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THE HYBRID PRODUCTION OF EMPIRE

Since the publication of Homi K. Bhabha's essay "Signs Taken for Wonders," hybridity is generally taken as the subversive product of colonial systems. This process of heterogeneous mixture, also referred to as creolization or tropicalization, is often taken to embody the potential to destabilize or undo the very colonial systems of which they are a result. Bhabha's reformulation of hybridization or creolization as the double-voiced ambivalence of the colonial text holds out the possibility of reading colonial representation against itself:

If the effect of colonial power is seen to be the *production* of hybridization . . . then an important change of perspective occurs. The ambivalence at the source of traditional discourses on authority enables a form of subversion, founded on the undecidability that turns the discursive conditions of dominance into the grounds of intervention.¹

This formulation may be a seductive and enabling one for contemporary cultural production. Seen historically, however, hybridization is not so easily disentangled from its colonial legacy in the founding discourses of botany and race. As a caution, I take up the aesthetic and material discourses of colonial relandscaping. If one looks at the British and French colonial plantation systems of the Caribbean in the eighteenth century and the relandscapings of the British West Indies and the French Antilles effected through material transplantation of plants, enslaved African people, and machines, the production of hybridization stands out, rather, as a technique for symbolic, material, and geopolitical colonization. The production of hybridization should be understood not merely as an effect of colonial power but rather as one of the main technologies by which colonial power was produced as discursive and material effect.

The plantation machine imposed on the islands of the Caribbean by the Spanish and then the French and British was a system of signs as much as a mechanism of economic production and exploitation.² The technologies of what I term colonial intermixing and imperial picturesque in the case of the British West Indies and colonial grafting and

drafting in the case of the French Antilles hybridized and radically transformed the environments of the Caribbean islands. The material practices of transplantation and grafting were part of the ordering and articulation of the Plantation as discourse, that is, these technologies were also codes that reworked these island terrains, endeavoring to resignify marks of transplantation, clearing, deforestation, disindigenation, private property, enclosure, discipline, and monoculture (i.e., the sugar plantation). Just as the "New World" was invented before it was "discovered," the colonial landscape was planted and replanted not only through successive eras of colonial plantation but through forms of reproductive print, visual and textual, that were to serve as prototypical models of colonial relandscape. The prospect of colonial landscaping was also always prospective. The colonial landscape of imperial print culture represented not merely what was supposed to have been done but what might or, from the perspective of those invested in the plantation system, should be. As such, the printed views, diagrams, maps, and plans I discuss in this chapter acted primarily as vehicles for the dissemination and production of imperial power, whether in the beneficent guise of an intermixed and hybridized landscape or the abstracted geometry of machinic drafting.

THE CULTIVATION OF EMPIRE: TRANSPLANTATION, PICTURESQUE AESTHETICS, AND THE BRITISH WEST INDIES

Although *hybrid* may be, in terms of its sheer obsessive reiteration, "the nineteenth-century's word,"³ the adjective *hybridous* and the noun *hybrid* emerged in the eighteenth century as specifically technical terms in the discourse of economic botany and were used to mark the "cutting edge" of scientific rationalism and experimentation in the service of empire. The *Oxford English Dictionary* states that the word *hybrid* was scarcely in use until the nineteenth century.⁴ However, the experiments in the crossbreeding of plants from various parts of the world undertaken in the latter part of the eighteenth century became the subjects of fascination in such popular texts as Erasmus Darwin's "Loves of the Plants," an extended poetic analogy between plants and human sexuality made possible by the Linnaean sexual system of botanical classification. Published as part of *The Botanic Garden* (1789), Darwin's poem assembles plants from diverse terrains all over the globe and especially the British colonies into one vast, diverse, but poetically unified landscape.⁵ The British imperium is thereby represented as a global botanical garden that becomes the scene of torrid romance, particularly of those sexual practices disavowed at home.

The sexual language of plants adapted by Darwin from the works of the Swedish botanist Carl Linnaeus provided a way to speak of what was considered taboo interracial sex, but it also endeavored to displace and confine the romance of the Other to plant life. "The Loves of the Plants" makes an impassioned plea against slavery, reimagining the biblical parable of Moses in the bull rushes as a young cassia fruit of the Americas sent to float to freedom along the Gulf Stream.⁶ However, in Darwin's vegetable empire, sentimental outpourings against the slave trade are one thing and crossbreeding another.

The lines dedicated to hybrid plants term such mixed produce botanical “mules.” The notes to the poem declare that “vegetable mules supply an irrefragable argument in favour of the sexual system of botany. They are said to be numerous and like the mules of the animal kingdom not always to continue their species by seed.”⁷ The supposed infertility of hybrids was one linchpin of the argument that different so-called races constituted distinct species. Linnaeus’s “system of nature” not only categorized plants but also animals and within the general category animal, “homo sapiens.” However, Linnaeus continued making distinctions not merely of “type” but also of value, breaking down the unit “homo” into not just *Homo sapiens* and *Homo monstrosus* but six varieties: wild man, American, European, Asiatic, African, and monsters including “man-made” ones.⁸ Lest one mistake the analogy between the sex life of plants and miscegenation, “Fairchild’s mule,” the *Dianthus caryophyllus*, the clove pink, or the now familiar carnation—created by crossbreeding the *Dianthus superbus*, or superb pink, from France with the *Caryophyllus aromaticus*, or clove tree, from the Moluccas in the East Indies—changes, in Darwin’s poem, into the offspring of an “illicit love” that produces a “monster”:

Caryo’s sweet smile Dianthus proud admires,
and gazing burns with unallow’d desires;
With sighs and sorrows her compassion moves,
And wins the damsel to illicit loves.
The Monster–offspring heirs the father’s pride,
Mask’d in the damask beauties of the bride.⁹

Although this “Monster-offspring” is subsequently described as a “beauteous” one, its form in Darwin’s poem is not half-rose, half-clove, or half-French, half-East Indian, but to make the contrast yet stronger, “half-rose, half-bird,” that is, a heteroclitic mix from different orders.¹⁰ In the eighteenth century, such language of plant hybridization began to be used as a discourse to naturalize claims that there were not only distinct races but that these “races” constituted separable and unmixable species.¹¹ Darwin’s poem is highly ambivalent. The sex discourse of the birds and the bees or, rather, in this case, that of the carnal carnation (from the Latin *carnis* for flesh) or the hybrid half-rose, half-bird titillates readers with illicit loves that produce prodigal marvels and yet may at the same time be read as an endeavor to ground as natural law the fantastic claim that because crossbreeds were supposedly infertile they were against nature and, therefore, immoral.

At the same time, plant crossbreeding, transfer, and reclamation were at the center of British efforts to control world markets in highly valuable vegetable commodities. The clove had become by the seventeenth century a Dutch imperial monopoly grown exclusively on the Dutch-controlled Moluccas, or Spice Islands. To break the Dutch monopoly, the British and French used their island possessions in the East and West Indies as potential laboratories for the introduction of such hotly contested spices as the clove.¹² The superb pink from France, the clove from the East Indies, and the hybrid *Dianthus caryophyllus*, or Darwin’s “vegetable mule” (here referred to as the clove July

flower), are featured among the transplants to the West Indies in the *Hortus Eastensis*. This lengthy table (Figure 1), compiled by a British physician, Arthur Broughton, catalogs the approximately 527 "exotic plants" transplanted from various parts of the globe to the garden of Hinton East located at Spring Garden in the cool mountains of Liguanea on the island of Jamaica.¹³ Published in the oft-reissued *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (which first appeared in 1793), by the Jamaican planter and historian Bryan Edwards, the *Hortus Eastensis* advertises the colonial government of Jamaica's recent purchase of East's botanical garden as a site for acclimatizing plants economically useful to the maintenance of the sugar-plantation machine. While the *Hortus Eastensis* stands for a particular botanical garden, the catalog's publication, celebrating the garden's new civic role with its pithy introduction ("This garden is now the property of the public"), also represents the ideal version of the colonial landscape of Jamaica as a vast and various table.

The *Hortus Eastensis* bears none of the dense description characteristic of the natural histories of Jamaica from the physician Sir Hans Sloane (the first volume of which was published in 1707 and the second in 1725),¹⁴ through Patrick Browne (1756) and Edward Long (1774). However, the *Hortus Eastensis* catalog shares with the colonial natural history book a basic strategic structure. These texts gather plants from all over the globe into one space and yet label and divide the landscape they represent as assemblage into distinct parts. The exotic transplants of the *Hortus Eastensis*, grouped according to class, are further separated out by name, place of origin, date of first introduction to Jamaica, and the colonial planter or gardener credited with the labor. The botanical garden as catalog table positions Darwin's offspring of "illicit love" not as a hybrid plant but as a successful colonial graft introduced *from England* to Jamaica by Matthew Wallen in 1772, signaling British ingenuity in the areas of farming and botany. Interleaved between the "Historical Account of the Constitution of Jamaica," a self-congratulatory narrative of the civil government of Jamaica from its formation in 1661, and a lamenting survey of the state of the French colony of Saint-Domingue after slave uprising and armed insurrection, the *Hortus Eastensis* extends a seemingly scientifically neutral version of the imposed structure of colonial government into and over the Jamaican landscape as a defensive palisade of plants against internal disorder displaced outside and onto Saint-Domingue in the wake of revolt.

While the botanical garden served a specific symbolic function in the 1790s, the mythic image of the plantation landscape dominated by sugarcane as, instead, a prodigious variety of introduced flora held in place by an ordering system of careful segmentation spanned the century as a means to justify colonization and as a discursive and material field in which to work out anxieties about mixture, particularly racial mixture. Throughout the early modern period, the aesthetic principle of variety was understood to endow a garden or land in general with visual interest and value, that is, to make it a "landscape." But to be a landscape, this "variety" was to be apprehended through or physically organized by the application of an ordering plan or what was often called "unity." It may be tempting to subsume the discourse of colonial landscaping and its

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EM Sloane
variety found in the

Classis XIII.

P O L Y A N D R I A.

MONOGYNIA.

CAPPARIS	<i>spinosa</i>	Caper Shrub	Italy	H. East, Esq. 1774
PAPAYER	<i>Rhæas</i>	Red Poppy	Britain	H. East, Esq. 1773
THEA	<i>viridis</i>	Green Tea-Tree	China	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1775
	<i>Bohea</i>	Bohea Tea-Tree	China	Mr. Baker, 1771
CARYOPHYLLUS	<i>aromaticus</i> *	Clove Tree	Molucca Islands	Dr. Tho. Clarke, 1789
CISTUS	<i>populifolius</i>	Poplar-leav'd Cistus	Portugal	H. East, Esq. 1779
	<i>incanus</i>	Hoary-leav'd Cistus	Portugal	H. East, Esq. 1779
	<i>crispus</i>	Curled-leav'd Cistus	Portugal	H. East, Esq. 1779
	<i>Tuberaria</i>	Plantain-leav'd Cistus	Portugal	H. East, Esq. 1779
DELPHINIUM	<i>grandiflorum</i>	Great-flower'd Larksp.	Siberia	H. East, Esq. 1774
	<i>Consolida</i>	Branching Larkspur	England	M. Wallen, Esq. 1772
	<i>elatum</i>	Bee Larkspur	Siberia	M. Wallen, Esq. 1773
ACONITUM	<i>Napellus</i>	Chinese Larkspur	China	H. East, Esq. 1773
		Wolfsbane	France	

PENTAGYNIA.

AQUILEGIA	<i>vulgaris</i>	Columbine Flower	Britain	M. Wallen, Esq. 1772
NIGELLA	<i>damascena</i>	Fennel Flower	Spain	M. Wallen, Esq. 1772

POLYGYNIA.

ILLICIUM	<i>floridatum</i>	Aniseed Tree	Florida	H. East, Esq. 1787
LIRIODENDRON	<i>Tulipifera</i>	Tulip Tree	N. America	H. East, Esq. 1776.
MAGNOLIA	<i>grandiflora</i>	Laurel-leav'd Magnol.	Carolina	Mr. Gale, 1772
	<i>glauca</i>	Swamp Magnolia	N. America	Mr. Gale, 1772
	<i>acuminata</i>	Blue Magnolia	N. America	H. East, Esq. 1788
ANNOA		Cherimoya	S. America	H. East, Esq. 1786
ANEMONE	<i>hortensis</i>	Garden Anemone	Italy	M. Wallen, Esq. 1773
ATRAGENE	<i>indica</i>		S. America	H. East, Esq. 1788
CLEMATIS	<i>Flammula</i>	Virgin's Bower	S. of France	
ADONIS	<i>autumnalis</i>	Flos Adonis	England	M. Wallen, Esq.
RANUNCULUS	<i>auricomus</i>	Wood Crowfoot	Britain	M. Wallen, Esq. 1773

Classis XIV.

D I D Y N A M I A.

GYMNOSPERMIA.

SATUREJA	<i>hortensis</i>	Garden Savory	Italy	
HYSSOPUS	<i>officinalis</i>	Hyssop	S. of Europe	
NEPETA	<i>Cataria</i>	Catmint	Britain	H. East, Esq.
LAVANDULA	<i>Spica</i>	Common Lavender	S. of Europe	M. Wallen, Esq. 1774

* Two of these Plants were presented to Doctor Clarke by Monsieur Nestoux, from the King's Garden at Port au Prince; they appeared in a very luxuriant State of Growth on their Arrival, but have since died.

Figure 1. Plate from Arthur Broughton, *Hortus Eastensis: or A Catalogue of Exotic Plants, in the Garden of Hinton East, Esq. in the Mountains of Liguanea* (Kingston, Jamaica, 1792), in Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (London: John Stockdale, 1801), 3:388–89. Courtesy of the Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University.

concerns about hybridity under the still familiar natural or physicotheological principle of “unity in variety” that finds in or imposes over the diversity of nature an order that confirms some higher being or law.¹⁵

In his famous essay “Classifying” in *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, Michel Foucault references the transfer and reacclimatization of exotic plants, but subsumes this traffic of empire and technology of colonization under a shift in the form of metropolitan representation or natural history discourse from the “circular procession of the ‘show’” or spectacle to the “arrangement of things on a table” in the new natural history rooms and botanical gardens of the European metropolises.¹⁶ Foucault argues that the key to the epistemological precedence of botany as the privileged site of natural history discourse lies in the visible surface of plants or their capacity to immediately show more than animals. According to the logic of early modern natural history, one need not dissect the plant to demonstrate similarity or difference. If we place Foucault’s thesis about botany in the contact zones of empire, if we put on scene the contact between people and animals in imperial trafficking, then the botanical table takes on a different “character” and resonance.¹⁷ The demonstrative aim of the botanical table and the cataloged garden may have been, as Foucault argues, the visual display of continuity or unity in nature. However, the “threat” the table managed was not simply that general nouns would fail to sustain an illusion of continuity.¹⁸ Rather, I would argue, the “threat” was also that in the demonstrated unity of nature, in the analogy of animals, people, and plants, distinctions would not hold, that the assumed differences not only between human, animal, and vegetable but moreover between humans as morphological types would blur to the point of being visibly untenable. The plant table and catalog unified by placing heterogeneous things in the same space and depended on a show of continuity between plants and humans. At the same time, by its principle of division, the botanical table also worked within this analogical relationship to manage fears about racial mixture, “amalgamation,” and “intermarriage” in the less charged field of plants.¹⁹

Sir Hans Sloane, president of the Royal Society and founder of the Chelsea Physic Garden in London, traveled to Jamaica as personal physician to the Duke of Albemarle when the new governor voyaged to the island to assume his post in 1687. Returning to England the following year with around eight hundred plant specimens and drawings, produced by a Reverend Moore, of flora that could not be transported, Sloane published a natural history, the first volume of which appeared twenty years later. The introduction opens with an appeal to the physicotheological assertion that knowledge of natural history leads one to find evidence of God in nature, which serves to support the contention that the colonized environments of the Caribbean islands have remained unchanged and preserved by a guiding higher order of divinity:

These are things we are sure of, so far as our Senses are not fallible; and which, in probability, have been ever since the Creation, and will remain to the End of the World, in the same Condition we now find them: They afford great Matter of Admiring the Power, Wisdom and Providence of Almighty God, in Creating, and Preserving the things he has created.²⁰

*The threat of unity
in nature through
the plant table
and catalog*

However, on the ground, the landscape is opened to reveal what the preface announces are its remaining indigenous secrets or the landscape as it always was. But what even the mountains disclose is colonial transformation as at once a future horizon, the agriculturalist justification for intervention as a goal to be reached, and an already happened, an always already there:

When I was at Liguane, I was inform'd that there was a Plantation in the Mountains belonging to Captain Harrison, where was a Garden the best furnished of any in the Island with European Garden Plants; such as are either used for Physick, for the Kitchen, or for Ornament. The high situation of the place made it fitter for the Production of these Vegetables, because the higher the cooler, and that generally there are more Rains and Showers on Mountains than in the Valleys. Here follows a list of the European plants I met with in this Garden, and of those which I observ'd to grow in other parts of the Island. They all thrive almost as well as in Europe, save wheat, oats, and apples.²¹

Though Sloane finds and celebrates the incorporation of "European Garden Plants" into a landscape that he distinguishes from "Europe," the "garden," which here represents the colony, becomes a list that works to demarcate the "European" from the "Jamaican."

Ideologically and discursively, *plantation* was often used as a synonym for *colony*. The dedication of Sloane's natural history of Jamaica to the queen, for example, refers to the colony as "one of the largest and most considerable of her Majesty's Plantations in America." Materially, the construction of the sugar plantations, on which the economy of the British Caribbean islands was based, involved vast deforestation, the clearing of all undergrowth, and the burning of any remaining roots. This process termed both simply "clearing" and "plantation" made of an overwhelming percentage of the island of Jamaica, for example, the virtual tabula rasa required by the British agriculturalist argument for the right of possession taken from the Roman legal principle of *res nullius*. According to Roman imperial law, "All empty things," which included unoccupied lands, remained the common property of all until they were put to some, generally agricultural use. The first person to use this land became its owner."²² Plantation and colony were interchangeable precisely because effective colonization with "justification" depended on disindigenating, transplanting, and relandscaping the British West Indian island such that the land was made empty and then (re)possessed by its ostentatious cultivation, its agri-culture. Not only were the main cash crops of the plantation system—sugarcane, coffee, and indigo—transplants, but plant transfers to the Caribbean from Europe, Asia, Africa, and the South Pacific so radically transformed the landscapes of the Caribbean islands that those species of flora most symbolically associated with the "tropics" were precisely those plants by which the British grafted one idea of island paradise onto another. Bamboo, logwood, cashew, casuarina, royal palm, immortelle, coconut palm, citrus, mango, tamarind, breadfruit, banana, bougainvillea, hibiscus, oleander, poinsettia, thunbergia, and even pasture grass (guinea grass from West Africa) were all colonial transplants.²³

One may argue that tropical landscape was an aesthetic and material invention of eighteenth-century colonization in the Caribbean. The British colonial plantation system in the Caribbean is crucial to an understanding of the importance of landscaping as a discursive and material practice linking the first British Empire with the second. In *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780–1830*, the historian C. A. Bayly argues that the distinction usually drawn between the first and second phases of British Empire on the basis of a supposed shift between the stated aim of agricultural colonization prior to the revolt of the North American colonies and, after 1780, an emphasis on commercial trading mischaracterizes the development of British Empire. Such a model ignores the ideological and material practices of the metropole, the imperial “unification” or internal colonization of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland under English rule, as the basis for British colonization and trade abroad. Instead of a dramatic difference, there is continuity between the first and second British Empires, Bayly asserts that agrarian improvement within the imagined boundaries of the imperial nation “was a moral crusade, the inner heart of English expansion; indeed, it was seen as the domestic precondition of overseas enterprise. . . . Agrarianism was to become the dominant discourse of the Second British Empire, with the fostering of foreign trade as a dependent second.”²⁴ It was in the British Caribbean islands and particularly Jamaica that the British put into practice a mix of the Roman imperial model and an idea of “enlightened scientific rationalism” based on the political, economic, and aesthetic transformative exploitation of land. It was there that the British attempted to structure a hybridized or intermixed colonial landscape, as both the sign and tool of a colonial power bound to its site, as merely the natural features of the place, improved by farming. The idea of colony as plantation and the plantation as farm mythicized empire as anticonquest by making empire as rooted and natural in rural England was supposed to be.

In this section I discuss two interrelated technologies for the production of British imperial power: (1) plantation and transplantation, or what I call *colonial intermixing*, and (2) the discursive and material application of naturalizing aesthetics, or what I refer to as *imperial picturesque*. These technologies were engines of material transformation and resignification. The large-scale relandscapings of the British colonies in the Caribbean effected through the transfer and reclamation of plants from Africa, Europe, Asia, and different parts of the Americas articulated an imperial discourse of hybridization. In this discourse the plantation took the form of the picturesque intermixed landscape. This landscape was to be both the producer and the emblem of imperial power as natural possession through the mythic reimagining of the plantation machine turned homely farm, bringing in its wake not destruction of the indigenous environment but rather agricultural improvement and an effect of pleasing “variety.” The engraved view and descriptive and natural histories that claimed to represent the Caribbean to local metropolitan, and international audiences convey the impression that sugarcane formed only one small fraction of the plants introduced to the Caribbean islands. Through this discourse of colonial intermixing, the landscape machine of the sugar plantation becomes instead a paragon of managed diversification. The intermixed landscape was based on

two types of transposition: transplantation, or the introduction of exotic plants, and a kind of displacement whereby anxieties about racial mixing are registered on a different field, soil rather than bodies. However, to manage fears about racial mixing, intermixing, or what we might like to call "unity in variety" also required segmentation, distinction, and separation. The application of devices of picturesque aesthetics re-presents transplantation not as violent relandscaping but as an organic outgrowth in harmony with the place. Around and over the monocultural machine of the sugar plantation, colonial print culture elaborated a dazzling and mouthwatering cornucopia of seemingly endless multiplicity. Colonial intermixing and imperial picturesque labored to transmute the monocultural plantation machine from an engine of impoverishment and devastation into an organic agent of enrichment. *

Picturesque Intermixture

The instruments of colonial relandscaping were not limited to the plow, the hoe, the mill, and the sugar refinery. The reproductive and disseminatory technologies of print and their artifacts—the descriptive and natural histories, topographical maps, drafts of plantation terrain, illustrations of botanical cuttings, and scenic landscape views—worked to produce imperial power as colonial landscaping and were in turn critical instruments in the conversion of the colonial landscape machine into a vision of picturesque intermixture. The *View of Roaring River Estate* (Figure 2) engraved by Thomas Vivares was one of three picturesque landscape scenes of the sugar plantations on Jamaica owned by William Beckford of Somerley. This bucolic version of the plantation landscape was published in 1778, a year after Beckford of Somerley left Jamaica for debtor's prison in England.²⁵ The engraving's carefully composed prospect of Beckford's plantation is based on one of several paintings of the colonial relandscaping in Jamaica that Beckford commissioned from his protégé the British painter George Robertson (1748–88). Robertson was a London-based landscapist and engraver who, in addition to the requisite tour of Italy, made a trip to Jamaica where he produced paintings and drawings that he displayed for a metropolitan London audience at the exhibitions sponsored by the Society of Artists.²⁶ Back in London, Beckford of Somerley published *A Descriptive Account of the Island of Jamaica* in 1790. The initial release of Robertson's view of the Beckford estate of Roaring River preceded the publication of Beckford's *Descriptive Account* by twelve years. None of Robertson's views were reprinted for the edition. However, Beckford's book opens with a lamentation over the missing Robertson views, which serves to rebind Robertson's views with the Beckford textual landscape. The lament is repeated at crucial junctures, conjuring the prints as an absent presence that might serve to verify the purported authenticity of Beckford's colonial relandscaping: "It was my wish, as a confirmation of the fidelity of the scenes which I have attempted to delineate, to have introduced engravings from some particular views of the Island that were taken on the spot; and their accuracy cannot surely be doubted when I quote, as the artist, the respectable name of Mr. Robertson."²⁷ *

Evocation of Robertson's views—six were claimed to have been publicly circulated as

aquatints—is used to clinch the critical scene in the *Descriptive Account* in which trans-plantation is made over to seem like natural “intermixture” harmoniously integrated into the features of the place such that the landscape becomes a picturesque spectacle of “variety” and “brilliancy,” a perfect scene of art, painted and planted with “tints” and “shadows”:

The variety and brilliancy of the verdure in Jamaica are particularly striking; and the trees and shrubs that adorn the face of the country are singular for the richness of their tints, the depths of their shadows, and the picturesque appearance they make. It is hardly possible to conceive any vegetation more beautiful, and more congenial to a painter’s eye, than that which universally prevails throughout every part of that romantic Island.

At the center of this landscaped scene are the colonial grafts:

The palm, the cocoa-nut, the mountain-cabbage, and the plantain, when *associated with* the tamarind, the orange, and other trees of beautiful growth and vivid dyes, and these *commixed* with the waving plumes of the bamboo-cane, the singular appearance of the Jerusalem thorn, the bushy richness of the oleander and African rose, the glowing red of the scarlet cordium, the verdant bowers of the jessamine and Grenadilla vines, the tufted plumes of the lilac, the silver-white



Figure 2. Thomas Vivares after George Robertson, *View of Roaring River Estate, Westmoreland, 1778*, engraving. Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica.

and silky leaves of the portlandia, together with that prodigious variety of minor fruits and lowly shrubs, *all together compose* an embroidery of colors which few regions can rival, and which none can perhaps surpass. (emphases mine)

The phrase “compose an embroidery of colors which few regions can rival” makes this inventory of plant names a picture of cohesion. A woven fabric of flora characterizes Jamaica regionally, that is, as a place typified by its plant life. Working against the grain of this “weaving” are the particular names—“Jerusalem” and “African”—that introduce geographical difference. Following these references outward, a global map of transplantation unfolds. Already with the first plant name in this scenic catalog—the palm—this “regional” fabric unravels on a worldwide itinerary of colonial transplantation. The palm, the veritable emblem of the tropics, was commonly transplanted from one island to another or from one part of an island terrain to another deforested part in order to mark the boundaries of estates and to ceremonially line avenues and squares. Varieties like the royal palm were not indigenous to Jamaica but were transplanted from Florida and Cuba; the coconut palm was not even native to the Caribbean but rather brought over from the East Indies. The mountain-cabbage transferred from Barbados and the Jerusalem thorn were cultivated for use in fencing enclosed estates. Citrus fruits like the orange, planted by the Spanish in the early sixteenth century, were some of the first introductions to the Caribbean. Other plant specimens like the plantain and the tamarind were brought over from Africa principally as food for slaves, the plantain in the sixteenth century and the tamarind in the seventeenth.²⁸ Bamboo was shipped from the East Indies in the eighteenth century for use in fencing enclosures. The sugarcane introduced to Jamaica in the second half of the eighteenth century from the East Indies (Java) and the South Pacific (Otaheite) was also known as “bamboo cane.” Flowers such as the oleander from the South Pacific, the African rose, and the jessamine (which included indigenous as well as introduced varieties from North America and Europe) were used for decorative purposes in the gardens of plantation estates.²⁹ The language of poetic analogy binds these transplants from Asia, Africa, the Indian Ocean area, parts of Europe, the Americas, and from one Caribbean island or from one part of Jamaica to another into a tapestry of what we are to take at face value as ultimately “local color.”

The words “commixed” and “associated” make of this list of colonial grafts a unified landscape. They also appropriate the language of another kind of association—miscegenation. Note that the colonial landscape of Jamaica is immediately anthropomorphized. The compendium of colonial grafts, that “embroidery of colors,” is carefully prefixed by phrasing that makes of these transplants an organic body, the natural, “picturesque,” features that “adorn the face of the country.” Colonial intermixing and imperial picturesque landscaping aesthetics endeavored to transvalue and redirect the discourse of hybridization onto the anthropomorphized landscape in which the various introduced and rearranged plants are formally brought “all together” as the features on the “face” of Jamaica and yet enumeratively kept distinct and separable. The discourse strives to interweave the colors and yet make of the transplanted elements distinguishable shades.

The language
of colonial
planting
that
of
miscegenation

Following the figurative index of colonial grafts come the other features of colonial landscaping—the marks of enclosure, private property, fortification, and confinement. In the idiom of picturesque landscaping, these lines and incisions, barriers and blocks become merely little intermittent dots and things of beauty. The cane fields produced by disindigenation and lethal labor are not regimental rows, the end and cause of slave life, but agents of pleasure and refreshment. The fields become little “cane-pieces” that are broken in intervals, suggesting that these sites of toil are punctuated by shady trees and the salubrious cheer of lime-bushes. The sugar plantation becomes a scene of refreshment, a place of rest and relaxation: “The young logwood-sets make beautiful fences; the bastard cedar trees, that are dotted over the pastures, afford a pleasing shade; the lime-bushes have a cheerful appearance; the intervals between the cane-pieces in some measure break the formality of their growth.” Here, too, are colonial transplants: sugarcane, bastard cedar moved from the mountains to the cane fields, and limes first introduced by Spanish planters, and logwood, a tree native to Mexico and Central America but introduced to Jamaica around 1715 from Honduras.³⁰ These grafts contain and structure the life of transplanted slave labor as a landscape of contentment. Beyond this concealing vegetation, in lieu of the actual sight of slave labor are, instead, places of rest. The slave huts, though called “lowly hovels,” are transformed by the fairy dust of picturesque relandscaping into something analogous to the British vogue for garden follies in the style of rusticated cottages. The plantation architecture of confinement is turned into a decorative element, picturesque in its own right and essential to an overall “picturesque” effect:

The lowly hovels of the negroes, huddled together in the form of a town, with their picturesque appearance, render it still more so by the clumps of vegetation that often surround them; and the numerous herds of cattle, sheep, or goats that browse upon the plains, or frolic upon the hills, *all together contribute to make a landscape.* (emphasis mine)³¹

Critical to the claim of rightful possession is the passage’s transferal of agency. It is not black slave labor but the plantation system’s ordering and arrangement of the forcibly relocated and “intermixed” plants and people that “all together contribute to make a landscape” out of the colonial sugar plantation.

Beckford’s *Descriptive Account* elaborates a painting of words that makes of the colonial landscape of Jamaica a harmonious picture of the place. This lengthy description moves from the establishment of point of view, that of the “eye” of the planter as painter, to the listing of colonial grafts as features on the terrain of Jamaica as a face, and then to marks of possession and force as signs of beauty and refreshment. Finally, the text makes an appeal to painting, specifically the works of Robertson, to support the representational claim for the colonial landscape machine as picturesque, that is, at once like a picture in its artfulness and yet natural in its claimed fidelity to place. The final paragraph reads:

Of these scenes I have seen but few copies, and fewer imitations; and I cannot help lamenting, in this place, the early end of one [George Robertson] who was well acquainted with the picturesque varieties of the Island, and whose truth in their representation could be only equalled by his taste, his judgement, and his execution. . . . It is a pity that not more of his drawings are engraved: of the numerous and interesting views he took in Jamaica, only six have yet met the public eye, although there are many that richly deserve to be removed from dust and oblivion. As his talents were various, and exhibition of almost everything that Nature produces, may be found in his works; and these are executed with equal beauty and precision in colors, and in chalks.³²

The device of intersplicing the missing Robertson views endeavors to bring together several contradictory senses. The fiction is that the painter and the planter are only producing faithful copies of what is already there. The colonial landscape is to be understood as always already like a painting or like a painting composition rendered in an engraved form. The device intimates further that colonial relandscaping may rival nature, that the emblem of anticonquest, the intermixed landscape, is nature improved by art. However, the scene of colonial transformation, the “picturesque varieties of the Island,” are to be taken as what “Nature produces” and “art” imitates.

Robertson’s actual composition of the *View of Roaring River Estate* deploys the conventions of picturesque composition—contrasts of light and shade, a serpentine path leading the eye lazily from the foregrounded vegetation to the main plantation buildings set gently on a slight hill over the gushing river—to envelop the signs of transplantation such that the machinery and architecture, the plantation fields and clearings, and slave labor seem to merge organically with the vegetation rendered as overgrowth. The killing labor of black slaves is abstracted to the almost imperceptible far distance. The tiny suggestion of slaves working in the cleared field between the buildings is dominated by the sign of the fruits of their labor being transported by oxcart down the path toward the river. At the center of the composition is the notorious fiction that slave life was easy, not fatal, and that births among slaves did or might outnumber deaths. In the exact midpoint of the scene is a black male slave seated at rest and a black woman slave pointing dramatically across the river to a black man carrying a load on his back and another black woman walking freely along the path with a child holding onto her skirt. **The myth scenically presented here is that the colonial plantation system of slave labor could not only produce but reproduce itself.**

The visual and textual discourse of the picturesque intermixed landscape distinguished by its purported variety and yet harmony attempted to naturalize slavery as part of a georgic plantation Eden of slave labor, “peace and plenty.” For example, the “landschape [*sic*]” of the parish of Clarendon on the island of Jamaica drawn by Edward Long’s *History of Jamaica* (1774) is arranged from the “commanding” and “reigning” vantage point of the “seat” of a sugar plantation owner Mr. F——n, formerly chief justice of Jamaica. The view is oriented from above, that is, from the master’s house on a

"rising." Directly below is a garden of colonial transplants—"orange, cacao, and other trees, for use and pleasure."³³ The habitation "commands" its prospect of the hybridized intermixed landscape that is yet to be taken as simply "the beauties of nature": "In one place . . . a long wavy surface, adorned with the lively verdure of canes, interspersed with wind-mills and other buildings . . . in a third are Negro villages where (far from poverty and discontent) *peace and plenty hold their reign*."³⁴ (emphasis mine)

The landscaping technologies of colonial intermixing and imperial picturesque endeavored to balance deeply conflictual significations. The colonies were at once advertised as transformed by technique or what was to be seen as "art" and yet were to appear as though the "natural," native, and indigenous character of the place had been preserved. Plants were introduced from all over the globe and yet arranged to seem like a mythic England in its much vaunted picturesque diversity and variety. However, the simultaneous claim was staked that the colonial landscape was better in being more "diverse," "varied," and productive. Colonial intermixing and imperial picturesque worked together to make a visual argument for rightful possession to land in actuality worked by slave labor. Around the overwhelming predominance of sugarcane, over the plantation machines and instruments of force shipped from England, in place of much of the indigenous flora, the discourse of picturesque intermixture endeavored to "make a landscape" that would appear as a spectacle of variety rather than monoculture, an oasis of harmony and repose rather than violence and deadly labor, and a place at once radically transformed and yet conserved in its "difference." The discourse of the picturesque, intermixed landscape was also used to recast the commingling of plants, animals, and people from various parts of the world and the realities of ethnic and cultural diversity and mixing into a picture of a static order divided by type or species. The fictional scene is one not only of highly controlled intermixture such that the elements mingle and yet remain distinct but of a displacement of anxieties about racial hybridization from people to plants.

To return, one last time, to Robertson's view of Roaring River plantation, it is worth taking note of the obvious. There are white buildings and a white mill and refinery with smoke billowing from its chimney stacks, but no "white" people. Instead, the landscape is inhabited by black slaves figured into a rhetorical allegory of the stages of man. It is as if along the path of the "life" of the plantation, as one slave ages under the weight of backbreaking work (here a bundle of sticks), another young black slave is born to take his place. Within this frame, there is only white plantation structure and the reproduction of black slave labor. Amid the profusion of foliage, a diversity of densely growing trees, trailing vines, and thick clumps of undergrowth are carefully rendered. Among the figures represented to inhabit this colonial landscape neither change nor mixture may be seen.

Human to Plant

Robert Young has argued that fascination with racial hybridization or what he calls colonial desire is at the heart of British Empire's racial theories and constructions of others.³⁵

While, as Young has discussed, it is essential to recognize that colonial discourse's racist theories and obsessions with hybridization at their most exclusionary betray a motivating desire for the Other, I think that we miss another aspect of this seemingly contradictory discourse of fascination and disavowal if we do not pay attention to how the language of plant hybridization and landscaping worked to reroute (or reroot) and transvalue desire for the Other and the realities of miscegenation. As the physical and material means by which the British plantation system transformed the Caribbean by colonial intermixing into hybridized landscapes that were made over by imperial picturesque aesthetics to seem necessary, natural, and immutable, transplantation and supplantation produced one kind of hybridization as a hedge, so to speak, against another. **What I am arguing is that the discourse of the picturesque intermixed landscape was also a discourse of "race."** **The picturesque intermixed landscape worked to transpose by human to plant analogy the realities of heterosexual reproduction in colonial encounter.** In place of the scenes of forced sex and concubinage between Anglos, Scots, Irish, Jews, *and* Africans and black creoles of diverse ethnic intermixtures is a landscape tableau of "nature" in which we are to imagine that a global variety of elements commingled and yet remained distinct and separable by type or, in colonialist language, "species." This transposition was not so much a structure of disavowal as an effort to enforce a landscape of control through the redirection of the discourse of hybridization from people to plants.

The didactic poem "The Sugar-Cane" (1764) by the physician and sugar plantation owner James Grainger, introduced in its preface as "a West-India Georgic," uses the classic generic frame of Virgilian georgic to compose a picture of the landscape of the British West Indian colonies in which colonial transplants may appear as improvements and yet as the natural outgrowths of the place.³⁶ Black slaves from Africa at work are metamorphosed into classically draped staffage (i.e., decorative) figures in a sugar plantation recomposed along the lines of a painting by the seventeenth-century French painter Claude Lorrain:

The gemmy summits of the cane await
 Thy Negro-train, (in linen lightly wrapt)
 Who now that painted Iris girds the sky, . . .
 Disperse all-jocund, o'er the long-hoed land. (486)

Decorating and diversifying this carefully plotted picture are the machinery of the distillery, the transplanted sugarcane, and a bounty of comestible produce—much of it plants that were introduced and cultivated. Grainger's poetic landscape "introduces" and details in its extensive archaeological footnotes a manifold collection of plants: pine-apples and avocados from other parts of the Americas, lemons, oranges, limes, bananas, and plantains from Africa and the East Indies first introduced by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century, the shaddock brought from the East Indies by a British captain Shaddock in the seventeenth century, and the grapefruit or forbidden fruit also transplanted from the East Indies by the British in the eighteenth century. Numerous other colonial

plant grafts from Europe, the Indies, other parts of America, and Africa are identified and carefully ordered and arranged according to British aesthetic and economic principles of estate management and picturesque landscaping. Enclosure, the sign of claimed property right, and geometric division of estates and planted fields, the sign of rational improvement, are transformed into natural elements of the sugar plantation as a "beauteous prospect" with the capacity to "charm spectators":

Unfailing herbage to thy toiling herds
 Wouldst thou afford; and the spectators charm
 With beauteous prospects: let the frequent hedge
 Thy green plantation, regular, divide.
 With limes, with lemons, let thy fences glow
 Grateful to sense; now children of this clime. (487)

In the midst of this naturalized, mixed, heterogeneous landscape is the declaration that so-called alien mixture is beneficial: "In plants, in beasts, in man's imperial race, / An alien mixture meliorates the breed" (486). However, this evocation of hybridization in plants, animals, *and* people is quickly transferred onto the landscape and specifically the sugarcane. Note the movement of these subsequent lines:

Hence canes, that sickened dwarfish on the plain,
 Will shoot with giant-vigour on the hill.
 Thus all depends on all; so God ordains.
 Then let not man for little selfish ends,
 (Britain, remember this important truth!)
 Presume the principle to counteract
 Of universal love; for God is love,
 And wide creation shares alike his care. (486)

The ghosting trace of miscegenation and imperial guilt are there. The appeal to "so God ordains" is likely an effort to keep at bay the theologically based criticism of hybridization encapsulated in the two laws from Leviticus that declare "Do not mate different kinds of animals" and "Do not plant your field with two kinds of seed."³⁷ The swerve from "man's imperial race" into a defensive discourse of "God is love" by which "alien mixture" becomes the relocation of sugarcane from the plain to the hill makes of the hybridization of the landscape a gesture of care. What is defended is not the creation of hybrid strains but the presumed right to manufacture hybrid environments by the trans-plantation and reclamation of plants, animals, and people.

Promiscuous Landscape

The planter Edward Long, also christened "the father of English racism," is infamous for his declaration that "the White and the Negro are two distinct species."³⁸ The second

volume of his three-volume *The History of Jamaica* (containing the bulk of books 2 and 3) is a topographical description of the island that presents a tour of the parishes of Jamaica as a succession of hybridized landscape views. The text employs the idiom of picturesque aesthetics and an accompanying set of seven engraved views in its attempt to articulate a discourse of the intermixed landscape that would set the landscaped stage for the categorization and arrangement of the “inhabitants” of Jamaica (“whites” and “mulattos” in book 2 and black slaves in book 3). Volume 3 opens with a botanical index of the indigenous and introduced flora of Jamaica. Framed between the outlined landscape (of volume 2) and the enumeration of plants according to their uses (in volume 3) is Long’s infamous apologetics of slavery and a discussion of the “present state of fornication on that island” (2:333).

The landscape of Long’s *History of Jamaica* is more prescriptive than descriptive. Within the device of observation is the drawing of a future-oriented scaping of the land as a “morally certain prospect” (2:216). Throughout book 2 references to the area of Liguanea and particularly its mountains recur as a source for transplanted “European” vegetables—a lengthy menu including “pease, beans, cabbage, lettuce, cucumbers, French beans, artichokes, potatoes, carrots, turnips, radishes, celery, onions, &c” (2:105)—but also as a potential “nursery” for the introduction of “exotic plants and trees from the East-Indian and American continents” (2:137). The area of the Liguanea mountains in the parish of Saint Andrew is both the exemplum of the already intermixed colonial landscape and, at the same time, a prospect of the island’s future “improvement.” On a

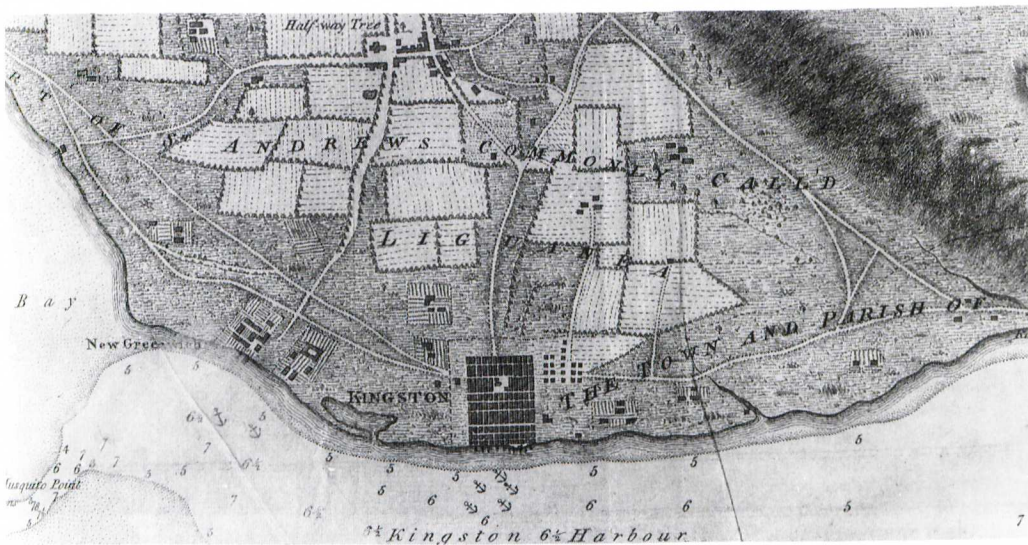


Figure 3. Detail of *A Draught of the Harbours of Port Royal and Kingston*, engraving, in Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica* (London, 1774), vol. 2, plate x (facing page 139). Courtesy of the Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University.

draft of the harbors of Port Royal and Kingston (Figure 3), this model transplanted terrain is marked by rectangular estates planted in neat, measured rows and enclosed by trees. The accompanying scenic plate, the *View of Port Royal and Kingston Harbours* (Figure 4), represents an approach by water, which while distinguishing some of the same vaunted features—plantation clearings covered by lawns of transplanted grass enclosed in rectilinear estates by rows of trees in the middistance—engulfs these marks of the colonial reordering by the darkly shaded mountains and carefully rendered cloud formations so that the signs of radical transformation seem to merge organically with the rest of the scape.

The accompanying text represents the colonial landscape of Jamaica as continuous with the landscape of rural England in its seeming reproduction of British landscaping (idealized enclosure, introduced English plants, picturesque aesthetics) and yet organically intermixed with the local place. The textual scene of Liguanea in the parish of Saint Andrew is oriented by the view from the villa of a planter, Mr. Adams. The great house, we are told, is on an eminence from which the reader may, in the place of the planter, command and survey all that is laid out below: the Blue Mountain Ridges of the Liguanea mountains, “the richly cultivated vale of Liguanea,” the harbors of Kingston



Figure 4. P. Mazell, *View of Port Royal and Kingston Harbours*, engraving, in Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica*, vol. 2, plate 10 (facing page 102). Courtesy of the Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University.

and Port Royal, and a great part of the parishes of St. Catherine and St. Dorothy (2:126). From the perspective of the master's house, the view is imagined as a theater of agriculture, artfully arranged by the planter but stage managed by and in harmony with "nature." One cloud is reimagined as a "magnificent curtain" that when withdrawn by the wind dramatically sets off and reveals

a most luxuriant and extensive landscape [*sic*]. . . in front are canefields of the liveliest verdure, pastures, and little villas *intermixed*. . . These objects [cane fields, plantation buildings classicized as "villas," towns, ports, the breakers, the bay, fertile fields, the mountains, and the ocean] form *all together* a very pleasing combination. (2:126; emphasis mine)

As Beckford's *Descriptive Account* would attempt a decade and a half later, Long's *History of Jamaica* stakes a claim to possession through a transferal of agency from the black slaves who actually produced the landscape to the other colonial grafts (cane fields, plantation machinery, architecture, enclosure) that "all together" and "intermixed" make the landscape. This section of Long's text then takes the viewer into the mountains, which are presented as the site of a "new scene of nature, in regard to its prospect, its plants, and animals" (2:127). That is, the mountains are a "scene" of transformation, with their wild sorrel "as common as in England" and their garden mint "casually dropped or put in by design" and now growing "as luxuriantly as we find it in any English garden" (2:128–29). At the same time, the mountains are to be seen as a "prospect" of what remains to be mined, cleared, and put under "cultivation." The Liguanea mountains become an emblem of transformation but also of preservation. Here is supposedly a "prodigious variety" of vegetation including "a yellow timber tree, called here [in Jamaica] Mulatto-wood" (2:128).

Mulatto-wood leads me, of course, back to my opening claim that the language of the intermixed landscape was also a discourse of race. The central concern of Long's text is how to produce a colonial order of white domination and black slave labor as natural, right, and immutable. The text's main obstacle is the "state of fornication on that island" and so-called mulatto children. After setting the scene of British colonial landscaping as picturesque improvement supposedly perfectly "intermixed" with its site, the island terrain of Jamaica, Long's text introduces its hierarchical catalog of the inhabitants of this landscape with a sharply drawn contrast between the prospect of British colonial re-landscaping and Spanish Empire in the Americas:

Let any man turn his eyes to the Spanish American dominions, and behold what a vicious, brutal, and degenerate breed of mongrels has been there produced; between Spaniards, Blacks, Indians, and their mixed progeny; and he must be of the opinion, that it might be much better for Britain, and Jamaica too, if the white men in that colony would abate of their infatuated attachments to black women, and, instead of being "grac'd with a yellow offspring not their own," perform the duty incumbent on every good citizen, by raising in honourable wedlock a race of unadulterated beings. (2:327)

In the succession of landscape views representing the British-controlled colony of Jamaica that precede this characterization of Spanish Empire, the language of hybridization and so-called interracial sex is displaced onto the “intermixture” of transplanted and indigenous elements of colonial relandscaping by such descriptions as the one composing a view from the parish of Westmoreland on the road to Hanover: “The eye takes in, at once, a rural scene enriched with every embellishment of art and nature. The landscape [*sic*] is inimitably fine, and mocks description: canefields, villas, pastures, clumps, groves, and rivulets, are *promiscuously spread* over the whole of its swelling wavy surface” (2:206; emphasis mine).

In eighteenth-century usage, *promiscuity* denoted mixture in general, but its significance tottered uneasily between desirably blended formal compositions, indiscriminate mingling in the bodily as well as in the aesthetic, and spoiling or corrupting admixture or adulteration.³⁹ Derived from the Latin *promiscuus* meaning mixed or indiscriminate and *promiscere*, “to mix up,” the adjectival and adverbial forms of *promiscuous* crop up in eighteenth-century landscape discourse that would at first appear to have nothing whatever to do with the colonies, the tropics, or fears and desires about mixture. Joseph Addison’s influential *Tatler* essay (1710) conjures a dreamscape set in some imaginary Alps as an allegory of the ideal landscape of liberty for Britain. This envisioned place is imagined to have greater beauty because of its “wonderful Profusion of Flowers” that “grew promiscuously.”⁴⁰ The adverb “promiscuously” here denotes the unrestraint and irregularity that was held to give a garden a valued quality of “naturalness.” However, the desired disorder takes on its particular character not merely in opposition to disorder’s stated obverse, the “regular Borders and Parterres” of the formal garden with its “Checks and Restraints of Art,” but rather against the alien mixture or adulteration kept beyond its seemingly absent borders. Addison’s dream garden of liberty contains the desired promiscuous growth within a domain or region in which foreign introductions are restricted to a little island “covered with Groves of Spices, Olives, and Orange-Trees; and in a Word, with the Products of every Foreign Clime.” That is, while native plants “which the Soil was in its own Nature capable of producing” grow freely and “promiscuously” in this “Region,” the native does not mix with the exotic. In this dreamscape, the fruits of “Commerce” may be enjoyed without the threat of alien mixture by their confinement to a particular type of topographical space, the island. The island presided over by the “dependent Goddess of Commerce” restrains while belying its status as a means of enclosure because of its “natural” physical boundaries. Nonetheless, even when the dream garden floats in seeming isolation in an alpine reverie, this dream landscape of picturesque intermixture among plants depends on the islands of “Commerce,” the colonies of exotic plantation, the West and East Indies, the antipodes onto which it displaces the contact it marks as enslaving “interracial libertinage” so that the picturesque island garden may signify “liberty.” That is, the variety and intermixture of the picturesque landscape of “liberty” depended on a principle of “discrimination” or strategies of labeling and internal borders. As the British landscape gardener and poet William Shenstone, whose self-inscription into imperial georgic I discuss in chapter 4, writes in

his essays published by Robert Dodsley in 1765, "A well discriminated landscape . . . was to be preferred to a distant and promiscuous azure."⁴¹ This metropolitan displacing of anxieties about so-called racial mixture onto the landscape of the torrid zone—that "distant and promiscuous azure"—was what imperial landscaping discourse in the Caribbean worked to contest with its technologies of intermixing and picturesque aesthetics.

I am arguing that, although *promiscuous* may now refer almost exclusively to sexual promiscuity, and we may wish to think that the early modern period differs from ours on this point, we would be wrong to think that *promiscuous* had nothing to do with sex in the discursive codes of pre-Freudians. Eighteenth-century use of the adjective *promiscuous* and the adverb *promiscuously* already made implicit and explicit analogies between human sexual behavior and landscape environment. As Felicity Nussbaum discusses in her study of empire and English narratives, *Torrid Zones: Maternity, Sexuality, and Empire in Eighteenth-Century English Narratives*, influential Enlightenment writers from Montesquieu to Adam Ferguson mapped a "geography of sexual desire" distinguishing Europeans from the world's Others on the basis of the supposed influence of climate on the passions.⁴² While David Hume disagreed with Montesquieu on the extent of climatic influence on the body, in *Essays and Treatises* (1777) the Scottish philosopher asserted, "The characters of nations are very *promiscuous* in the temperate climates" (emphasis mine). One may infer that it was all the worse for those in the "torrid zones." The "swelling, waving surface" of Long's landscape of Jamaica "promiscuously spread" with colonial transplants (cane fields, plantation machinery, and architecture) redirects desire onto the subtly eroticized and aestheticized surface of the colonial plantation system. This was not merely to make the plantation machine attractive to metropolitan audiences. Long's *History of Jamaica*, in an extensive and convoluted argument, asserts that any sexual relation between so-called blacks and whites is a "promiscuous intercourse" equivalent to sex outside marriage and, moreover, tantamount to a "violation of the social compacts" because of the potential alienation of property from white planters' ownership and control (2:325). The implicit argument made by the arrangement of Long's text is that Spanish Empire in the Americas is a "degenerate" landscape inhabited by "mongrels," whereas British Empire (of which Jamaica is the emblem) may be a picture of productive cultivation in which "intermixture" has been effectively displaced from people to plants, that is, a "promiscuous landscape" as opposed to a "landscape of promiscuity." Long's version of the picturesque intermixed landscape appropriates the language of racial hybridization to provide a prospect of the production of a "race of unadulterated [whites]" and an "unmixed breed of *their* Blacks" (2:333; emphasis mine) in a static and hierarchical system of white plantation ownership and black slave labor as merely a natural part of "the beautiful gradation, order, and harmony, which pervade the whole series of created beings on this globe" (2:337).

From the decade of the publication of Long's text in 1774 and as the abolition movement gained greater popular support, the discourse of the intermixed landscape strained to justify transplantation, especially that of enslaved Africans. The preface to the second

English is
Spanish
conception of
mixture

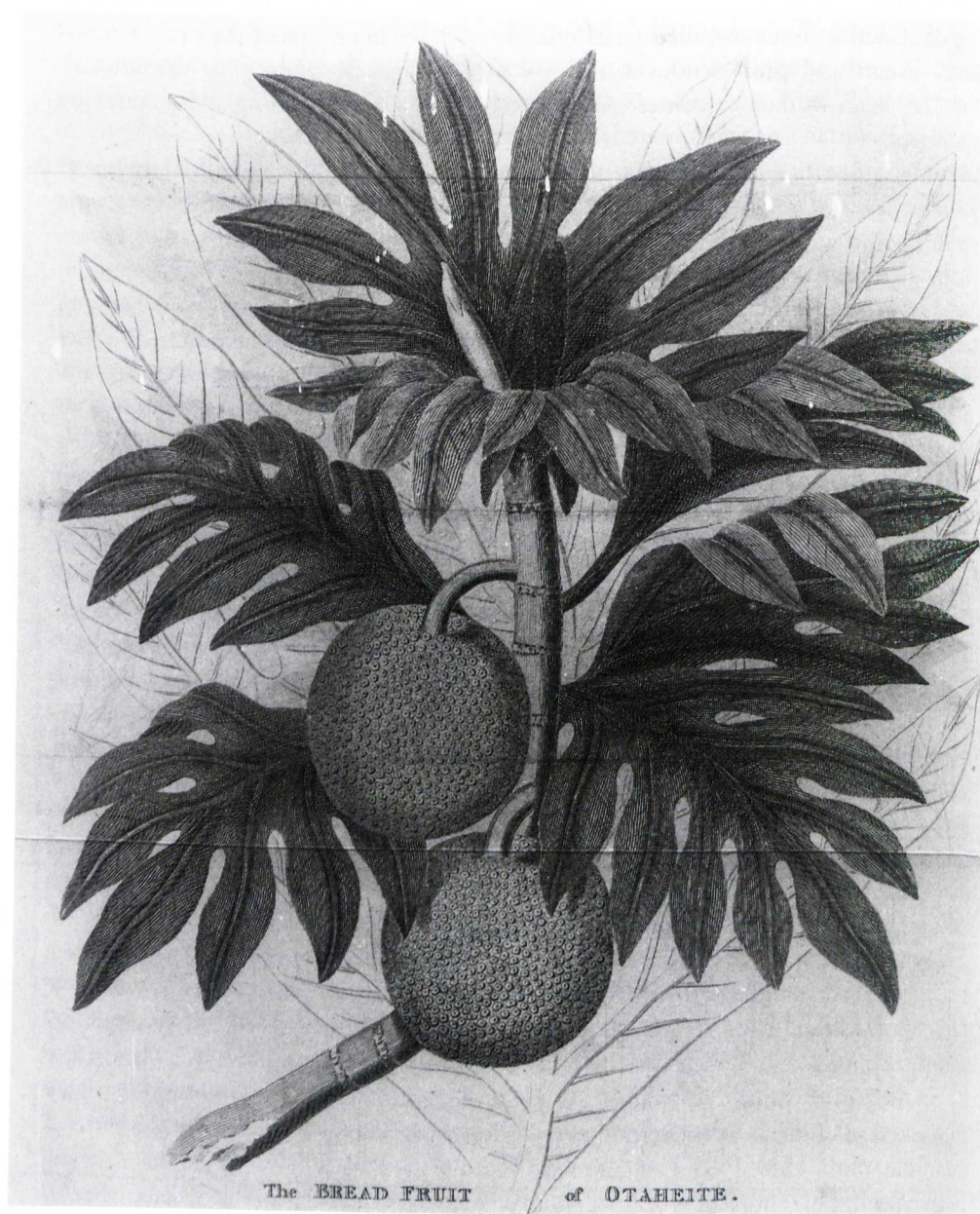


Figure 5. F. Sanson, *The Breadfruit of Otaheite*, 1774, engraving, in Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, vol. 1, facing page xl. Courtesy of the Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University.

edition of Bryan Edwards's *History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* opens with a plate of the most infamous of colonial plant grafts, the breadfruit (Figure 5). Breadfruit could not be grown by seed. The first effort to transport breadfruit tree specimens across the ocean from Tahiti to the British West Indies embarked in 1787 under the direction of Captain Bligh in a commandeered warship, the *Bounty*. The renown of the mutiny of the crew of this floating botanical garden en route to the West Indies has overshadowed the ship's imperial mission and the initial events of the mutiny itself. After seizing the ship, the first things overboard were the hundreds of potted breadfruit trees loading the quarterdeck and storage areas to the exclusion of stock and provisions for captain and crew. Supported, even in his disgrace, by Sir Joseph Banks, the amateur botanist and founder of Kew Gardens, Bligh was given a second chance in 1790 to undertake the same mission. Despite the safe transport of the trees on the second voyage, and their quick and flourishing take to the climate and soil conditions of Saint Vincent and Jamaica, the breadfruit became an edible plant so hated by slaves that by the mid-nineteenth century it was used exclusively for animal fodder.⁴³

Ostensibly intended to serve as a palliative starch for hungry slaves, this Tahitian fruit, the *Artocarpus altilis*, was steeped, even in its very naming, in the myth of tropical pastoral—daily bread as not the result of toil but ripe and ready to pick off the tree. Banks wrote of the breadfruit identified on Captain James Cook's first voyage to the South Sea Island of Otaheite as the key to a mode of life escaping both history (the "curse of our forefathers") and labor ("the sweat of their brow"): "In the article of food these happy people may almost be said to be exempt from the curse of our forefathers; scarcely can it be said that they earn their bread with the sweat of their brow when their chiefest substance, Breadfruit, is procur'd with no more trouble than that of climbing a tree and pulling it down."⁴⁴

The breadfruit may have been touted as a replacement of bread with a comparable fruit substitute or fruit as bread, but ideologically the breadfruit was really bread as fruit or bread without the effort. Successful transplantation demonstrated technological skill, but theoretically any reclinatized plant specimen would do as well. The transplantation of the breadfruit was celebrated because it was not just any plant. This Tahitian bread as fruit condensed a whole scene. The second edition of Edwards's popular and often reissued text was published in 1794, that is, after the abolition of slavery on the French colony of Saint-Domingue and during the British occupation of the island in a last-ditch effort of colonial cooperation to restore slavery. Amid slave unrest that had reached Jamaica, Edwards's text puts an emblazoned cutting in the place of the picturesque view. Fantasized as cheaply abundant food, the colonial graft was to provide a means to reproduce slaves. Heralded as "imperial works, and worthy kings," the transplanted breadfruit was to function as a synecdochical emblem of the purported benevolence of colonial relandscaping:

Among all the labours of life, if there is one pursuit more replete than any other with benevolence, more likely to add comforts to existing people, and even *to augment their numbers by*

augmenting their means of subsistence, it is certainly that of spreading abroad the bounties of creation, by transplanting from one part of the globe to another such natural productions as are likely to prove beneficial to the interests of humanity. (emphasis mine)⁴⁵

The discourse strains to dispel scenes of unrest and rebellion and to give to colonial transplantation and the intermixed landscape a renewed moral character. The claim rests on the introduction of the breadfruit because this Tahitian miracle fruit promised to transport a ready-made idyll transforming the sugar plantation into a bucolic Eden by grafting an island paradise seen to be in a state of "purity" onto the conditions of slavery in the British West Indies.

Hybridization and the Problem of Possession

The second volume of Edwards's *History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* directly confronts the central contradiction of the colonial hybridized landscape as the emblem of imperial power, that is, how to claim it as perfectly commingled while keeping at bay the specter of miscegenation, the realities of slave labor, and the implication that the sugar plantation and its "fruit" were not really the doing or the property of the planters. Planting or the privileged act of sowing seed had long been understood as a founding gesture of paternal, possessive insemination. Colonial claims to possession through plantation and transplantation were, therefore, also (hetero)sexualized. The problem was that if sowing the seed was the founding gesture of possession, then by the logical extension of the metaphoric act of labor as the insemination of alien soil, the sugarcane would have been not only the metaphorically miscegenated "offspring" of African labor, seed from either the East Indies or the South Sea Islands and West Indian soil, but also, therefore, the slave laborer's "child."

The discourse of the picturesque intermixed landscape strove to resignify the produce of the colonial intermixed landscape as the planter's children. For example, the georgic sugar plantation of Grainger's poem is landscaped as a nursery within which "four moons suffice / To bring to puberty the low-land cane," that is, the sugarcane, "thy plants" and "thy crops," do not simply grow taller but "like youth just stepping into life" belong to the planter as if they were his progeny.⁴⁶ In contrast, the print *The Voyage of the Sable Venus from Angola to the West Indies* (Figure 6) engraved by Thomas Stothard for Edwards's text would seem not only an obvious and unabashed example of colonial desire (by white men for black women) but a seemingly celebratory acknowledgment of "racial" hybridization. Miscegenation is almost imperceptibly encoded by subtle differences in the rendering of the skin tone, hair color, and features of the little cupids. This perhaps subliminal suggestion is reinforced by several celebratory lines of the accompanying poem "The Sable Venus; An Ode" attributed to Isaac Teale: "Blest offspring of the warm embrace! . . . Thy mingled shafts of black and white, / Are wing'd with feathers of delight."⁴⁷

The poem goes on to articulate what would seem at first to be a reversal of the usual terms of the discourse of the colonial intermixed landscape. Rather than the vision of empire as farm and, thus, as anticonquest, the desired figure of the black woman is



Figure 6. W. Grainger after Thomas Stothard, *The Voyage of the Sable Venus from Angola to the West Indies*, 1794, engraving, in Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, vol. 2, facing page 32. Courtesy of the Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University.

reimagined as the conqueror and the island of Jamaica as her dominion: "When thou, this large domain to view, / Jamaica's isle, thy conquest new."⁴⁸ The poem not only recomposes the scene of territorial conquest as a sexual victory but the figure of the black woman as the romantic aggressor who ravishes the landscape:

But, when her step had touch'd the strand,
Wild rapture seiz'd the ravish'd land,
From ev'ry part they came:
Each mountain, valley, plain, and grove
Haste eagerly to shew their love.⁴⁹

The desire of the white planters—the last stanza states that it was Edwards who suggested the idea for the poem—is cathected onto the landscape so that it is the features of the island terrain (the mountain, valley, plain, and grove) that both respond and submit to her ravishment. In its identification with the planters, the landscape is no longer the usual trope of woman as island and island as woman. Though the land and the planters identified with it are "seized by wild rapture" and, thus, placed in a subordinate, effeminized position, the image of the Sable Venus remains out at sea, never represented to contact much less vanquish the anthropomorphized island landscape of the poem. Furthermore, the image is suspended doubly back in time by its receding iconographic and stylistic references. The citations of the famous Italian Renaissance Venus by Sandro Botticelli and of the French rococo, particularly such paintings by François Boucher as his 1740 *The Triumph of Venus* (National Swedish Art Museum, Stockholm)—via the quotation of the great curvaceous twin fish—suspend the image as a kind of masque in which strange and prodigious things appear, a tradition going back to that other colonial fantasy *The Tempest*, and as a frothy piece of rococo fancy.

One might also argue that the buried referent is a different mythological subject but one equally conventional for idealized erotica of the period: the rape of Europa. One of the Boucher versions of Europa's rape (Wallace Collection, London) situates this mythic story of eroticized violence in a landscape more analogous to that of the Caribbean than that of the imperial metropole. The painting situates the scene of the abduction of a blonde Europa in a semitropical paradise characterized by a cliff-hanging palm above a precipitous cascade in the background right. By successive analogy to such visions of imperial eroticism, Stothard's print and Teale's poem endeavor to reimagine a history of conquests or rapes—of black women by white men, of the island environments of the West Indian islands colonized by the French and British—into a fantasized vanquishment under the foot of the Sable Venus. It is she, not the white planter, who is figured as the agent of domination and imperial hybridization. Iconographically, however, her dominion is elaborately contained as purportedly inconsequential play that leaves intact that colonial landscape actually imposed on Jamaica. The temptation of miscegenation and the "fruit" of the less than ravishing ravishments that did occur are kept out to sea, over the water, like a mirage.

Colonialism
Rape in the
18th C.

THE REPRODUCTION OF IMPERIAL POWER:
GRAFTING, DRAFTING, AND THE COLONIAL PLANTATION
SYSTEM OF THE FRENCH CARIBBEAN

"Paysager" as Imperial Technique

Landscape painting, landscape gardening, landscape aesthetics, and landscape poetry may be understood as united discursive and material practices that come to the fore in the eighteenth century as techniques not only of British Empire but also of Britain's rival France and its overseas empire. Raymond Williams's now classic text of British cultural studies, *The Country and the City* (1973), redraws the boundaries of the study of landscape by taking painting, writing, gardening, and architecture out of their abstracted and idealized internal histories of development and relating them back to "the common history of a land and its society." From the groundbreaking work of John Barrell's *Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting, 1730–1840* (1980) and Ann Bermingham's *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740–1860* (1986) to Stephen Daniels's *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States* (1993), that land, whose scaping in various media these works interrogate for its ideological reworkings of enclosure, labor, and nation, is England or, in the case of Daniels, England and the United States.⁵⁰ So profound has been the impact of these studies that to think of eighteenth-century British cultural production may not yet automatically mean thinking beyond "little England," but it certainly brings the image and subject of landscape immediately to mind.

To put under question the assumption that when we speak of eighteenth-century landscape we mean Britain or its former colonies in North America, I introduce and contrast French imperial landscaping in the Caribbean colony of Saint-Domingue. The historian David Lowenthal, in an article on landscape and English national identity, insists, "Nowhere else [but England] is landscape so freighted with legacy, nowhere else does the very term suggest not simply scenery and *genres de vie*, but quintessential national virtues."⁵¹ The swerve into French should already tell us something. Metropolitan landscaping in the eighteenth century was a field of competitive emulation, appropriation, and counterappropriation between these two rival imperial powers and between metropole and colony. However, in current scholarship, when the field or geographic parameters have been opened up, it has been to trace the impact, for example, of Chinese landscape and gardening or Roman imperial forms on picturesque landscape gardening in the metropole.⁵² When empire is acknowledged within histories of European landscape, as in Mark Roskill's *Languages of Landscape* (1997), it is to follow the itinerate European landscape artist whose work is then discussed according to the tropes of travel and discovery.⁵³ The views produced out of the voyages of Cook and Bougainville to the South Pacific constitute a favored site for cultural criticism.⁵⁴ The problem with viewing these voyages in isolation is that references to these circumnavigations of the globe were the very devices used in metropolitan landscape gardens and paintings of the period to resignify slavery, conquest, and colonization in the discourse of ostensible

discovery and, hence, renewal. Focusing not on the island Eden or the claimed voyage of "discovery" but the already colonized sites, the sugar plantations of the French Antilles and specifically Saint-Domingue, allows us to see colonial landscaping's devices of disavowal and displacement for what they are. France lost the Seven Years' War to Great Britain and retained, until the American War of Independence provided the opportunity for revenge, only its base in the Caribbean. However, the phenomenal productivity of the French plantation system supported by black slave labor allowed France to dominate the world sugar market. It was in relation to and through the material transformation of its Caribbean island possessions that France most clearly articulated and produced its fiction of empire as what I call an "anti-empire." In *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, Mary Louise Pratt's important analysis of how travel writing works to narrate colonization such that possession is secured in terms that would signify its opposed double, she encapsulates the rhetorical strategy of claimed innocence with the designation "anti-conquest." Pratt uses this term to mark representational tactics by which "European bourgeois subjects secure their innocence in the same moment as they assert European hegemony."⁵⁵ In studying the interplay of discursive and material techniques of European imperial landscaping, I find the spatial term *anti-empire* useful to describe how landscape and farm or, rather, specifically plantation as a site of nature improved, as peaceful and productive cultivation or agriculture functioned, I argue, to reproduce empire as its opposite, an "anti-empire." So attractive has been this image, particularly of French anti-imperialism in the age of so-called Enlightenment, that scholars have been slow to question it.⁵⁶

I begin with an obvious example, the only major commission to come from the state-sponsored Bâtiments under the direction of the marquis de Marigny during the reign of Louis XV—the ports of France series, fifteen epic-scaled land- and seascapes (approx. 2 meters by 1 meter) painted by Joseph Vernet between 1753 and 1763.⁵⁷ Two of the three views of the military and commercial port of Toulon that Vernet executed in 1756 merit focused attention. In one (Figure 7), a view of the distant harbor and town of Toulon foregrounds a country estate and geometrically arranged, proprietarily enclosed farms. One of the other views (Figure 8) is a scene of the old harbor of the port of Toulon, which in the 1750s was one of the last ports to receive government permission to participate in colonial commerce and the slave trade. The elements of the triangular trade are on the dock: grain and building materials from the metropolis are piled at midcenter waiting to be exported, and barrels of sugar or rum imported from the Caribbean colonies are being assessed and loaded onto wagons. At the extreme left, cattle are being led into the slaughterhouse from which smoked carcasses are being carried out to the ships. At the extreme right, chained convicts with military escort are making their way toward the rowboats. Beasts of burden at the left and white French convict labor at the right frame, at the very center of the canvas, the well-dressed French investors in the colonial trade pointing to a lone black man hoisting a barrel perhaps of the clayed sugar laid out for view on the dock nearby. Central to this view of the port of Toulon, this *paysage* (landscape) of empire is the evocation of what is called the "Freedom Principle."

Despite the enforcement of slavery in the colonies and French metropolitan investment in the slave trade, the French metropole technically remained “free territory.” According to the Freedom Principle, which was applied relatively consistently from 1751 onward, any black slave who set foot on French soil could, if that person appealed to the French courts, become free. While in hundreds of court cases heard by the Parlements of Paris black slaves who accompanied their masters back to France as domestics did manage to win their freedom, liberty, in practice, was far from automatic even in the metropole. When set in the context of the system of brutally enforced slavery in the colonies, this principle emerges as a constitutive disavowal at the heart of empire. Though Vernet’s *paysage* of empire may present its metropolitan viewers with a version of the *pays* in which, though there may be bovine beasts of burden and convicts in chains, “there are no slaves in France” and, by myth-making extension, anywhere on France’s provincial, colonial periphery, the spectacle of runaway slave communities, the *marronage* I discuss in chapter 5, threatened otherwise.⁵⁸

Produced during the Seven Years’ War with Britain and at the time that the duc de Choiseul as minister of the marine was attempting to reassert French naval power, these *paysages* of empire do more than simply advertise and rally support for maritime investment.⁵⁹ The ports of France series represents the art of empire making and its technologies, plantation and transplantation, as aesthetic spectacle. Marigny, describing the success of Vernet, the “grand magician,” declared:

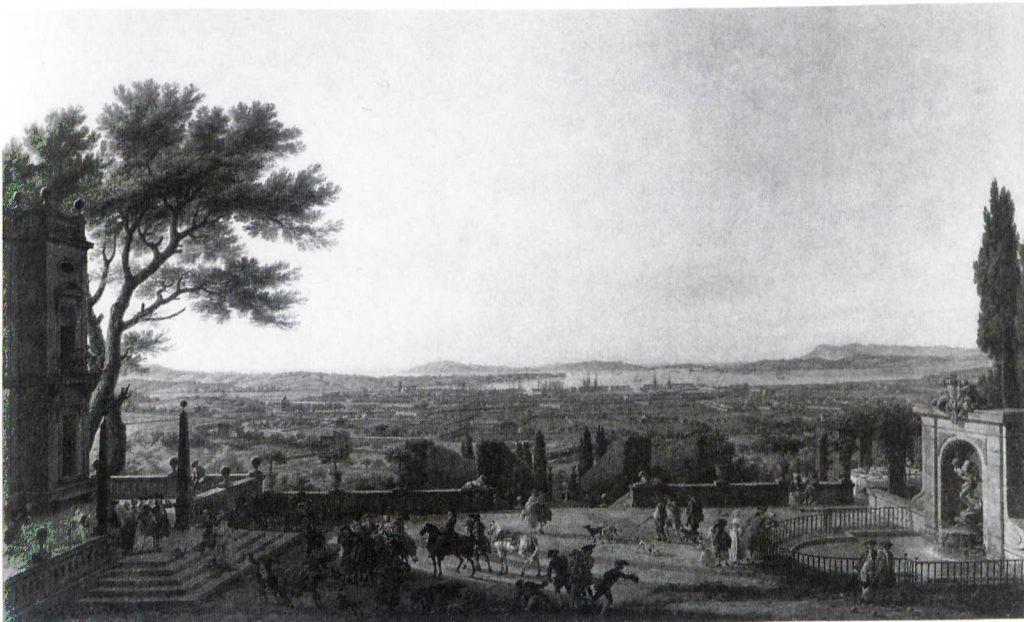


Figure 7. Joseph Vernet, *The Port of Toulon, View of the Town and the Roadstead of Toulon, View of Mont Faron*, 1756, oil on canvas. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Copyright Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, New York.

One would say of this one that he begins by creating the country, and that he has men, women, and children in reserve from which he peoples his canvas, as one populates colonies; then he makes for them the weather, the sky, the season, the happiness, the unhappiness that pleases him. . . . Jupiter calls that to govern the world, and he is wrong, Vernet calls that to make paintings, and he is right.⁶⁰

It is not merely that the *paysage* could be enlisted to represent empire, but that *paysage*, the political, economic, and aesthetic ordering of the *pays*, made of empire a sweet and harmonious alibi in material form, painted and planted, that is, empire as a fabricated fiction of cultivation and civilization; in short, art.

Grafting and Drafting

Turning from painting and royal commissions to popular dissemination and material transformation of France's colonial possessions in the Caribbean, I consider two interrelated technologies for the production and reproduction of French colonial power through hybridization: (1) transplantation and plant transfers, or colonial grafting; and (2) the plans and reproductive "blueprints" for plantation layout and machinery, or colonial drafting. By transplantation—the transfer of seeds and machinery from the metropolis, plants from the East Indies, the South Sea islands, Africa, the mainland Americas, and



Figure 8. Joseph Vernet, *Third View of Toulon, View of the Old Port, Taken from the Side of the Warehouses for Provisions*, 1756, oil on canvas. Musée de la Marine, Paris. Copyright Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, New York.

even from one Caribbean island or from one part of one island to another—French colonial administration and plantation economically, politically, and aesthetically refashioned its Caribbean island possessions as hybrid landscapes. By reproduction, disseminatory drafting, the hybrid landscape machine is rendered in the form of multiple printed ostensible “copies” as the features of the place and, accompanied by textual instructions, as a blueprint to be copied.

I begin with an early printed diagrammatic view of a sugar plantation (Figure 9) from Jean-Baptiste Dutertre’s *Histoire générale des Antilles habitées par les François* (General History of the Antilles Inhabited by the French, 1667–71). Transplanted French technology (the cattle mill for grinding cane, at the back right; the furnaces in the center; and the small distillery, midleft), colonial grafts (sugarcane, indigo, tobacco, and the coconut palm) and indigenous vegetation such as some other varieties of palm, the division of the black slave labor, and white colonial administration in the form of the overseer figure (bottom right) are laid out and labeled to advertise what has been produced. With the accompanying discourse of instruction, the print also served as a basis for reproduction. In contrast to the British picturesque, the colonial landscape of utility, the landscape machine, was not meant to seem organic but rather perfectly constructed. It was to display and maximally exploit the artful technique by which it was produced and made to reproduce. From the 1730s until the slave rebellion of 1791, Saint-Domingue

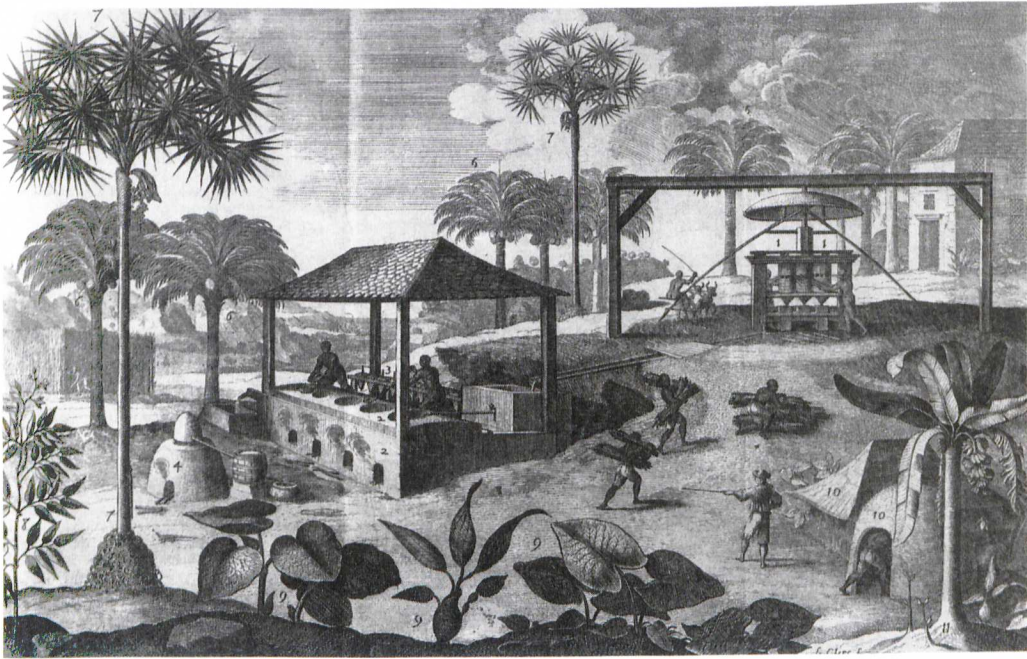


Figure 9. *Sugar Plantation*, engraving, in Jean-Baptiste Dutertre, *Histoire générale des Antilles habitées par les François* (Paris, 1667), vol. 2, facing page 122. Courtesy of the Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University.

was the richest of all the agro-industrial colonies in the Caribbean. By the 1740s, the cane estates along the coastal region produced 40 percent of the world's sugar, more than all the British islands taken together, and from 1750 half the world's coffee was grown on the plantations in the mountain regions of Saint-Domingue.⁶¹ The French colonial plantation system of the Caribbean did not merely unite field and factory, as Sidney Mintz has explained,⁶² but disindigenated, transplanted, and hybridized its island possessions into landscape machines that would appear as enlightened utility, that is, as so necessary and advanced as to be irreversibly transformed.

In the French Antilles, as in the case of the British West Indian islands, creating what was called a "habitation," that is, making the terrain habitable for the installation of the sugar plantation, or *sucrierie*, entailed "défrichement." This term, meaning to turn fallow ground into a cultivated field, was a euphemism for what was actually done to the environments of the French Caribbean colonies. The process of felling trees, cutting and digging up low-lying vegetation, and the burning of all roots made of an overwhelming percentage of the island of Saint-Domingue, for example, the virtual tabula rasa demanded by arguments for the right of possession that the French, like the British, adopted from the Roman legal principle of *res nullius*.⁶³ For the French state, the claim to justifiable colonization depended on turning the *pays* into a *paysage*, that is, on disindigenating, transplanting, and hybridizing their Caribbean island possessions such that the islands were in a sense emptied out and then repossessed by agricultural spectacle, the show of the landscape machine and its produce. Émér de Vattel's *Droit de gens ou principes de la loi naturelle* (The Right of Men or the Principles of Natural Law, 1758), which became the foundational text for the French agriculturalist justification of empire, asserted that natural rights of property belong not to those who inhabit a place but to those who plant. Vattel enshrined agricultural cultivation as not just a means to stake a claim but moreover as divine injunction: "The cultivation of the soil not only deserves the attention of a government because of its great utility, but in addition is an obligation imposed upon man by nature. Every nation is therefore bound by natural law to cultivate the land which has fallen to its share."⁶⁴ The production of a hybridized landscape through transplantation and colonial grafting staked a claim to possession through transformative cultivation of the soil, fabricating a colonial state of cultivated nature that was to signify its own ordination by "natural law."

The sugarcane plant, whose monoculture was at the center of colonial "relandscaping," was initially claimed to have been indigenous to Saint-Domingue in French Dominican missionary Father Jean-Baptiste Labat's *Nouveau voyage aux Isles de l'Amérique* (New Voyage to the Islands of America, 1724).⁶⁵ However, throughout the rest of the eighteenth century the importation and transplantation of the sugarcane was vaunted. Jacques-François Dutrône de la Couture, a Saint-Domingue physician and correspondent of the Paris Royal Society of Agriculture, published a *Précis sur la canne et sur les moyens d'en extraire le sel essentiel* . . . (Precis on the Cane and on the Means to Extract the Essential Salt) in 1790 at the public expense of the colony of Saint-Domingue. The treatise begins by tracing the historical itinerary of the sugarcane found on Saint-Domingue from its

French possession of
the island of Saint-Domingue
in 1790, and the
process of the
plantation of the
sugarcane.

Confl. de la
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native terrain in the East Indies to Europe and from there to the Caribbean island with the Spaniards at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The text reiterates proudly that “the sugarcane is not natural to the New World.”⁶⁶ Another type of sugarcane that became known as the Bourbon, Otaheite, or noble cane was brought to the royal Jardin des Plantes in Paris by the French navigator Louis-Antoine de Bougainville from Tahiti on his round-the-world voyage in 1767–69. This cane, prized for its thickness, was then transferred from the botanical garden of the metropolis to the French colonies of Mauritius, the Réunion Islands, French Guiana, and Martinique from whence it was planted throughout the French Caribbean.⁶⁷ Plant specimens were commodities at the center of global navigation and imperial pillaging as well as colonial trade for both the riches and the symbolic power that successful transfer, reclamation, and reproduction promised.

What was most valuable about such colonial grafts as these different types of sugarcane was what could be extracted. A reproductive print from Dutroné's book (Figure 10)

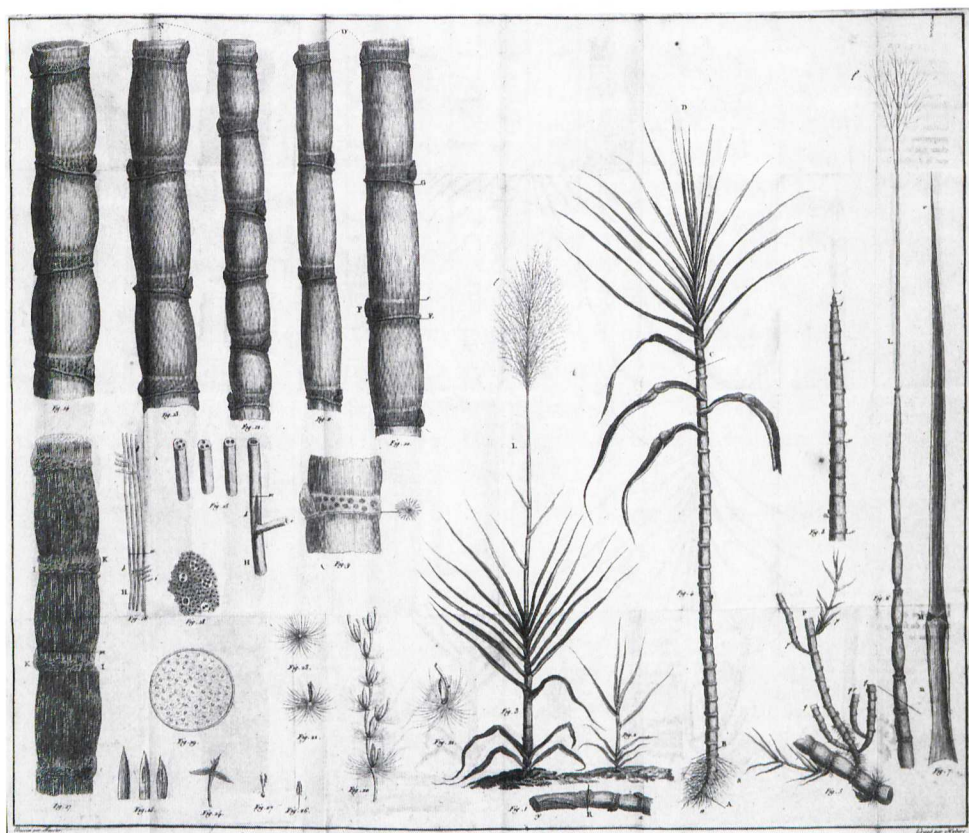


Figure 10. Hubert after Fossier, *Sugar cane*, engraving, in Jacques-François Dutroné de la Couture, *Précis sur la canne et sur les moyens d'en extraire le sel essentiel* . . . (Paris, 1790). Reprinted by permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

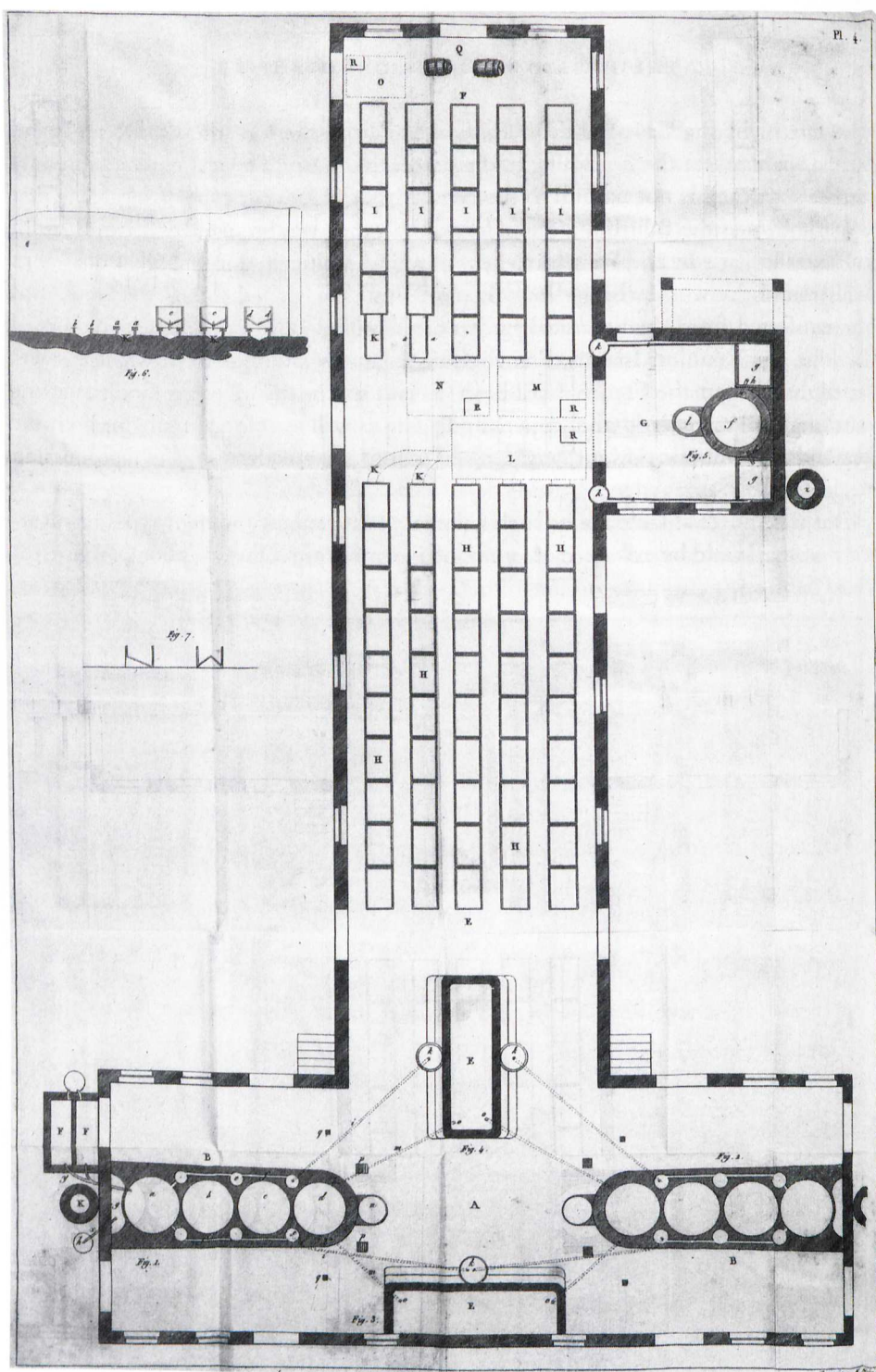


Figure II. Hélius, *Plans of the Sucrerie and of the Purgeric Following the New Method*, engraving, in *Dutrône de la Couture, Précis sur la canne et sur les moyens d'en extraire les sel essentiel*, plate 4. Reprinted by permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

anatomizes the sugarcane in multiple figures representing the stages of its growth with cross sections. Dutrône's précis insists, "It is the conversion of its body into essential salt which, to this day, has been the unique object of the cultivation of the sugar cane; it [the sugarcane], thus, merits, on the part of the planter, the most particular attention."⁶⁸ It was not just that the sugarcane merited the planter's attentive cultivation, but that this foreign transplant was to signify the planter's technologically superior cultivation and culture. The colonial graft was to obviously and ostentatiously signal the transformative power of the French colonial machine. Another plate from Dutrône's book (Figure 11) geometrically and abstractly diagrams the sugar refineries and *purgeries* for his new method of extraction. The text concludes with the claim that this new system would ameliorate the working conditions of the African slaves. Although the fires and dexterity necessary to operate the machinery of the refineries along with the dangerously long working hours of slaves made the sugar works notoriously hazardous and often fatal, Dutrône's text asserted that it was the purifying "art of sugarmaking" that distinguished the planter from the African slave.⁶⁹ Abstracted from their human cost, colonial grafting and drafting were to operate as signs of distinction as well as tools for the reproduction of French colonial power as a purifying, refining landscape machine. ✓

The French naturalist Père Nicholson's *Essai sur l'histoire naturelle de St. Domingue* (Essay on the Natural History of Saint-Domingue, 1776) takes its French metropolitan readers into what it presents as an alien "vegetable kingdom" that the text disciplines and controls by its systematic identification and classification of the plant species indigenous to the Caribbean island. However, the title page's rococo border of seashells and coral (Figure 12) holds within its frame not a wondrous array of indigenous flora but rather a view of the architecture of a plantation, two comparatively large renderings of indigo plants (also colonial grafts), and a small map of a measured parcel of cleared land, that is, transplanted commercial plants, plantation structure, and French colonial claims to property right, enclosure, and clearing. What is here presented to view has already been transformed; the machine is already in the garden. Works like that of Père Nicholson are not merely a kind of evidence that science was an instrument of colonialism or that economic botany, that branch of natural history that emerged in the eighteenth century, facilitated the expansion of empire. It is not just that economic botany served and was often clearly motivated by the state-promoted pursuit of profit-making applications in the form of successful grafting of plants from one place to another. Père Nicholson's essay proclaims, "Everything changed its face after the arrival of the Europeans. Thick forests became fertile fields; the uninhabited mountains . . . are today the inexhaustible foundation of riches. . . . rich plantations cover the surface of the countrysides; the earth is turned over annually and forced to produce the treasures that she harbors in her breast."⁷⁰ Colonial grafting and drafting forcibly transformed Saint-Domingue to (re)produce French colonial power. However, as Nicholson continues, "The change does not make itself felt only in the physical, it extends even into the moral order, or, rather, the change in morals produced this change in the physical."⁷¹ Landscaping technologies did not conceal the operation of force. Grafting and drafting were, instead, to transform

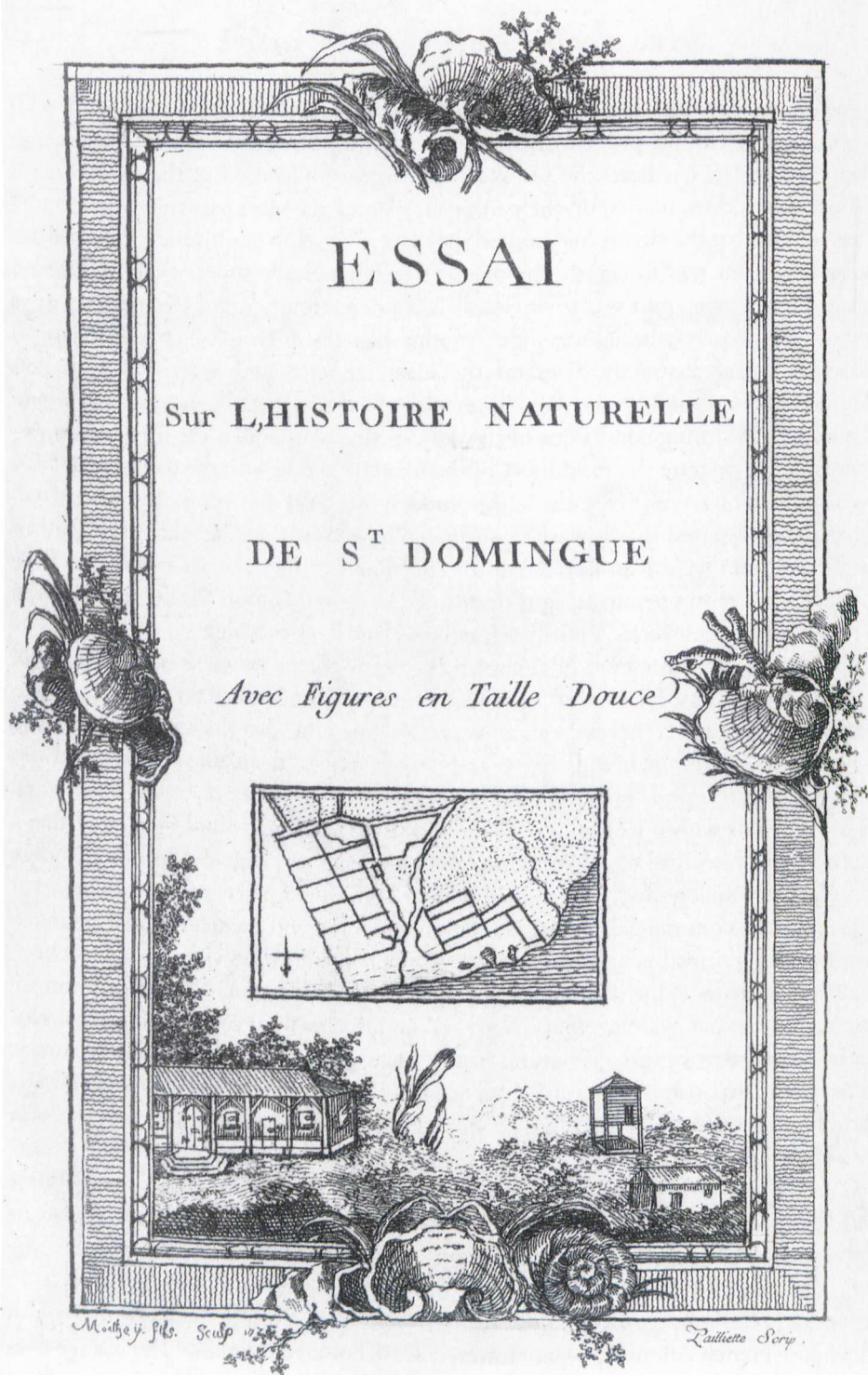


Figure 12. Père Nicholson, *Essai sur l'histoire naturelle de St. Domingue* (Paris, 1776), title page. Reprinted by permission of the Botany Libraries, Harvard University.

the physical violence of power's impress into the sign of moral order by the conjunction of garden and machine in the spectacle of plantation.

Colonial grafting and drafting also functioned in part to reproduce the French metropole in the Caribbean through the transplantation of plants and machinery from France that were to emblemize French cultivation and enlightened utilitarianism. Descriptive histories of Saint-Domingue such as those of the Jesuit missionary Jean-Baptiste le Pers from 1730–31 and of the Saint-Domingue lawyer and mason Louis Élie Médéric Moreau de Saint-Méry from 1797–98 make much of the transfer and acclimatization of grains such as wheat and millet, fruits like strawberries and melons and grapes for wine, kitchen-garden vegetables for both human and animal consumption including cabbages, parsley, turnips, carrots, beets, artichokes, peas, and celery, and fruit trees.⁷²

Deforestation and the cutting away of indigenous vegetation were equally the rule. Instructions to planters asserted that cutting down native trees, "clearing" undergrowth, and then burning all roots were the necessary first stages in the construction of plantations and other settlements.⁷³ Then trees transferred from France or simply from one part of the island to another were transplanted in specific locations and patterns. Elm and oak trees from France and indigenous palm trees were used in long double rows to triumphantly announce the entrances to plantations and such institutions as hospitals.⁷⁴ Lemon, palm, and oak trees were principally used to form enclosing hedges around plantations. While these were functionally explained as a means to keep animals in their grazing areas and out of planted fields, they were primarily the sign of property, as they visually staked the boundaries between individual estates.⁷⁵ Elms, oaks, and palms were also employed to ceremonially mark town squares, particularly the many *places royales*, as in the view from Moreau de Saint-Méry's 1791 *Atlas of Saint-Domingue* of Bombardopolis, the town whose very name announces the inextricability of violent aggression from colonization as plantation (Figure 13).⁷⁶ These transplanted trees were not only the marks of division and possession but became, with continued deforestation and clearing, all the more visually prominent because of their relative scarcity in many parts of the island. Of the plantation belonging to Duplaa in the parish of Quartier-Morin, Moreau de Saint-Méry writes: "There are no trees. . . it is thus with a mixed feeling of sweetness and surprise that one perceives on the Duplaa plantation an avenue 400 *toises* in length [standard measure of length equaling 1.949 meters or a bit over 2 English yards] garnished with a double row of very tall oak trees."⁷⁷

The discourse of colonial landscaping strove to make these marks of deforestation, forced transformation, enclosure, and claims to property the signs that would evoke feelings not only of surprise and awe but pleasure. The military garrison of Fort-Dauphin is recomposed by Moreau de Saint-Méry from the perspective of the planter as traveler into a happy scene—"le plus gai"—by its surrounding sugarcane plantations that "réjouissent la vue," delighting the eye in making the view one of proclaimed joy.⁷⁸ The pattern of transplantation of certain types of trees, like the oak, also declared the conversion of indigenous, junglelike, rhizomatic spontaneous growth into an ordered, productive machine-scape. This transformation was to be not merely economic but aesthetic,

making of the landscape a thing of beauty in the eye of the beholder that would give pleasure to a metropolitan audience. The Baudin plantation also in the Quartier-Morin is presented by Moreau de Saint-Méry's descriptive history as offering to its "viewers" "the perspective of a beautiful avenue of oak trees, the double row of which runs from North to South in a length of 200 *toises*. The eye attaches itself with pleasure to these trees that announce to him [the beholder] that all that surrounds him is not the domain of *Rhizophora* like the mangrove."⁷⁹

In addition to building plans, many of the building types and materials were also colonial transplants from France. Moreau de Saint-Méry's 1798 descriptive history paints a pretty picture of the freestone from the builders of Nantes, the slate roofing from Anjou, and the Normandy tiles brought to Saint-Domingue for colonial residences, examples of which one may see in the overview of the town of Cap François from Moreau de Saint-Méry's 1791 atlas (Figure 14).⁸⁰ And in his portrayal of the area of Roucou in the parish of Limonade, stone from France forms a little fountain bath by the river ornamenting the plantation-cum-garden with the inscription:

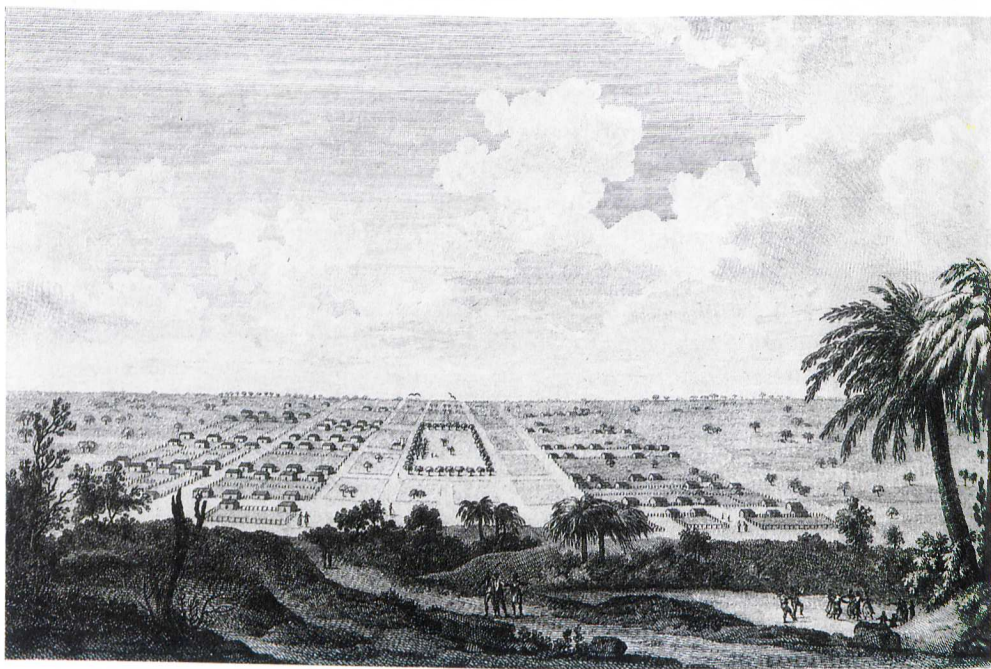


Figure 13. Drawn by Pérignon and engraved by Nicolas Ponce, *View of Bombardopolis*, in Louis Élie Médéric Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Recueil des vues des lieux principaux de la colonie française de Saint-Domingue, gravées par les soins de M. Ponce* (Paris, 1791). Courtesy of the Rare Books Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

Naiad of Roucou, your docile wave
 Runs for pleasure and for utility:
 In embellishing my haven
 To my altered fields, render fertility.⁸¹

Not mentioned is the use of stone for other parts of the colonial landscape machine, the fortifications, the plantation factories, and cells like the one from the Drouillard settlement rendered by a print as a reproductive how-to model for the construction of such carceral instruments of colonial discipline.⁸²

If anything was obscured in the reproduction of the colonial landscape machine, it was the forced and killing labor of African slaves. One may take, for example, the 1731 map of the French part of Saint-Domingue (Figure 15) drawn up by the royal geographer d'Anville on the instructions of the Jesuit curé Jean-Baptiste le Pers. First of the missionary naturalists actually stationed in Saint-Domingue, le Pers spent the last decades of his life in the colony (until his death in 1735), where he studied the island flora. When not superintending the building of churches, le Pers compiled a vast manuscript of notes that became the basis for the government-sponsored publication *Histoire de l'isle espagnole ou de S. Domingue* (History of the Spanish Island or of Saint-Domingue) edited by le Pers's Jesuit confrère P.-F. Xavier de Charlevoix.⁸³ Upholding the map's blazon are two male figures: the one on the left holds an oar, and the other on the right leans on a gun, a knife at his side. Behind them are the mast of a ship on the left and on the right the shoots of a sugarcane plant. Flanking the royal crest are pruned branches of what look like indigo and coffee plants. These two white men are allegorical figures of original colonial possession and settlement: the iconic seventeenth-century filibusters and buccaneers, the



Figure 14. Drawn by Fernand de la Brunière and engraved by Nicolas Ponce, *View of Cap François, Taken from behind the Prison*, in Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Recueil de vues des lieux principaux de la colonie française de Saint-Domingue*. Courtesy of the Rare Books Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

adventurers of colonial legend. However, these two white male figures are the supports of the blazon of Saint-Domingue on a map of the already transformed plantation and slave landscape of almost three-quarters of a century later. As such, these allegorical figures also function to reproduce colonial power, as if white Frenchmen continued to perform the work of transplantation and cultivation solely by their own hands. The accompanying text purports to document the bounty created by their handiwork in its delineation of the hybridized colonial landscape of Saint-Domingue with its indigenous and transplanted vegetation as a place of “perpetual spring” and universal fertility and abundance in which thirsty black slaves can purportedly take the lemons off the transplanted citrus trees and make “lemonade.”⁸⁴ Colonial transplantation, the grafting of specific plant specimens and patterns of settlement, and agricultural production viewed

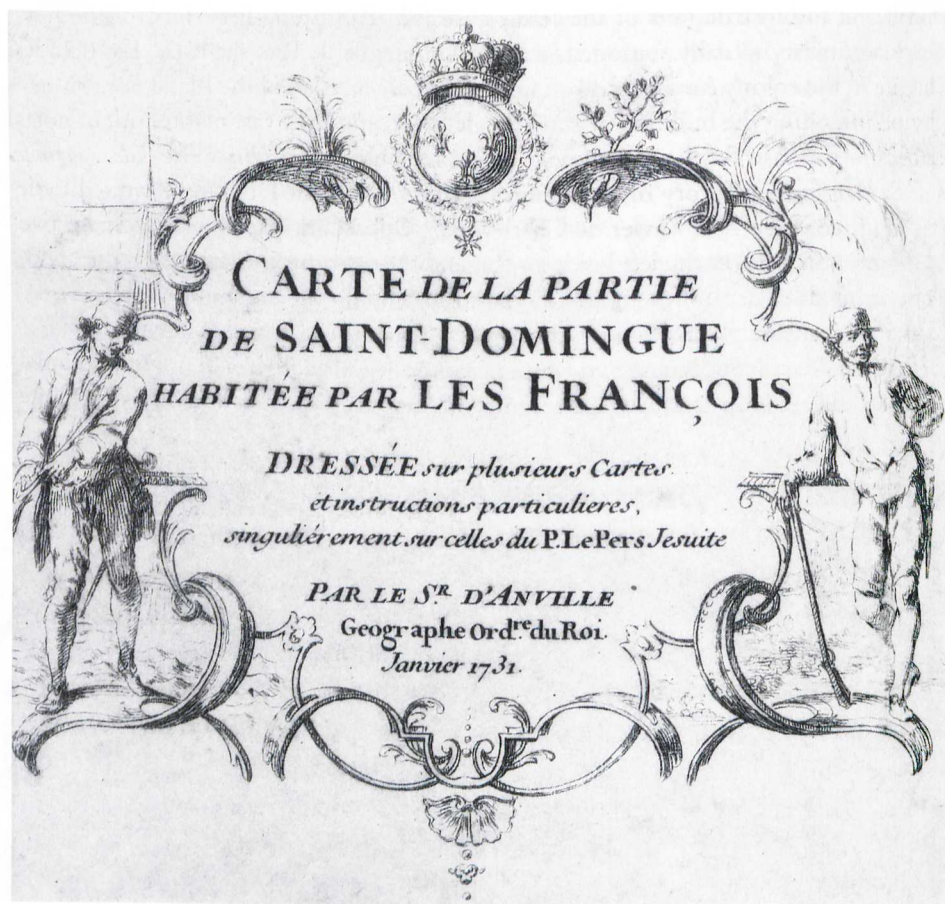


Figure 15. Le Sr. d'Anville after Père le Pers, detail of *Carte de la partie de Saint-Domingue habitée par les François*, in Père Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix après le mémoire manuscrit du Père Jean-Baptiste le Pers, *Histoire de l'isle espagnole ou de S. Domingue* (Paris, 1730), 2:485. Reprinted by permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

as "cultivation" in the sense of "civilization" were to reflect on the planter, to imply his agency. Moreau de Saint-Méry's descriptive history draws a picture of the approach to the parish of Cap François moving from the Spanish to the French part of the island separated by mountains: "In discovering the French part, the aspect changes. . . . one distinguishes buildings and cultivated places. On the mountains the eye discerns plantations, fields, woods, and one recognizes the place of man and of industrious man."⁸⁵ Distinguishing the French part of the island from that still under the control of the Spanish Empire, the forceful conquest and degenerate governance of one side of the mountains give way to a vision of anti-empire, the "discovery" of cultivated fields as the sign of industry. The site of industrious man is not, however, the scene of black slave labor.

Ideal plans for plantations often simply erased the labor of African slaves. Plans of sugar plantations like the one produced for the *Encyclopédie* present the colonial landscape machine as continuous with and little differentiated from the countryside of mainland France.⁸⁶ Under the general heading "Oeconomie rustique," plates representing the culture of sugarcane, cotton, and indigo follow seamlessly from those cataloging other aspects of French agriculture. Scenic diagrams such as the one of an idyllic sugar plantation reproduced with small variations in works such as Chambon's *Le guide de commerce de l'Amérique, principalement par le port de Marseilles* (The Guide to Commerce with America, principally by the Port of Marseille, first edition in 1764 and second in 1783) are populated by figures peacefully at rest and engaged in polite conversation (Figure 16) and, thus, largely indistinguishable from those of the *Encyclopédie* plates representing domestic agriculture. Others, like the plan of a sugarcane plantation from 1787–88 (Figure 17) produced for the Saint-Domingue planter Avasse's 1799 *Tableau comparatif des productions des colonies Françaises aux Antilles, avec celles des colonies Anglaises, Espagnoles, et Hollandaises; de l'année 1787 à 1788* (Comparative Table of the Productions of the French Colonies in the Antilles, with those of the English, Spanish, and Dutch Colonies, from the year 1787 to 1788), abstract away completely, making the plantation a geometrically perfect rectangle subdivided into numbered, symmetrical, rectilinear shapes. This abstract geometry functions as a formal analogy for the ideal plantation, reproducing the eighteenth-century Saint-Domingue sugarcane plantation as if it were the material actualization of rational, efficient, and utilitarian organization. African slaves, who figure as quantified units of energy and production in the accompanying text and comparative economic tables, are here contained by two rows of barracks. Their labor is signaled only by the minuscule cut-in of terrain (no. 34 on the plan) designated as a slave garden for the cultivation of their own foodstuffs.

Plans of and for plantation machines, like the diagrammatic view by the engraver Benard of a water mill first produced for the *Encyclopédie* (1762) and much reproduced thereafter, often incorporate, as extended parts of the apparatus, the black slave laborers here gathering cane and feeding it into the clogged wheels of the mill.⁸⁷ Other plans like the one for a water mill (Figure 18) from the exiled planter P. J. Laborie's English-language evocation of the lost colony of Saint-Domingue, *The Coffee Planter of Saint Domingo* (1798), endeavor to purify not only through the utilization of geometric form

- See Barrington's color
on the map of the French part of the island
"crossed black holes" - what do the slaves?
Can it not be seen in the map of the slaves?

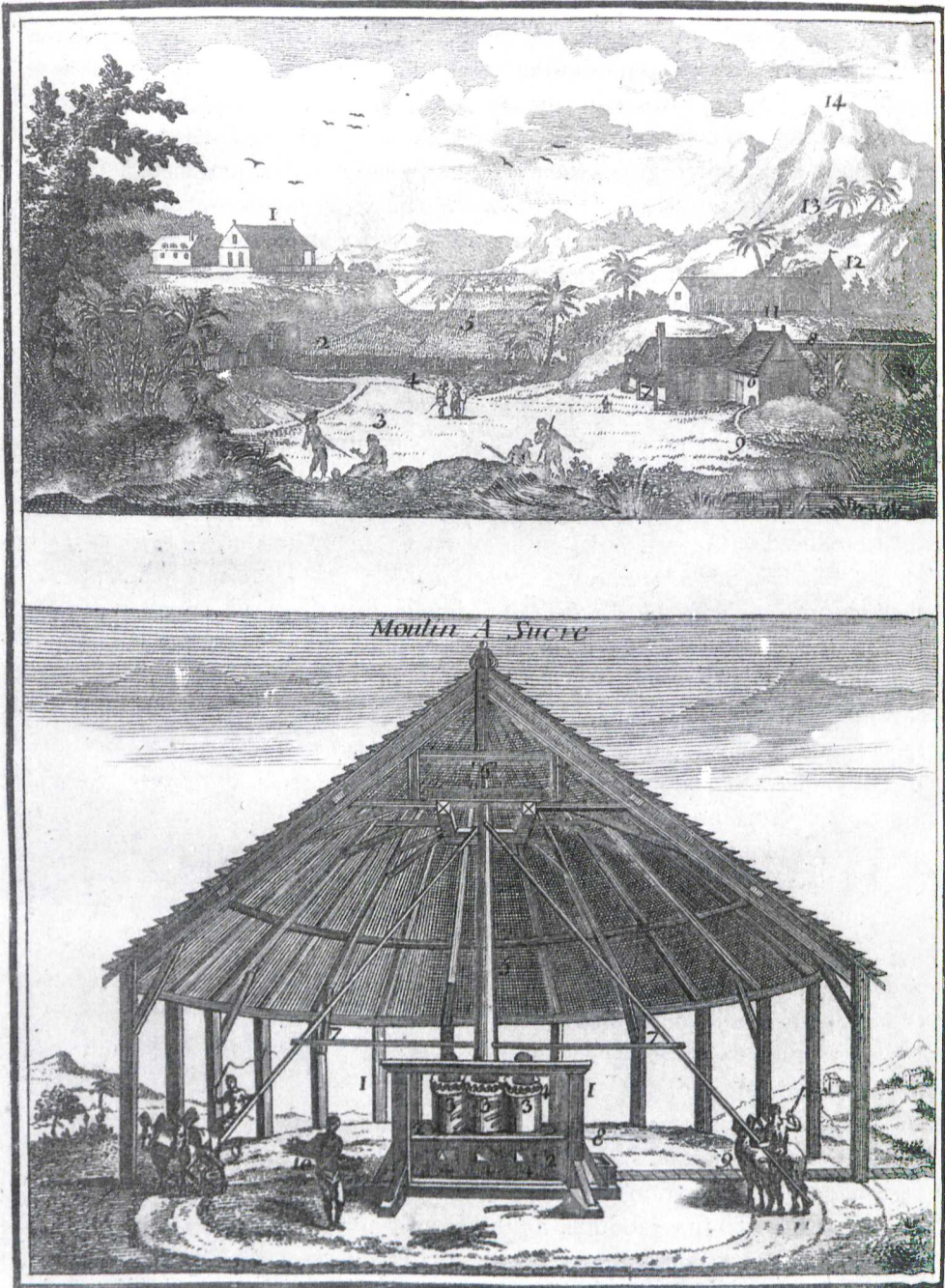


Figure 16. *View of a Plantation*, in Chambon, fl., *Le guide du commerce de l'Amérique, principalement par le port de Marseille* (Avignon, 1777), 382, plate 4. Courtesy of the Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University.

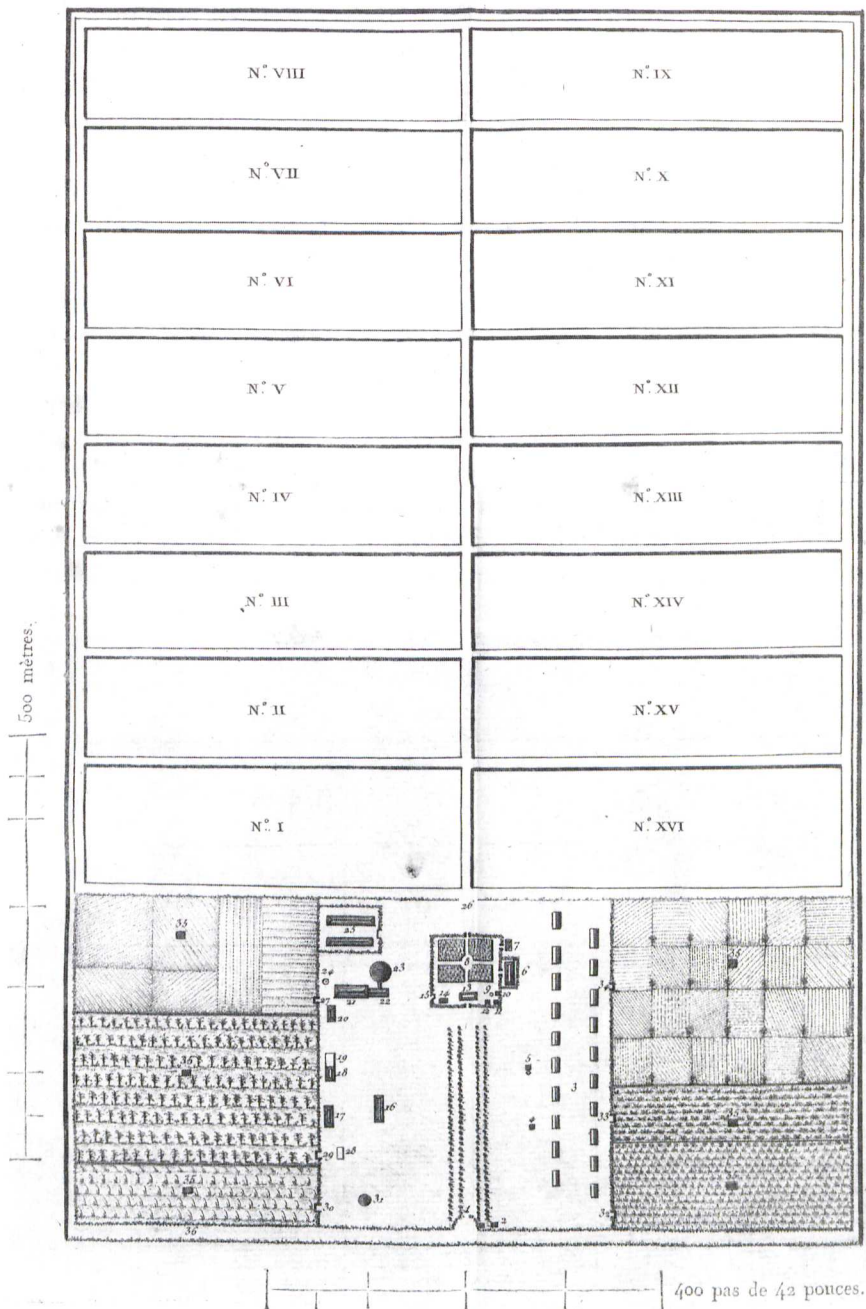


Figure 17. Sugar Plantation, in Avalle, *Tableau comparatif des productions des colonies Françaises aux Antilles, avec celles des colonies Anglaises, Espagnoles, et Hollandaises; de l'année 1787 à 1788* (Paris, 1799), facing page 73. Reprinted by permission of the Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

but through the multipoint perspective that abstracts the viewer both from the geopolitical situation of Saint-Domingue and from a fixed viewing position. Multipoint perspective most obviously allows for the representation of the different workings of the machine in one image. This shift from single to multipoint perspective also conveys an illusion of transcendence, lending the machine an aura of independence and invulnerability, an effect to be shared by its implied French colonial viewer. Printed plans like these not only (re)produced French colonial power *through* the process of disseminatory drafting but also *as* machinic drafting.

The mill wheel returns me to my claim that the colonial technologies of grafting and drafting were interrelated. Of the four cash crops—sugar, coffee, indigo, and cotton—that formed the foundation of the plantation system of the French Caribbean in the eighteenth century, all but cotton were foreign transplants. The reproduction and transformation of these plants into salable commodities required labor-intensive plantation and harvesting, machine-intensive processing, and protoindustrial organization. This was not merely a matter of the machine in the garden or industrialized agriculture. What colonial grafting and drafting endeavored to produce was a hybrid agro-industrial landscape, a landscape machine as both the reproducer and impress of French colonial power.

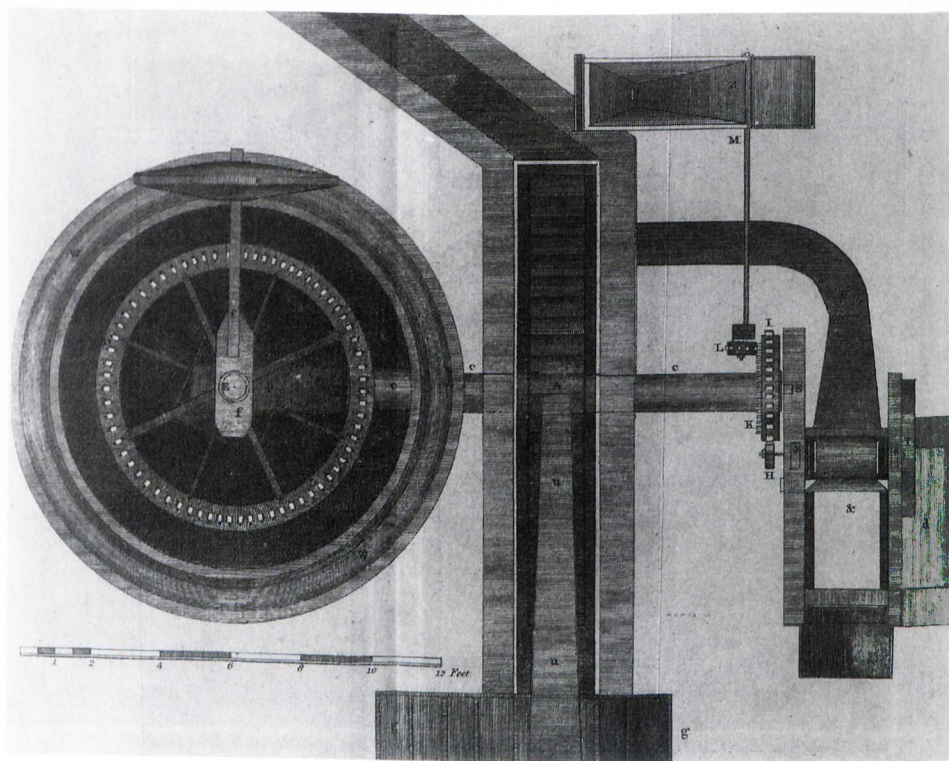


Figure 18. *Plan of the Water-mill*, in P. J. Laborie, *The Coffee Planter of Saint Domingo* (London, 1798), plate 14. Courtesy of the Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University.

TRANSPLANTING THE METROPOLE

IMPERIAL PICTURESQUE

The phrase *imperial picturesque* might seem to conjoin two rather distinct domains. *Imperial* potentially encompasses the global with its aggrandizing and colonizing ambitions, whereas *picturesque* is commonly synonymous with the domestic, the quaint, and the apolitical. But what is the picturesque? An eighteenth-century neologism, the word *picturesque* occupies the space of translation. Picturesque most obviously mediates between nature and art. When applied to paintings, it often meant that the scene or the handling of it was somehow faithful to nature. When applied to “nature” or to physical terrain, *picturesque* primarily signified that a select “view” was “like a picture.” The picturesque was, therefore, not merely a preexisting latent characteristic waiting for the discerning viewer to recognize a particular mountain, tree, or valley’s picturesqueness, but rather precisely a process of recognition. The view or site was cognitively assessed and reimagined as not just any picture, but like one of a particular set of preconceived and valued painted landscape types, especially the compositions of Claude Lorrain. By translating terrain into an established compositional type, the picturesque, as a way of seeing, transformed land into landscape. The resulting representation or landscaping, whether garden, sketch, poem, painting, or travel narrative, was in turn validated as naturalistic.¹

This process of translation was, however, more than simply a means by which land became artifact and landscaping representation was invested with the value of the real. The picturesque primarily negotiated the domestic and the foreign, the local and the exotic. The English word *picturesque* came into usage as a translation of the French adjective *pittoresque*, itself an eighteenth-century adaptation of the Italian *pittoresco*. From Italy to France to England, the linguistic voyage of the word traces the return path of the goods collected on the grand tour of western Europe by the young titled British men whose education was finished through travel abroad, once the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) opened up the European continent to British travelers. Among the booty imported to

discourse published after I completed the first version of this manuscript, see Karen O'Brien, "Imperial Georgic, 1660–1789," in *The Country and the City Revisited: England and the Politics of Culture, 1550–1850*, ed. Gerald MacLean, Donna Landry, and Joseph P. Ward (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 160–79. For studies of French culture, "pastoral" has been the preferred organizing and interpretive generic rubric. See, for example, Christie McDonald Vance, "The Extravagant Shepherd: A Study of the Pastoral Vision in Rousseau's 'Nouvelle Héloïse,'" *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 105 (1973); and D. G. Charlton, *New Images of the Natural in France: A Study in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

13. One may take, for example, book 2 of Jacques Delille's translation of Virgil's *Georgics* on heterosexual reproduction as synonymous with the cycle of the seasons and "plaisirs utiles." See Delille, *Les Géorgiques de Virgile: Traduction nouvelle en vers françois, avec des notes, par M. de Lille* (Paris, 1770), 165–67.

1. THE HYBRID PRODUCTION OF EMPIRE

1. Homi K. Bhabha, "Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree outside Delhi, May 1817," in *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 112.

2. Antonio Benítez-Rojo, "From the Plantation to the Plantation," in *The Repeating Island: The Caribbean and the Postmodern Perspective*, trans. James E. Maraniss (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996), 33–81.

3. Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995), 6.

4. *The Compact Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "hybrid."

5. See Alan Bewell, "'On the Banks of the South Sea': Botany and Sexual Controversy in the Late Eighteenth Century," in *Visions of Empire: Voyages, Botany, and Representations of Nature*, ed. David Philip Miller and Peter Hanns Reill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 173–93.

6. Erasmus Darwin, *The Loves of the Plants* (Oxford: Woodstock, 1991), 114–17.

7. *Ibid.*, 149.

8. See John G. Burke, "The Wild Man's Pedigree," in *The Wild Man Within*, ed. Edward Dudley and Maximilian E. Novak (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 1972), 266–67; and Mary Louise Pratt, "Science, Planetary Consciousness, Interiors," in *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 32.

9. *Ibid.*, 150.

10. *Ibid.*

11. See Young, *Colonial Desire*.

12. It was the French who first succeeded in breaking the Dutch monopoly when they obtained seeds of the tree in about 1770 and transplanted them to the botanical garden of Pamplemousses on the East Indian island of Mauritius (Île Maurice). From there it was brought to the Caribbean. See G. B. Masfield, *A Short History of Agriculture in the British Colonies* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1950), 42.

13. See the catalog of colonial grafts, many credited to the planter and gardener Hinton East, compiled by Arthur Broughton, *Hortus Eastensis* (Kingston, 1792), reproduced in Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, 4th ed. (1793; repr., London, 1807), 3367–407.

14. Hans Sloane, *A Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica, with the Natural History of the Herbs and Trees, Four-Footed Beasts, Fishes, Birds, Insects, Reptiles, &c. of the last of those Islands; to which is prefix'd an Introduction, Wherein is an Account of the Inhabitants, Air, Waters, Diseases, Trade, &c. of that Place with some Relations concerning the Neighboring Continent, and Islands of America*, 2 vols. (London, 1707, 1725). For an excellent study of Sloane's natural history

published after I completed the first version of this manuscript, see Kay Dian Kriz, "Curiosities, Commodities, and Transplanted Bodies in Hans Sloane's 'Natural History of Jamaica,'" *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 57 (2000): 35–78. A revised version appears in *An Economy of Colour: Visual Culture and the Atlantic World, 1660–1830*, ed. Geoff Quilley and Kay Dian Kriz (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 85–105.

15. See Clarence J. Glacken, "Final Strengths and Weaknesses of Physico-Theology," in *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (1967; repr., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 504–50.

16. Michel Foucault, "Classifying," in *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (1966; repr., New York: Vintage, 1973), 131.

17. *Ibid.*, 137.

18. *Ibid.*, 146.

19. On eighteenth-century ideologies of race, the origins of racial classification, and theories about mixing as "miscegenation," see Nicholas Hudson, "From Nation to 'Race': The Origin of Racial Classification in Eighteenth-Century Thought," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29, no. 3 (1996): 247–64; Ivan Hannaford, *Race: The History of an Idea in the West* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze, ed., *Race and the Enlightenment: A Reader* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1997); Hannah Franziska Augstein, ed., *Race: The Origins of an Idea, 1760–1850* (Bristol: Thoemmes, 1996); *Racism in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 3 of *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, ed. Harold E. Pagliaro (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University, 1973); and Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

20. Sloane, 6v.

21. *Ibid.*, lxxiv–lxxv.

22. *Digest* XLI 1. and the law *Ferae bestiae*, in *Institutes*, II.1.2., cited in Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain, and France, c. 1500–c. 1800* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 76, 208n54.

23. See Sloane, *History of Jamaica*, and Dorothy P. Storer, *Familiar Trees and Cultivated Plants of Jamaica* (London: Macmillan, 1958).

24. C. A. Bayly, "War, Empire, and the Colonies of Settlement to 1790," in *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780–1830* (London: Longman, 1989), 80–81.

25. Beckford's *Descriptive Account of the Island of Jamaica* gives the date as 1777. See William Beckford, *A Descriptive Account of the Island of Jamaica: with remarks upon the Cultivation of the Sugar-Cane, throughout the different seasons of the Year, and chiefly considered in a Picturesque Point of View; also Observations and Reflections upon what would probably be the Consequences of an Abolition of the Slave-Trade, and of the Emancipation of Slaves* (London, 1790), 2:385. For biographical information, see Richard B. Sheridan, "Planter and Historian: The Career of William Beckford of Jamaica and England, 1744–1799," *Jamaican Historical Review* 4 (1964): 36–58.

26. E. Bénézit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs, et graveurs*, new ed. (Paris: Éditions Gründ, 1999), II:744.

27. Beckford, 1:x.

28. Storer, 64.

29. See E. E. Cheesman, "The History of the Introduction of Some Well-Known West Indian Staples," *Tropical Agriculture* 16, no. 5 (1939): 101–7; Richard A. Howard, "Captain Bligh and the Breadfruit," *Scientific American* 188, no. 3 (1953): 88–94; John Parry, "Plantation and Provision Ground: An Historical Sketch of the Introduction of Food Crops into Jamaica," *Revista de Historia de América* 39 (1955): 1–16; and Masfield, *Short History of Agriculture*.

30. Patrick Browne, *The Civil and Natural History of Jamaica* (1756; repr., London, 1789).

31. Beckford, 31.

32. Beckford, 39–40.
33. Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica, or General Survey of the Antient and Modern State of that Island: With Reflections on its Situations, Settlements, Inhabitants, Climate, Products, Commerce, Laws, and Government*, ed. George Metcalf (1774; repr., London: Cass, 1970), 2:64.
34. *Ibid.*, 2:65.
35. See Young, *Colonial Desire*.
36. James Grainger, "The Sugar-Cane," in *Collected Works of the English Poets*, ed. Samuel Johnson (London, 1810), 14:480; page numbers hereafter cited in parentheses in the text.
37. Lev. 19:19.
38. Paul Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London: Pluto, 1984), 70; Long, 2:336.
39. *The Compact Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "promiscuous."
40. Joseph Addison, *The Tatler*, no. 161, April 18–20, 1710, in *The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden, 1620–1820*, ed. John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988), 139–40.
41. William Shenstone, *The Works in Prose and Verse* (London: Dodsley, 1765).
42. Felicity A. Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones: Maternity, Sexuality, and Empire in Eighteenth-Century English Narratives* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 7–10.
43. See Howard, 88–94, and David Mackay, "Food for Slaves," in *In the Wake of Cook: Exploration, Science, and Empire, 1780–1801* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 123–43.
44. J. C. Beaglehole, ed., *The Endeavor Journal of Joseph Banks, 1768–1771* (Sydney: Holstead, 1963), 1:341.
45. Edwards, 1:xl, xlii–xliii.
46. Grainger, 486–87.
47. Edward Kamau Brathwaite, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770–1820* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), 179; Edwards, 2:36.
48. Edwards, 2:34.
49. *Ibid.*, 37.
50. John Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting, 1730–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740–1860* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986); Stephen Daniels, *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).
51. David Lowenthal, "British National Identity and the English Landscape," *Rural History* 2 (1991): 213.
52. See, for example, Osvald Sirén, *China and Gardens of Europe* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1990); and Dora Wiebenson, *The Picturesque Garden in France* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978).
53. Mark Roskill, "The Developing Appeal of Landscape, 1750–1830," in *The Languages of Landscape* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 104–11.
54. See, for example, D. G. Charlton, "Transoceanic Perspectives," in *New Images of the Natural in France: A Study in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 105–34; and Harriet Guest, "Curiously Marked: Tattooing, Masculinity, and Nationality in Eighteenth-Century British Perceptions of the South Pacific," in *Painting and the Politics of Culture: New Essays on British Art, 1700–1850*, ed. John Barrell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 101–34.
55. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 7.
56. Todd Porterfield's recent study of the role of "art" in the consolidation of the "modern French empire" critiques scholarship's investment in revolution as the defining paradigm for French culture

after 1789 and, hence, its blindness toward empire understood as antithetical, but the study both obscures connections between the “old” and “new” empires and focuses on French Empire through the encircling boundary of “official culture,” which makes empire a metropolitan and unidirectional phenomenon. See Porterfield, *The Allure of Empire: Art in the Service of French Imperialism, 1798–1836* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998). On postcolonial critique of “Enlightenment,” see Felicity Nussbaum, “Whose Enlightenment Is It?” in *Torrid Zones*, 192–210.

57. On the ports of France series, see especially Laurent Manoeuvre and Eric Rieth, *Joseph Vernet, 1714–1789: Les Ports de France* (Arceuil, France: Editions Anthèse, 1994); F. Ingersoll-Smousse, *Joseph Vernet: Peintre de marine* (Paris, 1926); and général Thiervoz, “Les ports de France de Joseph Vernet,” *Neptunia*, 47–49 (1960): 6–14, 7–18, 8–16.

58. See Sue Peabody, “*There Are No Slaves in France*”: *The Political Culture of Race and Slavery in the Ancien Régime* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

59. See Pierre Pluchon, *Histoire de la colonisation française* (Paris: Fayard, 1991).

60. Eric Rieth, “Les Ports de France de Joseph Vernet: Une source remarquable pour l’histoire des techniques nautiques,” in Manoeuvre and Rieth, 23. I have translated this remark into English. Unless otherwise noted, all subsequent translations are my own.

61. Jan Rogozinski, *A Brief History of the Caribbean* (New York: Facts on File, 1992), 113.

62. Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin, 1985), 47.

63. Pagden, 76.

64. Émér de Vattel, *Le droit de gens ou principes de la loi naturelle, appliqués à la conduite et aux affaires des nations et des souverains*, (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institute, 1916), 3:37.

65. See Chapter 5 of Labat’s third volume for his account of sugarcane production (Jean-Baptiste Labat, *Nouveau voyage aux Isles de l’Amérique* [La Haye, 1724], 3:122). On the problem of the origin of the sugarcane and its introduction to the French Antilles, see Henri Stehlé, “Quelques mises au point historiques relatives à l’introduction de végétaux économiques aux Antilles Françaises,” *Bulletin de la Société d’Histoire de la Guadeloupe* 5–6 (1966): 27–37.

66. Jacques-François Dutrône de la Couture, *Précis sur la canne et sur les moyens d’en extraire le sel essentiel, suivi de plusieurs mémoires sur le sucre, sur le vin de canne, sur l’indigo, sur les Habitations & sur l’état actuel de Saint-Domingue*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1791), 26.

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68. Dutrône de la Couture, 150.

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78. *Ibid.*, 136.
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2. TRANSPLANTING THE METROPOLE

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