

*THE MAP (SETTLEMENT) AND
THE TERRITORY (THE INCOMPLETENESS
OF CONQUEST)*

On this island things fidget.
Even history.
The landscape does not sit
willingly
as if behind an easel
holding pose
waiting on
someone
to pencil
in lines, compose
its best features
or unruly contours

—KEI MILLER, “What the Mapmaker Ought to Know”

On March 11, 1741, almost two years after the bloody Stono Rebellion led by fugitive slaves seeking to escape to the town of St. Augustine (Spanish Florida), the celebrated South Carolina resident Eliza Lucas Pinckney of Charleston (Charles Town),¹ wrote in her letter book about a “mad” prophet haunted by the specter of Black midnight marauding. In one of her epistles, Pinckney shares the local gossip with a neighbor that a madman in the community had received a prophecy that

Charles Town and the Country as farr as Ponpon Bridge should be destroyed by fire and swaord, to be executed by the Negroes before the first day of next month. He came to town—60 mile—twice besides sending twice to acquaint the Governor with it. People in general were

very uneasy tho' convinced he was no prophet, but they dreaded the consiquence of such a thing being put into the head of slaves and the advantage they might take of us.²

Throughout the eighteenth century, slave revolts rippled across the landscapes of British North America and the Caribbean.³ On January 7, 1742, Eliza Pinckney reported that she had recently attended the trial of one of her slaves, “Mulatto Quash,” who was one of many who had been accused of conspiring to flee to St. Augustine. Frustrating the attempts of White settlers to smooth out and order the landscape in the Low Country, Black and Indigenous insurrection nibbled at the edges of the White psyche, producing a form of chronic anxiety that provoked nightmares and visions of Black insurrection.⁴ In fact, Black movement made some Whites go “mad.”

Into the mid-1700s, Eliza Lucas Pinckney's community of slave owners and warring Whites (alternately at war with the Cherokee, the Spanish, the French, and Black captives) feared retaliatory violence from all directions. In 1757, the Cherokee Nation raided South Carolinian frontiersmen west of Charles Town. In 1759, Pinckney wrote a letter to a local settler that shared the news of an expedition into the Cherokee Nation to “chastise” the Cherokee for their insolence.⁵ The violence that often loomed closest and posed an ever present danger on the plantation landscape (in the house, the field, the bed, the food and drink, the mind) was the movement of Black people.

Pinckney's own family had an intimate knowledge of the kind of danger and fear that Black movement and, specifically, insurrection inspired in the “mad” White prophet. They had fled Antigua when she was a child in response to slave rebellions in that colony. Pinckney's own slaves in South Carolina planned escapes on several occasions. For many British colonists in the Low Country and the Caribbean, Black movement and rebellion lay perpetually unabated and in wait on the horizon. In fact, Pinckney and her community feared that even a mad White man's less-than-credible visions—just the mere thought—of Black rebellion might stir the quivering Black masses. In 1741, the pulsing Black landscape of rebellion consumed the collective imagination of the White body politic.

In this chapter, I argue that White settlers' ongoing anxiety about resistance by Black fugitives and Cherokees animated William Gerard de Brahm's “1757 Map of the Coast of South Carolina and Parts of Georgia.” Using a Black geographical reading practice, I offer that Black fugitivity,

and what Katherine McKittrick has referred to as “black Atlantic livingness,” created a crisis in representation for White cartography.⁶ As a mode of what Denise Ferreira da Silva terms modern writing and a form of autopoiesis — or writing the self into being — eighteenth-century cartography such as de Brahm’s map represented an attempt to write the British/European subject as a rational, interior self of the mind who exercised dominion over irrational and sensual beings such as Black and Indigenous others existing at the margins of humanity. Sylvia Wynter discusses poesis as a process of self-making.⁷ Literature, culture, and science (maps) are parts of the orders of knowledge that embed the ideology of the group-self (Us) in opposition to the other (Indios and Negros). These scientific and cultural discourses function as a recursive feedback loop that justifies and legitimizes itself while hiding the ways that humans are both produced by (written by) and produce these codes. The notion that humans are external to — or can gaze on — these natural and self-writing codes is a form of autopoiesis. I track this process of autopoiesis and self-writing in de Brahm’s map. However, I argue that de Brahm struggled to affectively represent Blackness and Indigeneity as states of geographic, cartographic, and ontological otherness that could be dominated and relegated to what da Silva calls the exteriority of the “horizon of death.” In fact, de Brahm and British settlers’ failure to subdue Black fugitivity and Indigenous resistance created a crisis of representation, or self-making, on de Brahm’s 1757 map.

Black and Indigenous movement made it increasingly difficult for de Brahm and the British settlers to depict a linear and stable story of conquest, settlement, and self-actualization. When examined using a Black geographical reading practice, the map actually reveals an additional or surplus story to that of British conquest and settlement. I read de Brahm’s 1757 map in relationship to Eliza Lucas Pinckney’s letters to read — or, as McKittrick would say, “notice” — the ways that Black and Indigenous resistance to conquest impeded the project of writing and mapping the human as a settled, and therefore finished, project.⁸ Fittingly, the Jamaican poet Kei Miller pays homage to Wynter, one of his muses, in a poetic rumination on geography and power in his *The Cartographer Tries to Map a Way to Zion* (2014). In the poem “What the Mapmaker Ought to Know,” Miller notices and writes that islands and landscapes “fidget.” Speaking back to the colonial violence of mapmaking, Miller warns the cartographer that “landmarks shift” and “slip” from the grip of those intending to fix and dominate people and the earth.⁹ Wynter’s, McKittrick’s, and Miller’s geographical interventions ground the readings in this chapter.

Reading the map this way, British conquest, White settlement, and the task of representing British settlers as versions of Wynter's "Mani" through the dehumanization of Black and Indigenous people remains an unresolved and incomplete project.¹⁰ De Brahm's map of the Low Country coastline, settler proprietorship, and Black and Indigenous dehumanization reveals a struggle to gain dominion over Black and Indigenous people and the landscape more than an outright representation of conquest. In fact, Black and Indigenous "livingness" forced de Brahm's and British settlers' cartographic attempts to write themselves into being through anti-Black and anti-Indigenous violence to continually adjust and remain under revision. Finally, and perhaps provocatively, I argue that the representations of Black flutter, kinetics, and flight inspire preliminary and early, or proto-, conceptualizations of Black fungibility, which emerge as an anxious response to Black uncontainability and fugitivity. De Brahm and British settlers attempt to render, and therefore capture, the elusive Black figure by representing it in advance as always already moving, exchangeable, and in flux.

SHOALING THE CONQUISTADOR HUMAN OF 1757

Attending to the morphing nature of the shoal necessitates a supple vigilance. Shoals in the ocean emerge in multiple places. They are also in constant movement and change shape. The first movement of the shoal in this chapter traces how Black and Indigenous life—or, as McKittrick calls it, "livingness"—slows and interrupts White settlement.¹¹ Black and Indigenous resistance are a continuous presence that prevents any easy settlement and White self-actualization in the mid-1700s.

On a conceptual level, the critical Black geographical reading of the map disrupts how discourses of settlement emerging from White settler colonial studies displace the violence of conquest. In this reading of the map, settlement and cartographic renderings of settlement become technologies of conquest. The map depicts and elaborates the specific ways that "Mani" violently writes and comes into being through Indigenous genocide, Black enslavement, and settlement. Throughout this chapter's analysis of the map, settlement functions as a mode of conquest.

In addition to disruption, the shoal functions as a physical space on the map. There it is represented by the space of the shoreline—where sea and land meet. On de Brahm's map, the shore represents the middle, or interior, space that is surrounded by the exterior spaces of the Black oceanic (cha-

otic space), as well as the wild abyss of empty Native space (anaspace). As the White human tries to maintain a pure interior space — keep the exterior other out — it is simultaneously produced by what da Silva calls “affectable” others.¹² At the shoal (and shore) — or the in-between space — the White cartographic subject is a byproduct of Black and Indigenous pressure or friction from the outside. The White cartographic subject’s conditions of possibilities and of constraint are determined by Black and Indigenous presences. Most important, a focus on the shoal as a process works to reveal the ways in which the attempts to secure White cartographic stability through violence and Black and Native death are tenuous and unstable practices and relations subject to intervention and revision. The shoal functions as a spatial allegory for the moving and shifting space of the human. Rather than a place of safety, the shoreline is an unstable ecozone and nervous landscape where boundaries between the human and Black and Indigenous bodies continually shift.¹³

This chapter’s geographical reading practice is animated by the methodology of shoaling, which is distinct from the location of the shoal or shore on the map. As a methodology, shoaling surfaces in this chapter as the disruption of the conquistador imagination and settlement, the intervening in violence and putting texts and objects together or in friction with one another. To slow and interrupt the tendency to read only for anti-Black and anti-Indigenous violence in a map of eighteenth-century conquest, this chapter’s methodology uses some of the mathematics and diachronic loops that McKittrick takes to “betray the archive” and to read it for “what else happened.”¹⁴ Reading this way requires a willingness to give up a pre-occupation to take up another. More specifically, in “Diachronic Loops/Deadweight Tonnage/Bad Measure,” McKittrick asks what would happen if scholars shifted the analytical frame away from the suffering Black body and “toward co relational texts, practices and narratives that emphasize black life.”¹⁵ McKittrick argues that this critical shift would create a “transgressive ground of understanding” where new relations between texts are forged and create a space of intertextuality where we can “notice” ruptures and “momentary dislodgings” of normative anti-Black violence.¹⁶ While one might not find liberal forms of “freedom” or the kind of freedom that one imagines and desires, the reader may be able to find a small opening and place to slip through the otherwise closed system of violence.

More specifically, in her reading of James Walvin’s legal history *The Zong: A Massacre, the Law, and the End of Slavery* alongside M. NourbeSe Philip’s long poem *Zong!*, McKittrick finds a mathematical discrepancy

(more people could have clung to life and survived) in the accounting of the dead in the history and finds the Black livingness of the slave ship in Philip's poetics.¹⁷ The variability of the archives alongside the creative texts' holding out for the possibility of Black life enables McKittrick and others committed to a similar project to "notice in the text a place where the data of the massacre" and the macabre "scientific accumulation of black death can no longer tell itself, in the present, through the terms that made it possible."¹⁸ By reading de Brahm's map of settlement together and against Pinckney's anxiety-filled journal, I attempt to create intertextual terrain that reveals the map and its writing of the human as partial and incomplete. Further, I include an analysis of what might be called the provisional, informal, or phantasmagoric details of the map in my reading. In an effort to creatively seek out what McKittrick calls the "unutterable" and "black absented presence," I take seriously the unintended and ghostly reproduction of the Black figures drawn in cartouche.¹⁹ Due to the way the pages of the maps were folded and pressed together, a palimpsestic trace of Black enslaved people working indigo gets reproduced again and again as faded duplication of the original image. I attend to the ways that this image works as a haunting and a reminder of the force of Black life.

Alongside the ways that I read archival material together and with an attention to Black life, I read the map through the theoretical lens provided by Wynter and da Silva. Wynter's body of work has tracked the emergence and evolution of how the human—as an overrepresentation of Man—has been written and rewritten for centuries. Using Wynter's schematics and theorizations of the vicissitudes of the notion of Man, I argue that de Brahm's eighteenth-century cartographic renderings write the human in the tradition of Man₁. Writing of Man₁, Wynter traces its emergence in the epistemic revolution of secular humanism that transformed the lowly laity into rational man in the fifteenth century. As rational man, the former subject of God and the clergy comes to know himself through establishing a Cartesian boundary between himself and the natural, or sensory-bound, elements of the world around him, including the lands and people of Africa and the Americas. De Brahm, himself a rational man of the eighteenth century, writes the British settler in the likeness of Man₁ as a rational and reason-driven interior subject, in contrast to the sensuous and externally, or nature-driven, Black and Indigenous body. I argue that de Brahm and his British contemporaries are inheritors of what I call a "conquistador humanism" that emerges alongside the Christian humanism that transforms into the secular humanism of the Enlightenment. I refer to this

kind of humanism as “conquistador” to tether eighteenth-century settlers to the anti-Black and genocidal violence that the discourse of settlement and settler colonialism disavows.

Further, drawing on the work of da Silva, I argue that de Brahm’s map attempts to produce a kind of “scientific knowledge” that writes the British/European subject as a transcendent and interior subject by making—or, as da Silva argues, “engulfing”—the Black and Indigenous body as a representation of an outer determined thing.²⁰ As an outer determined and affectable outside crust or edge of humanity, Indigenous and Black bodies represent a lesser version of humanity. They are the outer edge of humanity in proximity to death and decay. They are incorporated into the category of the human (as others) only to carry the burden and destiny of being lesser beings that live in proximity to genocide and enslavement, or what da Silva calls the “horizon of death.” Because Black and Indigenous bodies are buffers between nature and the chaos of exteriority, the transcendent European subject can maintain its interiority and ideal humanness as Man1. While I render de Brahm’s attempt to relegate Black and Indigenous exteriority and death visible, I also attend to the ways that Black and Indigenous life and unruliness surface both on the map and throughout the mid-eighteenth century to disrupt and shoal plans to produce humanity through the death of Blackness and Indigeneity.

DE BRAHM’S ANXIOUS LANDSCAPE

In 1753, the *South-Carolina Gazette* announced the need for a map and commissioned the surveyor William Gerard de Brahm, who had already conducted surveys of the land, documenting property lines, plots, soil types and quality, and the waterways in the area, to make the map.²¹ Anxious White settlers hired de Brahm to design a map of their property, as well as a representation of their dreams and aspirations for the region. I visited the four very large quadrants of de Brahm’s “1757 Map of the Coast of South Carolina and Parts of Georgia,” pieced together like a puzzle in the study of Davidson College’s Special Collections Division, in 2015.²² The map measures 43.5 inches by 48.5 inches, or roughly four feet by four feet. One can imagine the scale of the map tempting a small child to step into it. The massive, arresting, and imposing map is split by a north-south axis represented by the coastline of the Atlantic that hugs the colonies of the southernmost portion of North Carolina, all of South Carolina, and the entire

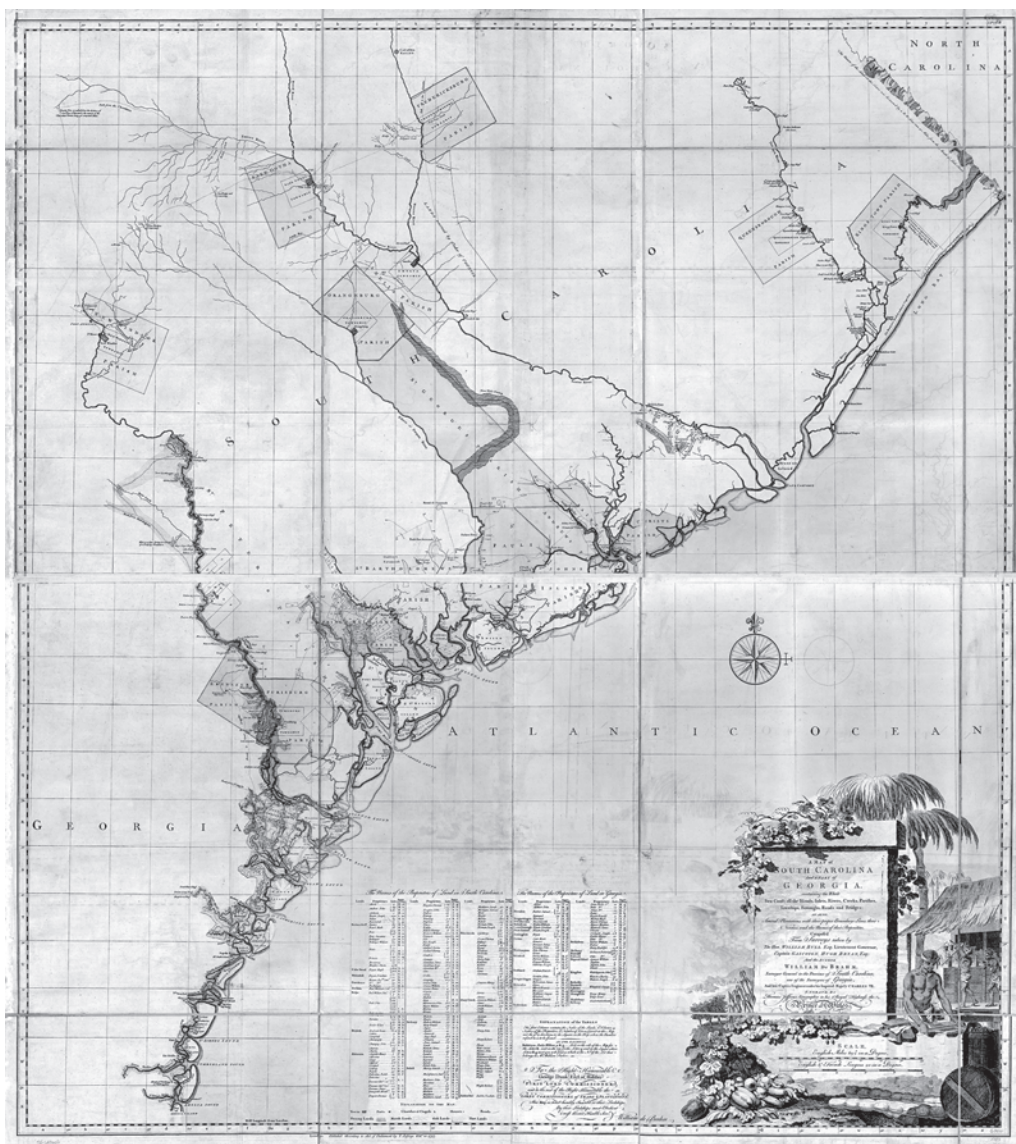


FIGURE 2.1. William Gerard de Brahm's "1757 Map of the Coast of South Carolina and Parts of Georgia." Credit: William Gerard de Brahm, 1757. Map of South Carolina and a Part of Georgia, Containing the Whole Sea-Coast. Courtesy of Archives and Special Collections Division of the E. H. Little Library, Davidson College.

coast of Georgia. The coastline both delineates ocean from land and simultaneously conjoins the coast and the Atlantic Ocean as a coherent system. The land and the sea almost equally shoulder the visual heft of the map.

Reading the map from left to right, or the northwest (quadrant one) to the northeast (quadrant two) and then down to the southwestern (quadrant three) and southeastern (quadrant four) regions, the eye is drawn to the mass of the images at the southern edge or bottom of the map. To the right (or east) of the southern portion of the South Carolina coastline a large ledger that also functions as the legend lists in columns the names of proprietors, as well as the lots that they own. The ledger is centered at the bottom of the map on the vertical axis (y-axis), split between the third and fourth quadrants of the map. The legend is placed in the exact bottom center of the map as the anchor. In the negative space of the Atlantic Ocean, an ornately detailed cartouche pulls the eye toward the southeastern corner of the map. With one side flush against the map's margins and the left edge floating in the ocean, the cartouche features an elaborate engraving (the original in vivid color) of enslaved people processing indigo. Unlike the map of the coast itself, the colorful and detailed cartouche is a large-scale image that zooms in on, or provides a close-up of, enslaved Black people processing indigo amid a lush landscape that abuts the shoreline of the Atlantic Ocean. Ocean vessels are represented in the background docked off the coast. The types of plants, the clothing worn by the enslaved, and even some detailed facial features are visible in the cartouche. The cartouche is a mirror image of the map of the shoreline as it flips and places the Atlantic Ocean on the viewer's left side (or on the map's western region).

On the reproduction of the map held by Davidson's Archives and Special Collections Division there is also a ghostly reproduction of the engraving of the Black bodies processing indigo that appears on the coastline to the west of the legend. For years, the map has been folded and stored in drawers on the sixth floor of the library which has caused a doubling of the image of the enslaved in the cartouche due to pressure, friction, the paper's porosity, the mutability of the ink, the time, and the climate. Although it is not visible in figure 2.1 or in the digital copies in the Library of Congress's digital repository, on the copy at Davidson, a ghostly imprint of the cartouche floats upside down above the original cartouche. The brick and mortar time-space of the archive, including its conservation protocols—which required ritual-like folding and storing of the map over time—thus offers another kind of encounter with the map. I draw attention to how the

doubled image of the Black figures engaged in the processing of indigo in the cartouche reproduce, or double, themselves on the map for methodological reasons, as well as to draw attention to the force of Black life.

The palimpsestic image calls attention to the ways that the properties of the map press on, interact with, and remain in relation to one another over time. Methodologically, this palimpsestic quality has led me to enact another doubling or reproduction of the cartouche in chapter 3. There I explore the noxious space of indigo cultivation on the plantation as a Black place of being human on other terms. Furthermore, I call attention to the palimpsestic way in which the image of Black people appears and reappears on the map as way of looking for what McKittrick calls “Black livingness” and how its persistent trace opens up new questions and possibilities.²³ The ghostly doubling of the image of Africans processing indigo in some ways evokes for me the swelling crowd of Africans who poured into the streets during the Stono Rebellion, reportedly with a banner that read “liberty.”²⁴ The doubling of the image also mimics the doubling (and swelling) of Black life that transformed a small gathering of people into a crowd, an army, and a full-fledged rebellion. The map’s leaves pressed against one another over time created a substrate with ideal conditions for the image of Black people to reproduce themselves. Attending to the persistence of Black life points to ways of being attentive and open to Indigenous life. The palimpsestic nature of maps also enables a reading of the ways that British settlement was constituted by and depended on Indigenous geographies and patterns of place-making and daily life.

Even within contemporary disciplines such as environmental history, de Brahm’s map is written about as a map in motion. In the twenty-first century, historians apply poststructuralist methods that allow for a deconstruction of the images, words, and meanings of the map while reading the map within eighteenth-century power relations. The environmental historian Mart Stewart has argued that maps created by the British empire in the eighteenth century are “imaginative constructions of a place as well as attempts to describe it.”²⁵ Eighteenth-century maps functioned as crucial tools in the increasingly Euclidean organization and conquest of space. Held in high esteem, the 1757 map “has gained a reputation as the first ‘scientific’ or ‘modern’ map of southeastern North America.”²⁶ The map became the standard source for geographical knowledge at the time and a model for other British maps during that period of the eighteenth century.²⁷ Keeping with the tradition of the day, when cartographers depicted social relations in the colonial Atlantic world they generally attempted to

depict a single narrative about the struggles and triumphs of the British settlers over the landscape.²⁸

In this map, like many others of the eighteenth century, de Brahm depicted British territories as they were “both described and hoped for in an agenda of development.”²⁹ The “agenda of development” that the map reflected was as a vision of how British settlement hoped to change the landscape, as well as render the British subject as a cartographic human vis-à-vis Black and Indigenous human others (or lesser humans). By carefully subjecting de Brahm’s map to a Black cartographic analysis, I intend to disrupt discourses of settlement and settler colonialism that attempt to disavow White conquest and violence. Settlement and settler colonialism cannot shake off the extermination of Indigenous peoples and the transformation of Black people into fungible forms of exchange. A countervisual analysis of de Brahm’s map argues that conquest is in fact enacted through settlement and settler colonial regimes. More precisely, a form of conquistador humanism remains tethered to the eighteenth-century practices and scenes of British settlement that de Brahm depicted.

Conquistador humanism is the crafting and sustaining of European human life and self-actualization through Black and Indigenous death. Because what I am tracking in de Brahm’s map and naming “conquistador humanism” occurred in the eighteenth century, it falls under the period that Wynter theorized as the “emergence of Man1.” In that period of conquest and imperial expansion, the European settler represented the ideal self—or Man—and the Indigenous and Black (as well as the insane or “mad” in Europe) were considered “human others.”³⁰ Conquistador humanism expresses itself through a diverse modality of material (political, economic, institutional, military regimes) and discursive (literature, art/aesthetics, cartography) forms. De Brahm, the settlers in South Carolina, and the British Crown enacted their own, unique form of conquistador humanism by cartographically writing themselves onto the landscape of the Atlantic Low Country through renderings of Black fungibility and Indigenous disappearance.

Mapping and cartography are versions of what da Silva has termed “modern text.”³¹ The cartographic process of rendering the British conquistador-settler as what Wynter calls the overrepresentation of “Man” and order also required the invention, rendering, and (re)mapping of Blackness and Indigeneity as states of nature and representations of chaos. Reading the Low Country landscape in relationship to how Black enslaved people

were imagined as “nigger chaos” and Amerindian “chaos” lends itself to a reading of Blackness as a form of liquid chaos and Indigeneity as a chaotic terra nullius.³² However, a closer look at the attempt to render Blackness and Indigeneity as forms of chaotic and sensuous natural features of the landscape to be tamed reveals an anxiety about the ungovernability of Black and Indigenous people. In other words, the mapping of Blackness and Indigeneity is an attempt to spatially fix and capture forms of Black fugitivity and Indigenous resistance that elude the British and present an existential threat throughout the eighteenth-century Atlantic world. This chapter’s reading practice interrupts a single narrative of British triumph over the landscape and Black and Indigenous people in the mid-eighteenth century. Furthermore, this Black geographical reading maps the ways that the eighteenth century’s protoscientific practice of cartography in the Atlantic world attempted to spatialize processes of subjectification.

De Brahm’s map attempts to represent the human—or, more specifically, Wynter’s Man₁—as form of spatial coherence and logocentric order in relation to Black oceanic chaos and Native absence. Following da Silva, this Black geographical reading tracks how the White cartographic (Cartesian) subject anxiously is written into the map as the interior space of the shoreline. De Brahm’s eighteenth-century map attempts to write the British human as an interior subject, or what da Silva calls the “Transparent I” in the face of the external Black and Native threat that haunts and flanks the edges of the map.³³ In terms of philosophical accounts of Man’s, or the human’s, relationship to reason, philosophers such as Descartes and Hegel imagined two kinds of beings (and minds): the transcendent and the affectable. According to da Silva, distinctions between the two were made according to a specific racial order. The transcendent subject, or “transparent I,” that emerged in post-Enlightenment Europe is the kind of mind that is able to know how to emulate and control powers of universal reason.³⁴ The “affectable I”—in this case, the Black and Indigenous others that emerged in other global regions—possess the kind of mind that is subject to both exterior determination by the “laws of nature” and the superior force of the European mind.³⁵

Replicating this racialized schema, de Brahm writes Black and Indigenous life as “affectable” others in the margins of the map, as represented by the sensuous ocean and the vast emptiness of chaotic, unsettled land. Because White cartographic subjectivity, as Man₁, is written through violence—and specifically, a violence that is always contested by the Black and

Indigenous margins—it remains anxious and under duress. Cartography, as a modern mode of writing the self, must grapple with a particular ethno-classes’ failures and anxieties as much as their achievements. Of particular importance to this countercartographic reading practice is attending to how the depictions of spatial and symbolic White cartographic coherence—the “cartographic I”—remains an unsettled project. If we read for “Black life,” as McKittrick urges us to, it is also possible to read for how de Brahm attempts to quell the anxiety produced by the tenuous and always incomplete project of conquest. The force of the presence of Black and Indigenous life as an existential threat to White life shoals and frustrates traditional readings of this map. Black and Indigenous people throughout the eighteenth century resisted conquistador humanism and its forms of settlement and place-making. Looking at the map with this resistance in mind, one can read it as an incomplete attempt to conquer Black and Indigenous people and settle the territory. The map might reveal that establishing, or writing, the White human as a stable and settled (yet transcendent) individual was not a *fait accompli*. Black movement and fugitivity, as well as Indigenous resistance and place-making, made the map a nervous landscape and forced the cartographic subject of conquistador humanism to remain a project under revision, or forever anxious.³⁶

MAPPING HUMANITY AND ITS OTHERS

De Brahm’s map is animated by three illustrative loci of ontological activity and capacity. The anchor of the map is represented by the list and textual representation of White property owners as human. The finely detailed and illustrative rendering of open-ended Black flesh that runs conterminously with the processing of indigo in the cartouche represents the property on the proprietors’ list. And, finally, there is the large negative space indexing the “anaspace” of Savage/Enemy, in which the Native is imagined as a space that needs to be kept at bay until it is conquered. The map illustrates a complex story about how the idea of man is conceptualized and established through the production of Indigeneity as synonymous with the chaotic anaspace, or absence of the graphic (discursive) and Blackness as the chaotic open and fleshy material of spatial potential. Reading the ways that the human is violently rendered on this map exceeds the tools readily available in postcolonial and settler colonial methodological approaches and critiques. Conventional readings of colonial landscapes or settler colonial regimes purge this violence and present the transformations to the settled

landscape as a natural and at times pastoral descriptions of modern progress. Moreover, if conflict on the landscape is rendered, it is generally depicted as a binary staging of master-slave or settler-Indigenous relations.

Wynter's triad of European-Indigene-Nigger and Wilderson's Settler/Savage/Slave trio guide this ontological reading of de Brahm's map in ways that interrupt the conventional landscape readings. In the context of analyzing de Brahm's map, a triadic model requires a consideration of how Indigeneity and Blackness serve as bookends, or points of an axis, that create a midpoint, or stabilizing point, for the human. Eighteenth-century British settlement, in the context of de Brahm's map, as a technology of conquest, uses mapping—or cartography—as a method of establishing a symbolic system that plots which kinds of humans will live in the regions of affectability, at what da Silva calls the “horizon of death,” and which will live in the safety of interiority.³⁷ When one attends to de Brahm's map in this way, the White “Transcendental I” attempts to produce itself through spatializing Indigenous and Black people as “affectable” others.³⁸ Nestled in the center at the midpoint is White self-actualized humanity figured as the word or the state of interiority.³⁹ To be rendered as pure “logos” is to be fashioned as a geographical location of order, language, culture, place, home, humanness, self-actualization, the “Transcendental I,” and settlement. Settled and civilized humanity inhabits the ecotonal space of the shore. While buffered by affectable Black bodies represented by the flux of the ocean and Indigenous bodies trapped in the back country of chaotic wilderness, the White “cartographic I” anxiously and continuously has to rewrite and remap the fragile ecozone and shoal of the shoreline as a proprietary and bounded space of logos and order. The production of the White conquistador-settler is an ongoing process of violent autopoiesis that must be continually written and revised.

Despite conventional reasoning that would posit that the only humans who appear on the eighteenth-century map are Black ones, I argue that the privileged position of humanity is that which remains beyond the realm of embodied visibility. Rather than appearing as embodied, or not appearing at all, true humanity—or Man1—is made visible and legible through the word and protoscientific coding. The space and place of the White human is established not by embodied and physical representation but through a signification system composed of text, grid lines, and logocentric and geometric symbols that establish subjectivities with cartographic authority through the symbols of property possession.

Legends orient humans. They dictate which way is upright. The visual anchor and center of de Brahm's map, the legend, is located in the middle of its southern border. The chart, titled "The Names of Proprietors of Land in South Carolina," contains four large columns labeled, from left to right, "Lands," "Proprietors," and "Lots." The names of the proprietors are listed alphabetically by last name, which link the individuals listed to stable and, it is hoped, timeless human genealogies of finely pedigreed individuals and families. Both men and women are listed as proprietors; in the context of eighteenth-century colonial property ownership in the Low Country, European (White) human women are also absorbed within the cartographic category of the self-possessed human.

The proprietors are not represented in embodied form on the map. The map was created in the midst of the scientific revolutions and epistemic shifts of the Enlightenment prompted by the planetary migration and exchange of objects, people, and ideas in the era of colonization. Cartesian philosophy, which established the doctrine "I think, therefore I am," aligned thought, order, and rationality with the contours of the natural-rational human. Descartes rendered the axiom open to a spatial representation as he distanced the brain from the body. De Brahm's map also reflects distinctions and separations made between the realm of the sensuous body and the sphere of higher order activity in the brain. The Cartesian regime of representation written into the map becomes a mode of recognizing and understanding the White self (rational human) in relationship to the rest of the less than human sensuous and affectable realm of nature.

In de Brahm's map, the human is largely present as a series of symbolic representations that are largely logocentric and graphically represented through geometric shapes that stand in for places. Places are identifiable locations of activity that attribute role, stature, gender, and relationships among humans.⁴⁰ The presence of the White settler as human is established through name and title. The name and the title of the settlers (both men and women are represented) are linked to a plot of property that they own. The map reflects the White human as a possessor of things. In fact, the White human as proprietor possesses the objects and bodies that appear on the map. De Brahm was commissioned to make the map for the very people whose names appear on the ledger of proprietors, and it is from their perspective that the map of territory and possession is viewed. De Brahm made the map for their eyes. More specifically, de Brahm made

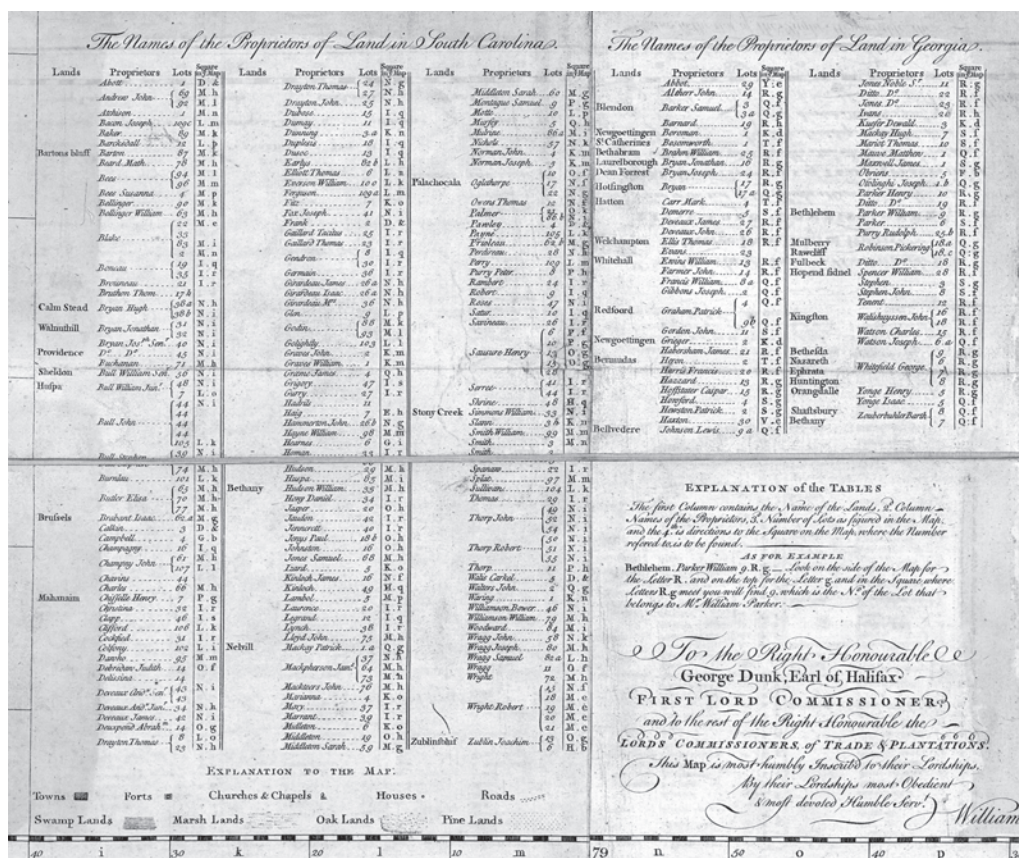


FIGURE 2.2. Legend from de Brahm map, with list of property owners.

the map for the White proprietors eyes to visualize and externalize the space, land, and bodies as territory and property. The map as an inventory, spatialization, and fetishization of possessions does not provide a context within which the White human figure can appear as a body. The reliance on text over the image both hides the White body and, more important, functions to elide the violence enacted by the White body on Black and Indigenous flesh. Even as the White body is excessively and sensuously engaged in the erotics of plantation violence and the horrific acts of genocide, White bodies and violent acts they commit are hidden by the textual representation of Whiteness as order, civilization, and logos.

Humanness, as well as the violence entailed in making the human, appears as an elaborate code with a key on the map. The human and its rational logocentrism becomes a stand-in for the progress of settlement while

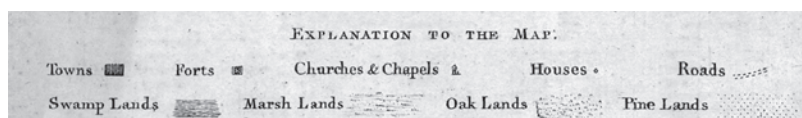


FIGURE 2.3. Key to de Brahm map with symbols for built structures, swampland, and tree types.

hiding the genocidal violence that unmakes Indigenous life and captures Black sentience. The coding system marks the locations of places that define the human world as a space of culture and civilization. If one looks closely, one might notice that the human coding system (only) partially erases traces of Native people’s occupancy, use, and settlement and disappears Indigenous peoples’ relations to the earth, the water, and one another with eighteenth-century representations of place-making. In palimpsestic fashion, Indigenous relations to the earth and nonhuman ecologies peek or leak through on the map. I discuss the palimpsestic resistance—or resurgence—of the Indigenous on the map later.

On de Brahm’s eighteenth-century map, geometric humanist conventions are used to define and mark place as symbols of human and British civilization: towns are dark rectangles; forts are open circles in the middle of shaded squares; churches and chapels are ampersands; houses are dots; swamplands, marshlands, oak lands, and pinelands are equal signs; and roads are parallel hashed lines. While the roads appear to overwrite the entire landscape, their very presence, and their overlapping with Indigenous trails, indicates that White settlement could not exist without the elaborate route and trail system developed by the Cherokee and the Catawba. By covering up and writing over the trails, paths, and travel patterns of the Cherokee, Catawba, and Creek, whose ancestors inhabited the area, de Brahm gives presence to the Indigenous place-making that the violence of cartography seeks to destroy. De Brahm’s method of cartographically eliminating Indigenous presence at once works to announce it and, if read with Indigenous life in mind, allows Indigenous movement and geographical relations to speak back through the map.

Another form of the cartographic disavowal of genocide and slavery—and its failure—can be deciphered in the place-naming practices of the settlers. In the column labeled “Land,” groups of discrete lots were named in the aggregate “Barton’s bluff” and “Calm Stead.” It is telling that, during a time of considerable upheaval in the form of slave rebellions, as well as war with the Cherokee and the Creek and with the French and Span-

ish navies, landowners chose to name property “Calm Stead.” Following Stewart’s argument that the map reflects settlers’ aspirations, one can interpret “Calm Stead” not simply as a disavowal of the violence that was necessary to make conquistadors into settlers but also as an aspiration and, perhaps, a prayer. In other words, the ever present specter of Black and Indigenous rebellion may have inspired place names that spoke of a future free from this existential threat.

Indigenous genocide is also written into the map in the manner in which White space is graphically distinguished from Indigenous space. White humanity has the detail of place, while Indigenous communities are rendered by an unmarking and unmaking of place. The marshes, pinelands, and swamps controlled and put to use by White humans are rendered in greater graphic detail than the spaces in which Indigenous peoples live. According to Stephanie Pratt, in the seventeenth through the eighteenth centuries Native Americans were removed from maps’ interiors, which included legends and cartouches, and relocated to the decorative margins.⁴¹ Then they were removed altogether. No humanist geometric symbols for housing, sacred spaces, roads, paths, or meeting places are visible in the empty areas where Indigenous presence is delineated. Although the land of the Cherokees is represented as an aspace void of property, civilization, life, and geo-humanist symbols, the Cherokees’ elaborate routes and networks are the templates and infrastructure used to map and construct the roads and passages visible on the eighteenth-century map.

The enormous power of the symbolic economy of the map is dense and ontological. Symmetrical rectangles mark property; inside the rectangles, the names of territories’ townships or settlements are written in evenly spaced eighteenth-century British script, with each letter capitalized. Symbols grant life on de Brahm’s map. Even the crude graphic symbols for community, activity, organization, and life contain an unending conceptual economy of narrative possibility. Symbols can be filled in with the hopes and desires of Whiteness that represent White people’s presence and longevity across time and space. On its face, the symbolic economy of Whiteness on de Brahm’s map, while not producing any representations of White bodies, provide Whiteness with a level of graphic and symbolic expression that appears to give it the ability to enact narrativity, futurity, hope, and the possession of space through the word and the modern text. However, when one reads this White logocentric futurity within the context of Black critical cartography, guided by McKittrick’s Black practice of noticing, the spare and empty locations of the Cherokee represented as

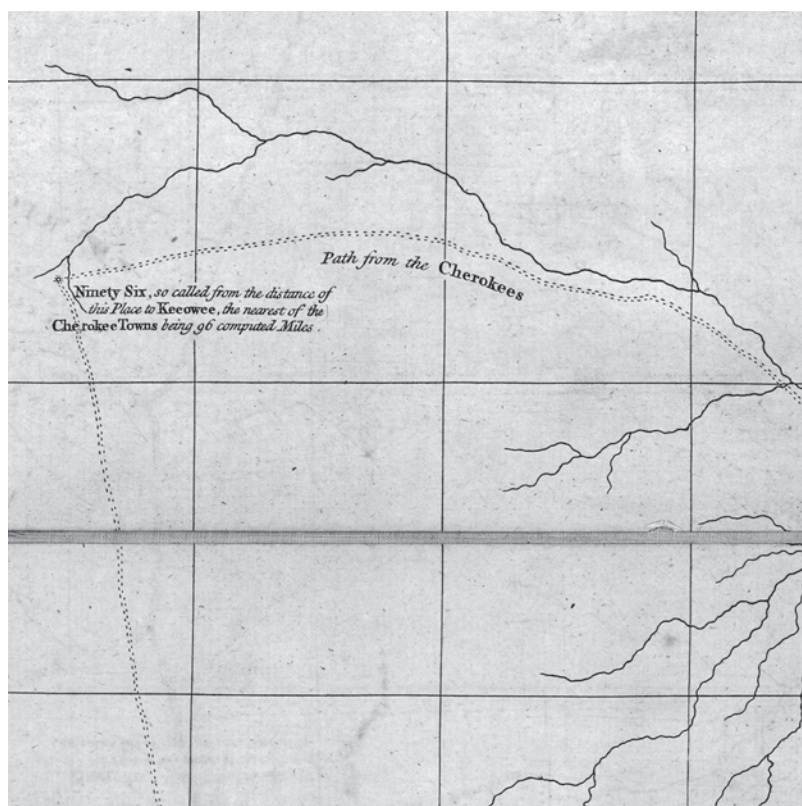


FIGURE 2.4. Northwestern quadrant of de Brahm map, with written directions indicating the “Path from the Cherokees.”

crude points—specifically, points from which one needs to retreat (e.g., “Path from the Cherokees”)—tell a different story. In the spare and unmarked anaspace of Cherokee camps, the simple directive on the map to the settlers that reads “Path from the Cherokees” indicates that Cherokee presence prevented unfettered movement by settlers into the northwest. In fact, settlers’ attempts to move there were stopped. While de Brahm’s map attempted to function as a device for foretelling a future of White cartographic domination and self-actualization, this narrative of White mobility and settlement was suspended. More important, the Black and Native subjectivity that the map tries to disavow is the very existence that gives Whiteness its boundaries and limits in ways that require White and human reinvention.

Relegated to the northwestern corner of the map and visually removed from the water, Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Catawba peoples are depicted as fixed, inert forms stuck in a barren and static edge, away from the life-giving movement of the Atlantic. Erasing the presence of other nations and language groups in the region, de Brahm only places and names the “Chikesaw Camp, Catawba Nation and the Cherokees” on the map.

The edge of the map is a space of crude lines, boxes, and open space devoid of symbols that index human activity on the landscape. The Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Catawba spaces on the map represent dying spaces outside the time and space of the oceanic. This is a violent, colonial production of space in that it does not represent the prior relationships the Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Catawba shared with the Atlantic—the banks, tributaries, rivers, streams, inlets, islands, and Low Country watersheds—before they were removed from those areas. The Cherokee, Catawba, and Chickasaw related to the watershed and the ocean in complicated ways.

Native nations and people on the eastern seaboard developed intricate trade and communication routes along waterways. In *The Common Pot*, Lisa Brooks gives an account of the tradition of cartographic representation—*awikhiganak* and wampum—of the northeastern Abenaki, members of the Algonquin language group, both before and after European contact.⁴² During the seventeenth century, the Abenaki writing system called *Awikhiganak* “conveyed knowledge from one person or place to another across the system of waterways that connected them.”⁴³ Rivers and streams were prominent features of Indigenous maps. Brooks argues, “It was along these waterways that messages were carried from village to village.”⁴⁴ In addition to using the waterways as a system of transit exchange and connection, nations of the Northeast, such as the Abenaki, Yamasee, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Creek, and Catawba used birch bark and other surfaces to make graphic representations of hunting routes, trails, and other important locations. Women’s woven wampum beads and belts created another way to represent relationships among nations, as well as communal and spatial narratives.⁴⁵

One of the ways that Brooks excavates Abenaki and other Indigenous people’s spatial writing (and mapping) is by reading the colonial archive. Similar to the Black geographical reading practice I employ, Brooks mines the journals of French Jesuits such as Chrétien Le Clercq to “notice” the presence and resistance of Algonquin and Abenaki people. French settlers’

diaries such as Le Clercq's contained details about Abenaki space-making practices that included birch maps, petitions (complaints about settlers' aggression and land use), Indigenous footpaths, trade routes, and nation-to-nation communication. French settler colonial archives helped Brooks recover information about the uses of bark maps, the level of a map's detail, denotations related to scale, and complex notions of time. While Le Clercq was on the Wabanaki coast in the village of Kespek in 1677, he noted the "ingenuity in drawing upon bark a kind of map which marks exactly all the rivers and streams of a country of which they wish to make a representation. They mark all the places thereon exactly and do well that they make use of them successfully, and an Indian who possesses one makes long voyages without going astray."⁴⁶ According to the Jesuit archives, the making of birch maps was a cartographic method that was passed from generation to generation.⁴⁷ Running counter to this French colonial archive of Indigenous space-making, de Brahm's cartographic archive tells a story of Indigenous people out of space or constituting spatial lack.

In de Brahm's representation of space, Indigenous peoples are stripped of a relationship with islands, inlets, rivers, and creeks and the delicate rhythms that needed to be established to coexist with them. Even more important, his map disavows the ways that the water, the inlets, rivers, and land functioned as parts of the Indigenous body, cosmology, and linguistic systems. Mishuana Goeman argues that, through colonialism, European-conceived scales—units of accumulation—have been imposed on the biosphere, turning the environment into separate spaces such as "reservations, nation states, continents, [and] hemispheres," in addition to land and water.⁴⁸ To counter this kind of scalar fragmentation, Goeman argues for "indigenous conceptions of land as connected, rather than land as disaggregate," to be centered. Specifically, Goeman references the ways that Pacific Islanders' relationship to water can inform how we map and understand concepts of space. The Pacific Island scholars Vince Diaz and Alice Te Punga Somerville have positioned water as connected with the currents rather than water as that which divides continents, islands, and land.⁴⁹ In addition to reorienting one's relationship to the land and water as connected systems in a decolonial spatial practice, exposing the historical and ongoing violence that separated the land and the ocean—and, more important, Indigenous people—from the water is of utmost importance. Coastal Indigenous peoples were removed from the life-giving space of the water through military force and transformed into combatants pushed to the edge of the map in 1757.

As the Native is pushed from the center of the map (the coast) to the lifeless exterior, the exterior (wilderness) is turned into a “horizon of death.”⁵⁰ The Indigenous region in the northwest is intended as an anaspace, or nonplace, and is marked on the map specifically as a coordinate or point from which to flee. A curved line extends from the point, running almost parallel to the Santee River, with the textual caption below it reading, “Path from the Cherokee.” As stated earlier, the untamed interior is depicted as a violent space, representing a geographical and existential limit that humans must escape or avoid.⁵¹ De Brahm’s spatial perspective is informed by his participation in wars with the Cherokee and other Native nations. The space where the Indigenous “enemy combatant” lives is also potentially a space of literal death for the British.

The distance from, or how to get away from, the Cherokee is marked as important. For example, in the northwestern portion of the map, a line marking a junction in the upper watershed of the Santee is labeled “Ninety Six, so called from the distance of the Place to Keowee.” According to Stewart, “The nearest of the Cherokee towns was 96 computed miles” from the British settlements.⁵² Reading the map from left to right—or in the direction of linearity and progress—the line or path “from the Cherokee” maps a movement away from savagery and toward a state of humanity. At the time that the map was commissioned, Eliza Lucas Pinckney resided in the Charles Town area of South Carolina. In her letter book she described life in the late 1750s and early 1760s while living under the threat of violence from the Cherokee, as well as the kind of brutality employed by the settlers to contain them. In a letter to a contemporary dated 1760, Pinckney reports details of a military expedition into Cherokee territory:

The Honorable, Mrs. King

Febr. 1760

Gov. Lyttelton with our army are safely returned from their Cherokee Expedition, where they want to demand satisfaction for the murders committed on our people—the first Army that ever attempted to go into that wild Country. They had been very insolent and committed several Murders and Outrages in our back settlements, nor ever expected white men would have resolution enough to march up their Mountains. Mr. Lyttelton has acted with great spirit and conduct and gained much honour in the affair, and obtained from them what Indians never before granted: such of the murderers as they could then take and Hostages for the rest till they could be taken. If you have any curiosity to know

more particulars Mr. Morly to whom I inclose it can furnish you with the Carolina Gazett.⁵³

Describing the Cherokee territory as “that wild Country,” Pinckney reinforces the notion of Cherokee and Native space as uncivilized. In 1760, the Cherokee were geographically positioned as up in “their Mountains.” Again, this reference marks the Cherokee people as a mountain and inland people, with no relation to the Atlantic. They attack Whites in the “back settlements” and the South Carolina frontier, as opposed to the shoreline, from which Indigenous peoples—specifically, the Keowee, Cherokee, Yamasee, and Muscogee—have been removed. A footnote to the letter provides bloody details of one of the British expeditions of 1760:

Mr. Lyttelton decided to hold twenty-four Indian hostages at fort Prince George until an equal number of trouble making Indians were surrendered to him, an action David Duncan Wallace has called “immoral and stupid.” Twenty-three Indian murderers were handed over to Lyttelton. Lyttelton left twenty-one hostages at the Fort until even more Indians were surrendered. When enraged Indians retaliated by raiding settlements along the South Carolina frontier and even attacked Fort Prince George on February 14, 1760 the garrison murdered the hostages. Historians have criticized Lyttelton for his handling of the Cherokee situation, but he received a royal welcome when he returned to Charleston on January 8, 1760.⁵⁴

The White community on the South Carolina coast thus celebrated the slaughter and conquest of the Cherokee.

A number of strategies were used to contain, subdue, and murder the Cherokee. All of these measures and means are a part of an ensemble of activities that constitute genocide and conquest. Taking Cherokee hostages and imprisoning them at the fort and at military prisons in South Carolina is a practice of spatial containment and dehumanization that was also used for Black fugitives and escaped slaves.⁵⁵ Imprisonment as an early U.S. spatial formation was a constituent feature of eighteenth-century modes of conquest in what would become North America. Because the Cherokee were not naturalized as slaves (and thus as spatial potential) and commodities in the region at the time, they represented barriers to the creation of space. Representing symbols of anaspace and spatial foreclosure, as well as an existential threat to White settler society, the Cherokee were murdered instead of held captive as slaves.

De Brahm's prior efforts to help the British build forts certainly advanced ongoing efforts to commit genocide against the Cherokee in the mid- and late eighteenth century. These documented accounts of the aggression of the British toward the Cherokee enable a reframing and re-naming of the settler as a conquistador. The conquistador-settlers also established this map as a map of Indigenous conquest, as its attempt at disavowal is through tropes and images of settlement. Reading this map alongside Pinckney's diary entries also reveals an era of Cherokee and Indigenous vitality—prior to a portion of their nation's own practice of enslaving Black captives—through their ongoing military campaigns against the settlers. While the Cherokee are read as an ongoing threat and source of anxiety residing at the margins of the map, the White anxiety that they produced in settlers such as Pinckney evoke them as an ever present life force and competing way of life during the drafting of the map.

THE RUSE OF SETTLEMENT

Scholarly effort has been devoted to distinguishing this particular era of settlement as a relatively benign one that preferred nonengagement with the Cherokee. Mart Stewart insists that historians use de Brahm's map to read against the grain of conventional interpretations that depict the British as envisioning an advancing and westward-moving frontier in the mid-eighteenth century. He calls for a more tempered reading of the spatial dynamics and aspirations of the British during the late 1750s. In his fifth endnote, he argues against reading this map in a way that gives too much credence to imperialist or genocidal aims. Stewart cautions readers against too facilely viewing the map as a blueprint for conquest: "It is too easy to read imperialist ambition into the blank open spaces to the west in early maps of the North American coast. Many maps, including this one, were more focused on positioning coastal settlements and the potential for coastal development into a relationship with a larger Atlantic world rather than a North American one."⁵⁶

Stewart attempts to argue against an imperialist (or advancing movement of the British) reading of the map by attributing to de Brahm a capacity for acknowledging Cherokee and Catawba autonomy. He uses de Brahm's textual denotation of Indigenous territories on the map as evidence of a recognition of Native place and, perhaps sovereign borders. "De Brahm's *acknowledgment of Cherokee and Catawba autonomy* on the map was six years before a negotiated boundary, the Proclamation of 1763,"

he writes, adding that the marking added a clear boundary to western settlement and subverted the assumptions about settlement advance that some readers have identified in the blank spaces in the west of this and other maps.⁵⁷ De Brahm makes a point of including on the map the inscription “Path from the Cherokee” that appears as a directive to the contemporary inhabitants, as well as to future ones. If it was a directive, it was certainly one that was not always heeded. As Pinckney’s letter to Mrs. King reveals, there were multiple military missions into Cherokee country rather than movement away from it.

The inscription of these eighteenth-century “lines of flight” away from Cherokee territory function as a ruse for the kinds of aggressive and genocidal military strategies that would secure British supremacy, sovereignty, and spatial domination in North America.⁵⁸ All forms of European settlement in North America occurred within the context of Western expansion and Indigenous genocide. Since a path “from” these territories exists, there is an implied reference to prior forward movement, or a path “into” into the territories that would require a retreat. The so-called recognized and autonomous boundaries of the Cherokee clearly have been transgressed if an escape route needs to be mapped. While progress appeared to be oriented toward the dynamic and expansive potential of the ocean and oceanic Black bodies, the land in the West could be imagined as space—or frontier—to move into and then fold back into the shoreline. If de Brahm and settlers could imagine the shoreline as moving and advancing west, perhaps the backward wild frontier could become incorporated into the eastern space of the modern Atlantic shore as well.

Eighteenth-century (and all) settlement, including its speculative projections and cartographic sketches and representation, was always violent and embedded in the larger project of conquest. The emergence of “paths from” and “lines of flight” hide the ongoing violence and carnage that resulted from military and quotidian violence committed against the Indigenous people in the southeast. In a remarkably similar fashion to de Brahm, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari engage in a form of disembodied disavowal of the genocidal violence that accompanies White self-actualization. In 1757, that disembodied White disavowal took the guise of a “Path from the Cherokee,” or a cartographic misrepresentation of White humanity and settlement as enacting a retreat from and respect for Native life. The ruse of nonengagement, no contact, and bodilessness effectively enacts a disappearing of the militaristic and deadly violence of conquest. This ruse of a benign and bodiless (White) settlement without blood and

violence is reproduced in the twentieth century by Deleuze and Guattari's nonrepresentational and rhizomatic lines of flight. In the introduction to *A Thousand Plateaus*, they laud the American, rhizomatic West as an ideal landscape of unfettered experimentation full of connections, ruptures, and unpredictable lines of flight. For Deleuze and Guattari, the rhizomatic frontier is a space where American capitalism and its multiplicative and dynamic movement creates a space of pure open possibility.

Byrd's interrogation of the "colonial nostalgia" latent in Deleuze and Guattari's rhizome is an explicit example of how the violence of White nonrepresentational theory creates an immediate space of impasse for Indigenous, decolonial, Black, and abolitionist intellectual traditions. As Byrd argues, the Deleuzian and Guattarian rhizome assumes its errant, untraceable, and de- and reterritorializing path through Native genocide. The rhizome obtains its metaphorical and theoretical elasticity from the discursive genocide of Indigenous peoples. The ground or territory of maneuver on which the rhizome gains its bearing is unwittingly or perhaps indifferently anchored in the disavowal of Indigenous ancestral claims, history, presence, and ongoing relationship with the land in North America. Deleuze and Guattari covet the free-range and bloody movements in the West, which is described as a land of "Indians without Ancestry" primarily because they do not have to contend with the presence of Indigenous peoples and their prior relationships (ancestors) to the land and space through which they move and clear as nomads. There are no existing people to whom Deleuze and Guattari must be accountable. Therefore, their own and others' self-actualizing, free-form Whiteness can proceed unimpeded: the rhizomatic West — *terra nullius* — is without a people, history, or a cosmology to navigate.

Byrd's reading of Deleuze and Guattari's reproduction or transit of the "Indian" in their book *A Thousand Plateaus* limns some of the methods in which colonialism and modes of conquest are enacted on behalf of the self-actualization of White subjects who produce nonrepresentational theory.⁵⁹ In fact, Byrd argues that the "Indian is the ontological prior through which poststructuralism functions."⁶⁰ Byrd traces the appearance or deployment of the Indian as a simulation or "present absent" in Deleuze and Guattari's work, which creates space for the White subject and the unending frontier. Byrd also argues that nonrepresentational theory heralded as a liberatory path beyond the subject is colonialist. Byrd indicts Deleuze and Guattari's use of Leslie Fiedler's work in order to invoke the American West and the Indian as exceptional cases that inspire rhizomatic movement through

the notion of an ever-receding frontier.⁶¹ It is colonialist on (at least) two accounts: in its need to render the Indian already and inevitably (ontologically) dead as “it” has no ancestors or living community to whom one need be accountable; and in its invocation of the vanishing “Indian,” which opens up the possibility of an ever-receding frontier and inspiration for the metaphor of the rhizome. This logic and mode of conquistador thought undergirds the Deleuzian and Guattarian ethos of experimental and rhizomatic lines of flight. Their nonrepresentational theory of lines of flight is only possible as a form of White self-actualizing posthumanism due to the death of Indigenous peoples and their excision from the Earth/land. White posthumanism and its flows and lines of flight are made possible through Native death.⁶²

One of the reasons that the White imagination, the vicissitudes of capital, and the unfettered experimentation and potential-filled settlement can proceed in this way is the landscape of “Indians without Ancestry.” Deleuze and Guattari engage in a discursive genocide of Indigenous peoples from the conceptual and philosophical landscape in a manner very similar to de Brahm’s erasure of Indigenous life through the elimination of a cartographic symbolic system that represented Indigenous people and their ancestry. Yet counter-cartographies that enflesh flat spaces and embed Indigenous stories and place-making into the map are geographies that need to be used in tandem with archival spatial records to craft more critical cartographies.

BLACK CARTOGRAPHIES OF FUNGIBLE SPACE

On de Brahm’s map, the Atlantic is a privileged geographical feature along with the natural and manmade watershed areas that are depicted as spaces of vitality, exchange, and commerce. Water is life and cartographically represents the promises inherent in the changing and flourishing coastal landscapes of the eighteenth century British Atlantic world. The life, movement, vitality, and speculative futurity of the traffic of Black bodies, commodities, technology, and ideas encapsulates the organizing theme and ethos of the map. Spaces that have a relationship to the ocean become linked indexically to time, space, progress, and civilized colonial space.⁶³ The movement of the Atlantic and smaller bodies of water and natural transitions of the landscape from sea to shore, shore to grassland, grassland to trees, and trees to hills, as well as manmade alterations such as marshlands, swamps, oat lands, pinelands, and agriculture, that set the landscape in a state of

flux are privileged as they index the progressive movement of empire. Even the plantation on this map becomes oceanic space (in proximity to water) where Black bodies are used to materialize the space of the plantation and White self-actualization on the shore.

De Brahm's inclination to respect the contingency of nature also made the dynamic movement of the ocean a prominent and central feature of the map. The Atlantic, and specifically what Paul Gilroy refers to as the "Black Atlantic," played an integral role in how de Brahm understood the coast to be a landscape in motion. Like the coasts, waterways, and ocean, the prominent Black bodies in the cartouche work to link discrete and often asymmetrical features of the empire (palm trees from different regions, chemical processes) seamlessly into a coherent whole. More than being embedded within this fluid and water-like economy and system of exchange, Blackness can be read as representing the ebbs and flows, or push and pull, on the power relations in the emergent British Empire and within the larger Atlantic world.

While Blackness and Black people are certainly linked to and metaphorized through the ocean and water, I would argue that Black life and representations of Black embodiment, people, and Blackness exceed frames of liquidity. Stewart notes that de Brahm's theme of change and contingency animates the entire map. This theme of change and transition is perhaps most apparent in the narrative conveyed by the cartouche. As the most vivid, detailed, and prominent feature of the map, the cartouche is the true anchor and cornerstone of this eighteenth-century visual story. Placed in the right-hand bottom corner of the map (in the Atlantic Ocean), it is a large-scale etching that effectively zooms in to feature daily plantation activity on the shores of the Atlantic. The Black forms on the cartouche represent intermediary spaces, temporal shifts, spatial possibility, units of exchange, and instability and doubt. The depiction of Black flux and movement on the cartouche is a symbol of both fecundity and danger.

The cartouche is elaborately detailed and animated by moving "human-like figures" of the enslaved, a coastline, the sea, ships in the distance, foliage, plant life, and a multistage depiction of indigo processing. It was designed to depict the kind of abundance that was being achieved, and hoped for, within the discrete spaces of the individual plots of property that are marked off with lines on the map. The depth, color, and perspective in which the flora and fauna are rendered on the cartouche try to capture what the "natural eye" might perceive (some day). Lush trees and vegetation in the foreground recede into a sandy, shore-like landscape in the

background. Ships are docked just offshore in the ocean. Even farther in the background, in what would be the southwestern corner of the territory pictured, the landscape inclines into a hilltop. In the immediate foreground to the left, or east of the dynamic movement of the Black figures and the chemical processes of fermentation, are “squash, watermelon, pumpkins and leaves.”⁶⁴ In the cartouche they appear to take on a decorative function that symbolizes the (soon to be) real, yet they also represent an artificial and illustrative border to the large stone stele that holds the map’s title. The depictions of harvest and abundance illustrated through the diversity of flora, fauna, and cash crops, both imported and cultivated, indicate a degree of mastery over the land by the colonizer.

Considering this theme of transformation, fecundity and the possibility of continual change are important for interpreting the presence of Black bodies on these scenes of cultivation and speculation. Change, exchange, and transition were cycles and fluctuations on the landscape that also mapped onto the vicissitudes of daily life for White settlers, enslaved Black people, and Indigenous people in the region. Spatially and ecologically, Black figures function more explicitly than Indigenous people as sites of transit, or passageways, in the cartouche and within the larger map. An intermediary kind of spatial work takes place at the site of Black flesh in de Brahm’s map. Like the coconut tree that functions in an intercessory role to link to distinct colonial landscapes (India, the British Caribbean, and South Carolina and the Low Country) separated by miles of oceans together, Black bodies function as visual devices and sites of transit that enable diverse ecological forms and cycles to work together rhythmically.

While Black bodies are depicted as extensions of oceanic processes of movement and change, Blackness exceeds the metaphor of liquidity on the map. Blackness, particularly Black fungibility, figures as an important symbolic, conceptual economy and universe of unending exchange and metaphorical possibility. Fungibility is an important analytic and metaphor to consider as it moves and shape-shifts in ways that cannot be predicted; nor is it overdetermined by notions of liquidity and the connotations already attached to the oceanic and fluid. I introduce how fungibility functions in the eighteenth-century Low Country, using Black feminist and trans theories and critical geographies and cartographies. I argue that within the de Brahmian imaginary, Blackness becomes a metonym for process and transition that can be found in every natural and supernatural element.

For example, in the context of indigo and rice production cycle in the Low Country, Black enslaved people mediated the transition between

these agricultural processes. Before rice can be processed on fields where indigo previously grew, a time needed to be determined to submerge the soil and bring about or impose an ecotone-like or transitional phase to the soil. The enslaved bodies depicted within the scene of indigo processing, once done with the cycle of indigo harvesting, transformed the soil into a substrate suited for the production of rice. More than laborers, and as facilitators and initiators of this temporal change—indigo time to rice time—the Black figures in the cartouche both mark and determine these agricultural temporal moments as states of change.⁶⁵ Even though this shift was directed by the dictates and temporality of late mercantile capitalism, this very temporality depended on and was thus subject to how and when enslaved Black people enacted “rice and indigo time.” Black people become the intercessor, or intermediary figure, between two or more agricultural processes, spaces, and temporalities.

Recently, scholars in the humanities have returned to the environmental sciences and, specifically, to the literature on “ecotones”—or transitional spaces between different soil types or landscapes (water and shore, plain and mountain)—as a metaphor for mapping power and systems of representation in postcolonial contexts.⁶⁶ Black bodies as ecotones (and shoals), or what environmental scientists would identify as transitions in the landscape, function as symbols of liminal, in-between spaces and phases in dynamic processes. Seeing and thinking about this map in this manner enables a way of seeing/imagining Blackness and Whiteness as a set of ecotones, shoals, and processes of becoming. Blackness, particularly Black fungibility, figures as an important symbolic, conceptual economy and a universe of unending metaphorical possibility.

I situate Black fungibility within the theorizations of Black enslaved bodies as unanchored and malleable open signs of what Spillers describes as “territories of cultural and political maneuver” to be arranged and rearranged indefinitely.⁶⁷ Within the tradition of Spillers, as well as Saidiya Hartman, the concept of fungibility denotes and connotes pure flux, process, and potential. While Spillers does not explicitly employ the term “fungibility” to talk about the commodity-like status of Black bodies in states of change and exchange, her scholarship does address Black bodies as open spaces of shifting “signification and representation” that humans use to make meaning of their lives.

While conceptualizing Blackness as a commodity is not novel, the exchange of the commodity beyond a one-to-one relationship with similar commodity forms differs from the normative notion of fungibility prof-

ferred by economic approaches. In this alternative account, the exchange and circulation of Black bodies becomes an open-ended commodity form that can stand in for other commodity forms and other meanings, an important one being the “raw material” of the human.⁶⁸ To annunciate this point, scholars often invoke Spillers’s verdant prose describing Black “ungendered” flesh as “territories of cultural and political maneuver” in the New World.⁶⁹ Pliable and exchangeable, Blackness is a form of malleable potential and a state of change in the “socio-political order” of the New World. In chapter 3, drawing further on the work of Hartman, Spillers and C. Riley Snorton, I discuss how this flesh becomes a site of radical “re-arrangement” and “reorganization.”⁷⁰

Hartman appropriates the political-economic term “fungibility” to explain the elasticity and exchangeability of Black bodies, arguing that the enslaved embody the abstract “interchangeability and replaceability” endemic to the commodity.⁷¹ But unlike a strict political economic framework’s emphasis on exchangeability as a commodity form, Hartman’s Black body has figurative and metaphorical value that extends into the realm of the poststructural slippage of the discursive and symbolic. Like Spillers, Hartman destabilizes the one-to-one exchange ratio that a fungible commodity generally retains in economic theory to posit that Black fungible bodies have unlimited figurative and metaphorical value.⁷² Explaining this elasticity and flux, Hartman redefines fungibility’s relationship to Blackness by stating, “The fungibility of the commodity makes the captive body an abstract and empty vessel vulnerable to the projection of others’ feelings, ideas, desires, and values.”⁷³ Black fungibility is the treatment of the Black enslaved body as an open sign that can be arranged and rearranged for infinite kinds of use. According to Spillers’s and Hartman’s accounts of the slippages that occur during the transit of exchanges, the Black fungible body and its signs can be made metal, liquid, dust, indigo, and more.

FUNGIBLE FLESH

In stark contrast to the abstract symbolism of disembodied Whiteness as the owner of the map, the Black body on the cartouche is rendered in exquisite detail and precise realism. In some senses, Black bodies are represented in almost ideal symmetry and are the closest to approximating the physical ideal of the human “male” form. However, the humanlike form depicted on the map depicts something other than — and in excess of — the grace, respect, dignity, and sovereignty of the eighteenth-century human



FIGURE 2.5. Cartouche from de Brahm map depicting enslaved people processing indigo.

form. That is, the “humanizing” aesthetics that appear on the cartouche are not ones used to advance the cause of abolition. Rather, the healthy, fit, and idealized bodies convey the slave traders’ and owners’ desires for the optimal commodity, or the “pieza,” described by scholars such as C. L. R. James and Wynter as the standard and ideal body that becomes a unit of exchange. In the mid-eighteenth century, the premium and standard commodity unit would be a young Black man age fifteen to twenty-five.⁷⁴ De Brahm’s engraver and illustrator enfleshes the unit of exchange with vivid detail on the cartouche.

Why would Blackness, or the Black captive, be represented in such an idyllic way on an eighteenth-century map that sought to impose a racial

order in which Blackness represented the bottom rung on the chain of being? If the realistic and humanlike rendering is not intended to depict humanity, how can one make sense of the use of detail, depth, perspective, and even color on the original map? Control is established, in part, by exercising the power to represent the other.

I argue that the ostensibly human form represents and attempts to capture Black errant movement. The rendering is meant in some ways to fix the movement (or flux) of Blackness in place to capture it. Postcolonial scholars who have studied the deployment of the picturesque in eighteenth-century British landscape painting agree that it was used in part to control the narrative about British colonialism.⁷⁵ In an attempt to “distinguish their brand of colonialism from the barbarism and militarism of the Spanish,” the British and, subsequently, Anglo-American brand of colonialism was invoked and performed as a form of settler colonialism.⁷⁶ Settler colonialism, according to Anuradha Gobin, implied that this form of British colonialism primarily “implied alteration of the land only through planting.”⁷⁷ The picturesque emerged as a visual convention of the eighteenth century that enabled the British, French, and Dutch to distance themselves from the brute and sadistic militaristic violence of Spanish conquest. The aesthetic of the picturesque functioned as visual technology of disavowal.

In the case of rendering Black bodies, the picturesque certainly functioned to depict slavery as a humane and civilized institution that managed and modernized a primitive other human population through labor. While this is one function of the picturesque, there are other visual conventions that demand attention. The rendering of the landscape and the Black body as ideal and beautiful not only painted a picture of order; it also functioned to announce a particular quality about the artist and observer. The individual who drew and painted the landscape of the enslaved also needed to make a statement about their own subjectivity, as well as the character of the society from which they emerged.⁷⁸ Gobin argues that the perspective and vivid details used in these eighteenth-century performances of the picturesque were also used to make a statement about the community of landowners regarding their taste and sophistication.⁷⁹ The artist as conquistador settler and the one possessing the beholding eye is projecting one’s position in the world through demonstrating that they are able to access and indulge in the artistic practice of attending to the fine details of the beauty of the picturesque. The unique viewpoint of the picturesque was also intended to convey to the elite back in London that landowners in the colony possessed a “high art sensibility.”⁸⁰ This particular vantage point

was also an exclusive one often shared by the community of explorers and colonial landowners and slave masters. This is the vantage point and the visuality of the possessor.

The proprietors listed on de Brahm's map would have shared this perspective and desire to proclaim their standing in British society. To be able to have such an intimate perspective of the landscape and the Black bodies that populated it, one would have to be an owner of land and slaves. The picturesque is also an aesthetic expression of proprietorship over the images, figures, objects, and people rendered. While the plantation is certainly situated within this schematic and ideology of linearity, progress, and modernity, this does not mean that the Black bodies depicted on it are also modern human subjects. The attention and detail given to the Black body is without equal on this map. The illustrative cartouche contains design elements that incorporate curve, depth, light, and shadow, in contrast to the rest of the map, which uses a uniform and flat, two-dimensional kind of coding and symbol system. This kind of ornate attention was often given to plants and natural objects in the eighteenth century.

The Linnaean perspective and its particular kind of attention to form, detail, and racial categorizations are a part of the modern technology that enabled the "will to knowledge" that undergirded the objectification of nature and bodies.⁸¹ Linnaean perspective (or looking) and depiction could be turned into a systematic process of surveillance and capture. Aestheticizing nature and Black bodies as elaborate and intricate systems did not redeem them from their ontological position as sub- and other humans. Through a beautiful depiction of an otherwise inferior or grotesque other (the wildness of the natural world and the horror of the fugitive slave), one can project their human position and authority through capturing the other as a beautiful and knowable thing.

Seeing up close, knowing through touch, examining and capturing in the delicate details of a painting or drawing established domination over a thing or a body, particularly a moving and unpredictable thing. The slave masters, as well as the artists commissioned by them, made the Black enslaved body an object of knowledge to establish dominance.⁸² Black bodies and the New World landscape in the eighteenth century were imagined as spaces of change, potential, and contingency.⁸³ De Brahm, British settlers, and other artists who attempted to render, and therefore capture, Black bodies and the landscape through maps and visual art were, in a sense, hoping to exert scopic domination over bodies and terrain that could not be fully tamed.

The geographer Denis Byrne argues that colonial landscapes are nervous, meaning that they are always contested landscapes that are dynamic and capable of being manipulated (or used in anticolonial ways) by the colonized to resist the domination of the colonizer. Within this context of colonial instability and contingency it makes sense that otherwise unruly Black slaves who may, in reality, have taken part in (or are descended from) the Stono Rebellion were depicted as orderly and docile working bodies, as the cartouche was also a visual device that worked to “confirm the spatial story of the map.”⁸⁴ It is here, within the elements of the map, its cartouche, and legend, that a narrative is told about flows of power, relations of possession, property, and the order of human agency. Another spatial story that needs to be attended to is that the map was also a reflection and record of White settlers’ fears.

The cartouche representing Blackness as captured matter, coupled with the legend of control and ownership, represents the desired social order and a set of yet to be realized aspirations. The control and management of Black bodies was something to be aspired to and not a given reality that could be confidently depicted. Indeed, the rule and domination of Black bodies was a contested and tenuous process that had to be managed daily. As the Stono Rebellion and the waking nightmares of mad prophets evinced, the enslaved could be unpredictable moving figures on the landscape. I argue that this anxiety seeped into representations of the tenuously ordered landscape in the cartouche featured on de Brahm’s map.

I posit that the unpredictable movement of Black bodies, or Black fugitivity, inspired the depiction of Blackness in the cartouche as unstable, moving bodies and in a state of unpredictable flux. Because Black rebellion, fugitivity, and errant movement was so hard—in fact, impossible—to contain, the White imagination continually had to invent and rewrite a strategy of capture. Making Blackness fungible or always on the move (fugitive and criminal) in advance is a way of attempting to anticipate or get in front of Black movement. Black movement, errancy, and fugitivity become part of the repressed White unconscious (libidinal economy) that at times, as indicated by the “deluded” man in the introduction to this chapter, produced madness.

In response, and as a way to assuage this anxiety, Black movement must be reimagined as a somewhat “capture-able” form of chaos that can be harnessed (but not fully controlled) for White self-actualization. The detail and precision of the cartouche represent an attempt to discipline Black errant

movement by visually depicting it—specifically, Black rebellious bodies that participated in (or have the potential to participate in) the Stono rebellion. Anne McClintock makes a similar argument in *Imperial Leather* about the “technologies of representation” that the upper class developed in an attempt to discipline the working-class “crowd,” or rebellion in the nineteenth century. In late nineteenth-century Britain, the degenerate working-class crowd “occupied a dangerous threshold zone” that, if transgressed, threatened to undo the public and private worlds of the propertied class.⁸⁵ Drawing on Freudian psychoanalysis, McClintock argues that as an exemplary threshold image (on the verge of bursting through), the crowd entered the realm of fetish. “The fetish image of the crowd as degenerate,” she explains, “was a measure of very real ruling class anxieties about popular resistance, as well as a crucial element in legitimizing the policing of militant working class communities.” For upper-class citizens to maintain a sense of control over the crowd or discipline it, the crowd “first had to be represented.”⁸⁶ Thinking about the unstable, unpredictable, and ever fluttering and Black rebellion as a threshold object, I argue that de Brahm and the settlers of the area needed to gain “scopophilic power” over Black fugitive slaves by representing them as fungible.

More than a formula representing the exchangeability of the commodity, fungibility, in the context of de Brahm’s and White settlers’ eighteenth-century map, is also a manifestation of White anxiety. Black fugitivity and fungibility emerge through a kind of imperfect dialectical relationship. In *Black on Both Sides*, C. Riley Snorton eloquently offers the term “fungible fugitivity” to elaborate the ways in which “captive flesh figures a critical genealogy for modern transness.”⁸⁷ Said another way, Snorton works with and on Spillers’s notion of Black flesh ungendered to articulate how Black gender indeterminacy, as a form of fungibility, becomes an opportunity for Black rearrangement, maneuver, and fugitivity.

Snorton argues that the global shift marked by the early nineteenth century’s transition from the transatlantic trade in slaves to the domestic slave trade staged the ground for fungibility to emerge “as a legal intercession intra- and internationally.”⁸⁸ Snorton periodizes fungibility and fungible Blackness as emerging during the end of the transatlantic trade in African slaves. In 1818, Henry Colebrooke’s definition of “fungibility” enters the economic vocabulary of mercantile capitalism. While fungibility undoubtedly emerges discursively through abrogations, debates, and shifts during the specific era of the end of transatlantic trade, I offer that Black

fungibility—or the unending capacity of Black exchangeability—could have emerged as a cognitive, conceptual, affective, and material possibility prior to the moment that Colebrooke gave it a name.

I also argue that prior to the ways that Afro-pessimism inflected fungibility with social death and incapacity, Spillers's and Hartman's theories of fungibility allowed for more flexible and generative use. Like Snorton, I argue that fungibility, its infinite exchangeability, can be used as a resource by fugitive Black people, like Spillers's notion of flesh as a site of radical rearrangement. Black fugitivity's use of Blackness made fungible is evidence of Black ingenuity and invention under conditions of capture, the hold, and social death. Further, I reverse the presumed power dynamic and propose that ideas of Black fungibility emerged as a response or reaction to the unrelenting pulse of Black fugitivity and the White anxiety it causes. In the context of de Brahm's map, I posit Black fungibility as a response to Black movement and errantry. Building on Snorton, I posit that Blackness remains a moving, quivering live field that, enfleshed as "fugitive fungibility," creates anxiety for the White master who tries to contain it.

Like the crowd as a fetish in McClintock's nineteenth-century Britain, the horde of Black rebels "on a move" must also be represented as fungible—in flux—to be controlled and disciplined. However, Black fugitivity can respond to and exploit Black fungibility as a resource to find always opening loopholes of retreat and escape. In chapter 3, I explore how fugitivity and fungibility are tethered to each other by looking at Julie Dash's cinematics of indigo-stained flesh in the film *Daughters of the Dust* in tandem with Black errant embodiment pictured in de Brahm's cartouche. Viewed together, the pores of indigo flesh and pores of the cartouche create a new punctum point and shoal that tempers the axiomatic logic of Black labor.