appear to those who had an opportunity of knowing the fact, the public mind…has never been satisfied that the Maroons were not really hunted down, and destroyed by blood-hounds."[93] This pressure between an imaginary image and a more accurate text entangles repulsion for violence with allure for bloodshed. Beyond corroborating Rainsford's unreliability as a narrator, the relationship between text and image also reveals tremendous strains to plot European understandings of the Haitian Revolution.

A second engraving demonstrates an even more forceful attempt to increase the legitimacy of the hounds that attacked the Black family [*Figure 58*]. It depicts a white man wearing a militaristic costume using a Black man in chains to train bloodhounds. Like the other illustration, bloodhounds are attributed to another empire. Rainsford this time, claims Spaniards

[91] Marcus Rainsford, *Historical Account*, 327.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid.

employed hounds to track down runaway slaves.[94] The picture, at first glance, seems to maintain a sense of order agreeable to Eurocentric spatial orders. A dignified white soldier stands immediately next to a Black man in the foreground, cleared of all possible impediments. The dogs are more neatly confined to the closed kennel. Moreover, neatly groomed palm trees and the seemingly tranquil dwellings of enslaved persons surround the scene and dot the slopes of the mountains. But look closer. Hidden between the hut on the far left and the chained-up Black figure, three armed soldiers point guns toward either the three Black figures who stand outside the hut or to the two ravenous hounds. Landscape strains to dispel or disguise what appears illegitimate, fictitious, or even unnatural.

Collapsing the distinctions between order and disorder, fantasy and reality, and repugnance and fascination, the scene does not plot disparate bodies in space as much as plot the breakdown of normative humanness. One of the dogs already begins to consume a Black body. However, a second dog lunges toward either another Black subject or the white figures holding guns. A white man points a gun directly at the head of the other snarling dog. Paradoxically, the very animals bred and raised to hunt down runaway slaves or maintain desired social order became what know threatened to devour their masters. The dogs who functioned as extensions of colonial power and thus reaffirmed Europeans' understandings of themselves as humans turned back to consume colonial power itself.

Returning to *Blood Hounds attacking a Black family in the Woods*, the illustration begins to look a lot like a spectacular orgiastic metaphor for the Haitian Revolution. Downplaying Britain's failure to conquer Saint-Domingue required Rainsford to tie insurrection to France and to redescribe complexly interrelated ground-level events as an obscurer occasion bearing

[94] Marcus Rainsford, *Historical Account*, 423-427.

profound effects on the entire human civilization. Yet, subsuming multiple revolts over extended places and times into what was termed the "Haitian Revolution" was at odds with the practices of the imperial practices of meticulously recording events and geographically mapping plots of land. Europeans transformed the "Haitian Revolution" into an objectless image that could not easily be plotted into a cohesive story or geography. Rainsford's attempts to plot this understanding of the Haitian Revolution depended on landscape to transform real histories and conjured up events together. However, it could only hold so much until it fell into an illegible and unrecognizable assemblage of disaggregated bodies that failed to represent human civilization in its most ideal form. Landscape collapsed into an orgiastic spectacle where normative humanness became undone.

The picture reveals how the Haitian Revolution became so overdetermined that it could no longer uphold a colonial version of humanness. Between imaginary beasts and Black figures with extraneous limbs, Rainsford's portrayal of the events reveals how Europeans reimagined the histories of Haiti's establishment in order to appear as humans. General Maitland and Leclerc's failures to maintain European exceptionalism by thwarting revolting slaves prompted new ways of plotting Haiti's establishment through incivility or "inhumanness." But this could only go so far until it lost its believability and instigated other ways of knowing humanness. Detached from ground-level events, *Blood Hounds attacking a Black family in the Woods* fails to plot Man as if it were the human. It strained so hard to perpetuate an understanding of the Haitian Revolution that augmented Europeans' preferred understandings of themselves that it made Man's self-authored statements indeterminate. In turn, the illustration becomes a pleasurably bewildering space that invites spectators to contemplate other ways of plotting relationships. The illustration prompts the beginning of the end of the colonial version of being human when it begins to look

more like a fantastical and seductive orgy than an actual moment or place.

This chapter began with the contention that landscape is linked to Wynter's understanding of the coloniality of being and the overrepresentation of Man as if it were human. Rainsford and Barlow depended on landscape to describe the normative human and position human civilization in space. Like Wynter's analysis of her dictum, closer scrutiny reveals how landscape in *Historical Account* also holds the seeds of its own undoing. Landscape strained to augment Europeans' more imaginative visions of the Haitian Revolution and demonic figures needed to perceive themselves as mastering describers of the world and as subjects with limitless sovereignty. In the end, landscape not only disclosed the Haitian Revolution's status as a quasi-imaginary construct tied to discursive understanding of humanness. Landscape also reveals other ways of being where the differences between the human and the human's other fall apart in a beckoning spectacle.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has shown how landscape in the engravings of three influential books strained to perpetuate the imperial dream of an uncontestable human civilization across the Atlantic World. While these books' authors and publishers often employed landscape to solidify imperial power or downplay histories of colonial loss, landscape became too overdetermined to create and corroborate a narrative about Europeans' discovery of the Americas. Landscape imagery became part of an unstable rhetoric mixture that failed to perpetuate a parlance about colonial management. Tasked with framing the colonial periphery as settled property and disguising evidence of tumult as Black forces successfully contested European presence in the Americas, landscape became complex and contradictory. Landscape blurred the lines between material reality and fantasy and between idealized visions of human civilization and complete disorder. There is no easy way to define landscape or what it did during this time. Because landscape accommodated different tasks and multiple meanings, it was unable to reinforce imperial aims and could even belie intent.

Three central chapters show how landscape imagery evolved as the Haitian Revolution unfolded. In Chapter One, landscape imagery intended to frame settled property as desired social order became portals into Britons' apprehensions about the Haitian Revolution. Edward Long's excisions of his original pictures were inextricably linked to different ways of seeing and sensing the world that made disorder more palpable. In Chapter Two, I showed how *Narrative*'s engravings were based on the author's original descriptions and watercolors rather than the changes his editor and publishers made. This left evidence of Stedman's imbrication in disorder and Marronage hovering in the engravings' backgrounded landscapes. Fires and abandoned plantations also appear to have prompted various translations of Stedman's work, including one

that employed landscape bridge revolt in Suriname to revolt in Saint-Domingue. In Chapter Three, landscape imagery aesthetically inserted the fantastical and even erotic desire into a selective retelling of the Haitian Revolution. Careful scrutiny of the collisions between landscape and figures reveals how the Haitian Revolution was made into a quasi-imaginary abstraction. Ultimately, landscape perpetuate Europeans' understandings of themselves as the most ideal manifestations of being human. Landscape opened up other vantage points to see the revolutionary events beyond that of a disinterested European observer.

This dissertation also revealed that landscape became part of a representational problem. [1] Artists rarely represented the Haitian Revolution directly. When given visual form, the Haitian Revolution often appeared as a scene of complete annihilation [*Figures 59-61*]. Rising smoke from mountains or huddled masses of disaggregated bodies surrounded by steep topographies helped disguise the Haitian Revolution and even rearticulate its events in ways that were more amenable to Europeans' understanding of themselves and of the world. These images also obscured Britain's complex relationship with Haiti's establishment. However, British engravings about the Atlantic World actually maintained complex relationships with the events in Saint-Domingue and even rendered them with increased visibility. The exchange of illustrated books during the 1790s and early 1800s in London enabled illustrations about Jamaica and Suriname to maintain closer semblances to the events surrounding the Haitian Revolution. Sweeping views of Montego Bay as property or taxonomies of animals that lived in Suriname provided glimpses into the communities of enslaved persons who escaped their masters or plantations that burned

[1] I am thinking with Jacques Rancière's analysis of the relationship between landscape, revolution, and aesthetics. He does not address the Haitian Revolution (or the Atlantic World). However, his framing of landscape is useful for recognizing its imbrication in aesthetic problems at the core of modernity. See Jacques Rancière, trans. by, Emiliano Battista, *The Time of the Landscape: On the Origins of the Aesthetic Revolution*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2023).

down. In short, landscape in British print culture did not evade as much as give more complex forms to the social disorder Europeans associated with the establishment of Haiti.

IMAGES

Figure 1: Pierre Ozanne, *View of Môle Saint-Nicolas*, 1771, drawing

Figure 2: Pierre Ozanne, *View of Martinique*, 1771, drawing

Figure 3: Pierre Ozanne, *View of Gorée*, 1771, drawing

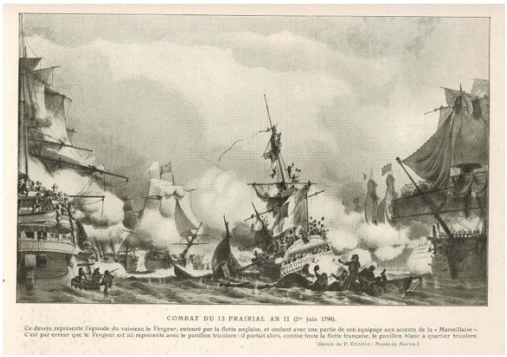

Figure 4: Pierre Ozanne, *Vengeur du Peuple*, 1795, engraving

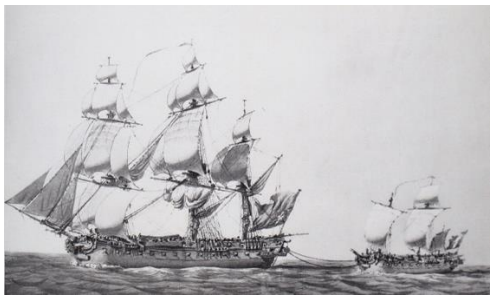

Figure 5 : Pierre Ozanne, The *Ambuscade*, 1795, engraving

Figure 6:Unknown artist, *The Way to Calvary*, early to mid-18th century, oil on canvas

Figure 7: William Blake, *March thro' a Swamp or Marsh in Terra-firma*, 1794, engraving with hand coloring

Figure 8: Claude Lorrain, *The Roman Campagna*, 1639, oil on canvas

Figure 9: Joseph Bartholomew Kidd, *View of a Country Residence*, 1838, lithograph

Figure 10: William Hodges, *Ruins of Prince Shuja's Palace at Rajmahal*, 1781, grey wash, pen, and black ink on paper, 49.2 x 66.4 cm, Yale Center for British Art, B1978.43.1773

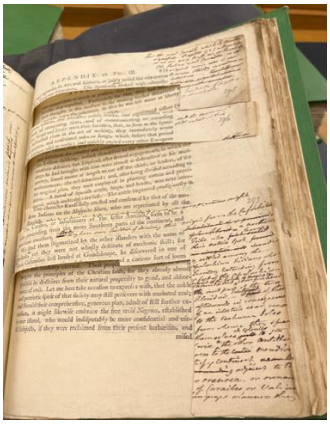

Figure 11: Page 955 of Edward Long's personal copy of *The History of Jamaica*

Figure 12: William Berryman, *View of Lucky Valley Estate Buildings, Clarendon*, 1810, Watercolor

Figure 13: Joseph Bartholomew Kidd, *Good Hope*, 1835-1836, oil on canvas

Figure 14: Frederic Church, *The Valle of St. Thomas, Jamaica*, 1867, oil on canvas

Figure 15: Peter Mazell, *View of the Roaring River Cascade*, 1774, engraving

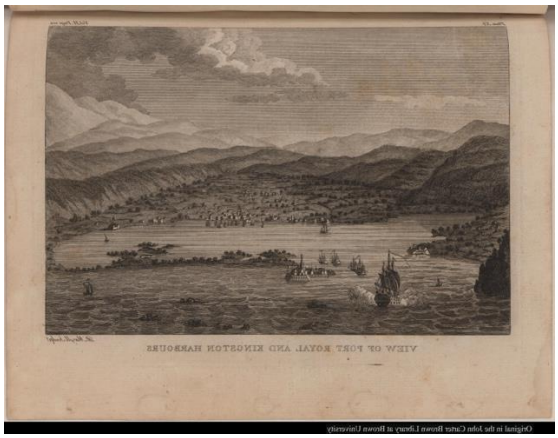

Figure 16: Peter Mazell, *View of Port Royal and Kingston Harbours* 1774, engraving

Figure 17: William Walker, *A View of the Bath Hot Spring*, 1774, engraving

Figure 18: Isaac Taylor, *A View of Cascade at Y S River*, 1774, engraving

Figure 19: Unknown engraver, *View of Montego Bay*, 1774, engraving

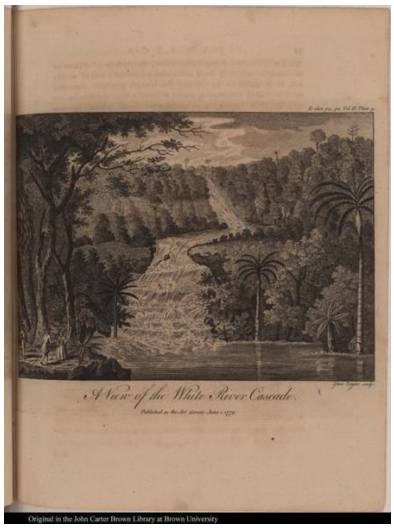

Figure 20: Isaac Taylor, *View of the White River Cascade*, 1774, engraving

Figure 23: Francesco Bartolozzi, Frontispiece to John Gabriel Stedman's *Narrative*, 1794

Figure 22: Unknown Engraver, *View of the Town of Paramaribo*, 1794, acquaint

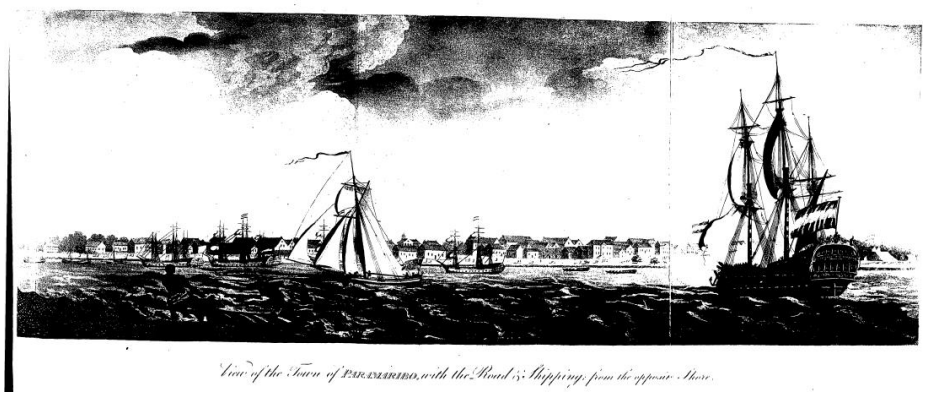

Figure 23: Unknown Engraver, *View of the Town of Paramaribo*, 1794

Figure 24: Unknown Engraver, *View of the Town of Paramaribo*

Figure 25: Unknown Engraver, *View of the Three Encampments at Wanna Creek*, 1791

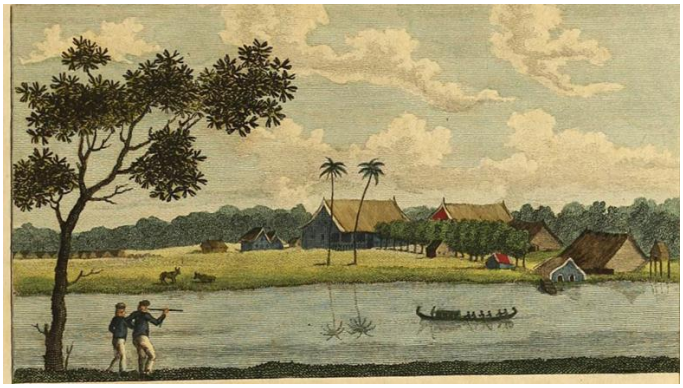

Figure 26: Unknown Engraver, *View of L'Esperance or Hope on the Commewine*, 1791

Figure 27: Unknown Engraver, *View of Magdenberg*, 1791

Figure 28: Unknown Engraver, *View of Calays & The Creek* of Cosaweenica

Figure 29:Inigo Barlow, *View of the Camp at Java Creek*

Figure 30: Inigo Barlow, *View of the Encampment at Jerusalem*

Figure 31: John Gabriel Stedman, Diagram of his Hammock, Watercolor

Figure 32: Inigo Barlow, *Manner of Sleeping in the Forest*, 1791

Figure 33: Inigo Barlow, *Rural Retreat –The Cottage*, 1791

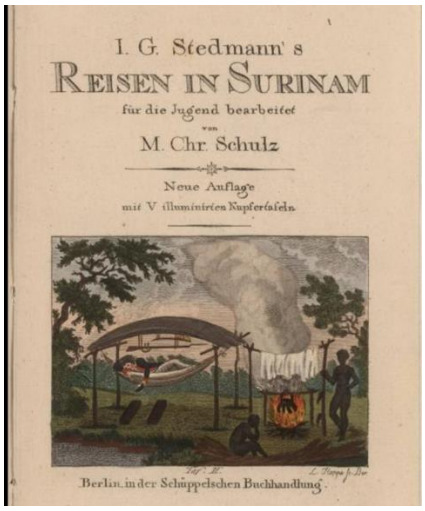

Figure 34: David Henrich Hoppe, Frontispiece to German edition of *Narrative*, 1799

Figure 35: David Henrich Hoppe, Opposite page to the frontispiece, 1799

Figure 36:Anker Smith, *The Murine Opossum of Terra-Firma*, 1791

Figure 37: Anker Smith, *The Vampire or Spectre of Guiana*, 1791

Figure 38: Inigo Barlow, *the Agamy and Peacock Peasant*, 1793

Figure 39: Inigo Barlow, *Flamingos of Guiana*, 1793

Figure 40: Inigo Barlow, *Porcupine and Armadillo, 1793*

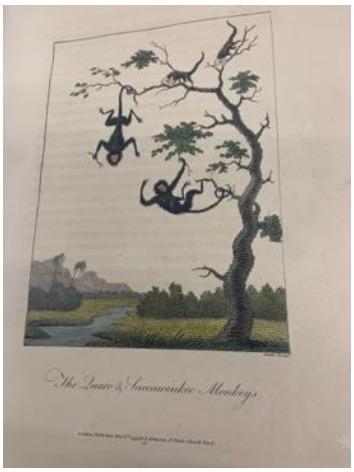

Figure 41: William Blake, *The Quatro & Saccawinckee* Monkeys 1793

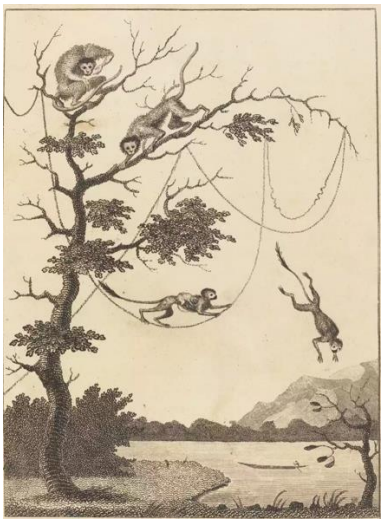

Figure 42: William Blake, *The Mecoo and Kisbee Kishee Monkeys*, 1793

Figure 43: William Blake, *The Skinning of the Aboma snake, shot by Captain Stedman*, 1793

Figure 44: Thomas Holloway, *Joanna*, 1793

Figure 45: William Blake, *Family of Negro Slaves from Loango*, 1792

Figure 46: William Blake, *Flagellation of a Female Sambre Slave*, 1793

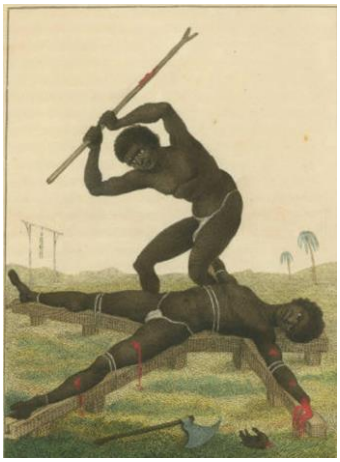

Figure 47: William Blake, *The Execution of Breaking on the Rack*, 1793

Figure 48: William Blake, *The celebrated Graman Quacy*, 1793

Figure 49: Inigo Barlow, *View of a Temple erected by the Blacks to commemorate their Emancipation*, 1805

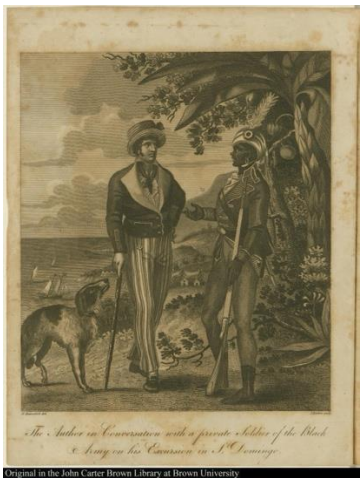

Figure 50: Inigo Barlow, *The Author in conversation with a private Soldier of the Black Army on his Excursion in St. Domingo*, 1805, engraving

Figure 51: Inigo Barlow, *A man whose physiognomy expresses (according to Lavater), truth, precision, harmony, calmness, and expression*, 19th century

Figure 52: Inigo Barlow, *Portrait of Toussaint Louverture holding a sword and battle plans*, 1805

Figure 53: Inigo Barlow, *The Court Marital which sentenced the Author to Death*, 1805

Figure 54: Inigo Barlow, *The Author when under sentence of Death relieved by a benevolent Female of Colour*, 1805

Figure 55: Inigo Barlow, *Revenge Taken by the Black Army for the Cruelties practised on them by the French*, 1805

Figure 56: Inigo Barlow, *The Mode of exterminating the Black Army, as practised by the French*, 1805

Figure 57: Inigo Barlow, *Blood hounds attacking a Black Family in the Woods*, 1805

Figure 58: Inigo Barlow, *The Mode of Training Blood Hounds in St. Domingo*, 1805

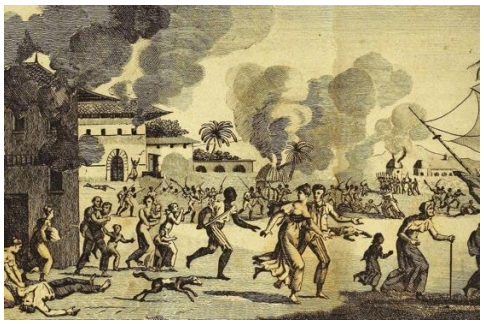

Figure 59: J.B Chapuy after L. Boquet, *Ciew of the 40 Days of the Burning of the Plantations of the Plain of Cap Français That Happened on August 23, 191, 1795*

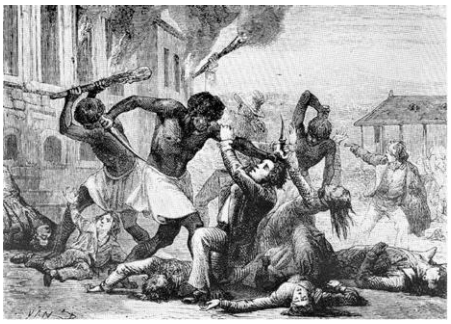

Figure 60: Anonymous, *August 23—Revolt of the Blacks in Saint-Domingue*, 1796

Figure 61: L. Bouquet, *11 Days after the pillage of Cap François*, 1795

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