Chapter One

Introduction: Politics of the British Romantic Abolitionist Agenda

Contention and Line of Investigation

French declaration on the rights of citizen in 1789 proved a stirring move for women and the poor to demand equal political and legal rights. The spread of education, civic virtue, and the development of new sensibility had been challenging patriarchal authority. Britain's involvement in wars with France during 1790s till 1810s worsened national economy. Women's literary writing emerged as a radical force during Romantic period. Blacks too disseminated information about slavery. James Walvin writes about black resistance and rebellion in slave colonies like Haiti in 1790, Barbados in 1816, Demerara in 1823, Jamaica in 1831, and serious fears of the spread of black revolt to the British island ("Propoganda" 11). The fears about the contagion of revolting and resistance ideologies among the slaves were exaggerated in abolitionist discourse. Slave resistance was more violent after the end of Napoleonic war in 1815. Anti-slavery message was conveyed to the British public arguing that slavery was affront to Christian sensibility (Walvin, "Propoganda" 64). New wave of political, economic, philosophical ideas supporting free labor economy to slave labor was popularized by Smith in the changed context. The loss of American colonies and the environment obtaining thereafter forced the Britons to think about themselves and their failings. They contemplated on an alternative vision of empire, an empire without slavery. The arguments in the dissertation have been formulated against this background.

Britain, which had spearheaded the transatlantic slave trade, abolished it in the Romantic era. This move triggered a trend that the international abolitionist institutions would latch onto (Seymour Drescher, *Mighty* 3). The abolitionist discourse evoked pathos of sympathy that sought

to move its readers to action by making visible the suffering of African slaves in the Caribbean plantations. The sentimental abolitionist affect also informed high Romantic writings, women's texts, and slave narratives. British writers turned against slavery and slave trade so unexpectedly, especially after 1780s, and this dissertation seeks to explore the politics of the affect of sympathy with the plight of the black slaves. The big question is: whether the call for the abolition of slavery happened due to the rise of compassionate humanitarianism or because of the shift in economic thought and revisionary strategy to prioritize new approach to economic extension in the changed context after Britain's defeat in North America. By evoking the affect of sympathy with the slaves, does Romantic abolitionist literature implicitly reflect the affect of sympathy to the blacks merely towards building an image of the benevolent English?

The dissertation engages with the above questions in order to find out how British Romanticism stemmed from and react to the issues generated by the experience of slavery. It argues that the way the anti- and pro- abolitionist affects get evoked in Romantic era literature—both by the whites and the blacks—is rooted in the valorization of sympathy in the philosophical and moral discourses of that time.

Critics have been appreciating abolitionist discourse packed up with sympathy and new rhetoric of sensibility (Lynn Festa; Alexander Cook; Henry Martyn Lloyd; Peter Otto; and Brycchan Carey). The new rhetoric puts pathos at the heart of persuasion against classical rhetorical strategies emphasizing figurative language and art of public oratory. Brycchan Carey has explored new rhetoric in the aesthetic philosophy of Burke, Hume and Smith. Carey reads abolitionist texts as rhetorical documents that lead their readers through a calculated affect of sympathy for the African black slaves. Sympathetic imagination helped in the development of impartiality useful in cultivating sympathetic identification with the distant other, extension of

sympathy to the victim. Widespread public critical discourse during late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries inspired people with structurally beneficial position to be self critical and raise voice against injustice. The moral sentimentalist discourse functioned as pedagogical training for the development of new sensibility and circulation of sympathy in free flowing communication. So, the entire phenomenon has been evaluated as rhetorical strategy for the extension of sympathy and directing people to anti-slavery cause. Sympathy has been considered as a vital moral resource, so everyone including anti-slavery and pro-slavery activists used sympathy strategically in their discourse. Critics have considered sensibility to be the "tonic force" or eighteenth century "antidote" (Otto 198) against the loss of humanity, teaching of new morality, and good sense.

The decline theory, world system theory, concept of econocide as postulated by Seymour Drescher, David Brion Davis, and Eric Williams suggest that Atlantic slavery had been highly lucrative enterprise. However, it never appeared profitable in anti-slavery writing by the whites, especially who follow Adam Smith's line of argument. Rather, it focused on the anxiety concerning miscegenation, racial contamination of the purity of the white race, as observed by David Brion Davis in Alan Richardson ("Slavery" 506). Christian missionaries spread European dogma— prefer to be "Christian slave" in colonies rather than be free black in Africa— and white writers sustain imperial tradition through the use of controversial ideas, as the phrase appears in Yearsley (5) . Only subservience to God can free the slaves from their fallen state to eternal spiritual well-being. Radicals and activists promoted Universalist concept of liberty and natural rights. Former slaves' activism was directed to the freedom of those who had still been in captivity. Romantic abolitionist discourse can be sympathetic to slaves but not guided by justice. True sympathy must have been guided by justice. Sympathy guided by affective politics pushes

the victim to even vulnerable situation. Sympathy engaged with critical inquiry and action can bring about transformation in deep rooted structural problems. So compassion, anger, disgust, sympathy and their play in the abolitionist literature has been seen to be guided by self beneficiary interest rather than upgrading the status of the victim, as observed in the dissertation. Further, it seeks to establish the same emotions of outrage, disgust, and sympathy have been dealt with differently by mainstream high Romantic writers, women radical activists, and ex-slaves, in their abolitionist discourse.

Abolitionism has brought dramatic change in political economic culture. It was British safe landing agenda from mercantilism to laissez faire economy in the context after the loss of American colonies. There is much sympathy staged for the suffering of the slaves but the new curiosity has been raised in the dissertation whether there is any action for its alleviation or the politics otherwise. The whites were worried about degeneracy of English moral character and their concerns were directed to upgrading the dignity of their character but the concern here has been to observe whether they have any plan for the betterment of the victim. Has sympathy been only white people's emotional refuse exacerbating the suffering of the victim? Three sorts of abolitionist literature have been investigated in this study—written by mainstream Romantic male writers, low profile women writers beyond the canon, and narratives from ex-slaves— in order to reveal the gap between the constructed truth and hidden imperial ideology associated with British abolitionism, also to cross check the arguments formed from various affective circumstances.

Eighteenth century British abolitionist discourse has been considered transformative move for the structural problems deeply rooted in the contemporary society. The discourse has remained much acclaimed and explored area— its being rich in new rhetoric of sensibility,

backed up by moral sentimentalism, vibrant new religious vitality and so on. However, two contrary trends— criticism on slave trade and favor for imperial expansionism— in the discourse develop alternative framework for understanding social world of literary production by investigating overpowering emotions, text's capacity to trigger particular emotions in the reader unveiling the politics of emotions. Whenever the rulers are in problem, they create propaganda based on religion, geography, national boundary and so on, and advertize sympathy, hatred, disgust, shame and other emotions in order to develop alternative foundations for nationalism. Late eighteenth century Britain, in the same way, upon the loss of highly lucrative slave colonies in the North Americas, brought abolitionist propaganda treating expansionist France as antagonistic force and developing affect of sympathy for the slaves— the formation of national consciousness for alternative nationalism in the changed context of national turbulence.

Objectives of the study has been to scrutinize the socio-economic embeddings of the aesthetics of sympathy and its relationship to the question of slavery and to analyze the politics of sympathy as it circulated through the Romantic era literary domain and into the larger sphere of public debate. Romantic abolitionism drew on as the then British moral humanitarian move backed up by new rhetoric of sensibility, eighteenth century moral sentimentalism, privileging of sympathy, and the eighteenth century Christian Evangelical Methodical vitality against traditional orthodoxy. This dissertation is interested in investigating politics of the rhetoric of abolitionist texts, the affect of sympathy evoked in the target literature in the light of affect theory.

Background

The Romantics' call for the abolition of slavery is locatable in historical developments after the first half of the eighteenth century. The British government started regulating black slavery seriously after the British settlements in Caribbean and North American colonies. According to Helen Thomas, the annual rate of slaves shipped by Britain to the West Indies during the second half of the eighteenth century had reached 45,000 with Liverpool, Bristol, and London functioning as most important slave ports. By 1807, the slave population of British Caribbean had reached 750,000, and by 1832, there were over 500 coffee plantations in Jamaica only (Walvin, *Slavery* 19). At the time of Somerset ruling in the court in 1772, there were 14,000 blacks in England, according to Eric Metaxas (119). Among them, 10,000 were slaves. Marcus Wood states that the number increased massively after 1776 with the slaves back from America who joined with British forces during the wars against American independence (81). Zachary Leader and Ian Haywood further point out that the characteristics of early nineteenth century Britain as the time of unrest due to long war with Napoleonic France from 1790s to 1815, reactionary radical pressure for socio-economic and political change, campaigns for abolition of slave trade, parliamentary reform, and catholic emancipation (1). British political system needed reform, making it more representative of the whole population, since the electoral system had been in the control of aristocrats and landowners before. Widespread corruption and poverty had only strengthened the push for reform. Demands for various reform peaked in the 1790s, resulting into the much delayed response in the form of the 1832 Reform Bill.

Radical journalism, which rapidly circulated the political news, had also contributed to the push for reform. According to Ian Haywood, it enlightened and inspired the people, enjoining upon them to assume responsibility to educate, mobilize, and guide those lagging behind

("Radical" 5). The role of political economy, including political policy, social values, and human nature, further added muscle to the call for reform. The reform call had also led to advocacy for free labor, which meant doing away with the system of slavery, which was at the same time supposed to be harmful to the good morals of the people. John Seed has evaluated Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* as the text of political economy, philosophy, political theory, sociology, and economics with substantial discussions on history, education, and religion (31). In spite of all this and Britain's loss of North American colonies, abolitionist campaign was seen as the timely boost to national self-esteem in the struggle against expansionist France under the leadership of Napoleon. Kate Teltscher has rightly commented on the British abolitionist move as "prurient interest and humanitarian concern" (77), a mere propaganda to come out of the national humiliation in the context of the loss of American colonies. The previous study on the area has been surveyed in order to find out the gap for investigation, in the next section.

Review of Literature

Abolitionist literature of the Romantic era has remained much acclaimed and investigated area. Thomas John McCarthy reads the discourse in the light of sympathy. He claims that the English attitude toward the life of the ordinary man changed in the eighteenth century as a result of the fusion of self and other in the practice of empathetic identification. McCarthy reads abolitionist discourse in the line of Smith's sympathetic imagination and finds self as the vehicle for understanding others, where sympathy can be extended by blurring the distinction between self and the other (14). He further postulates that Romantic text has “capacity to enter imaginatively into the lives of other” (221). Slaves’ narratives also portray sympathetic image of the master depicting them as merely the pawns of the evil institution, thus minimizing the differences between himself and the white man (McCarthy 261). Critics have valorized

sympathy as a tool to erase the distinction between the self and other in Romantic discourse. Debbie Jean Lee, in a similar manner, has observed the discourse of sympathy to analyze Romantic writings haunted by the slavery question (ch. 1).

The role of sensibility and sympathy in the rise of Romantic abolitionism finds a comprehensive treatment in Brycchan Carey's *British Abolitionism and the Rhetoric of Sensibility*, which brings to light the abolitionist discourse of the late eighteenth century producing sentimental mode of expression as the language of persuasion, the re-conceptualization on the discipline of rhetoric. This book describes the theorization of what it calls a "new rhetoric" in the aesthetic philosophy of Hume, Burke, and Smith (2). The new rhetoric, which emphasizes figurative language and correct public speaking, puts pathos at the heart of persuasion. Carey claims that all major political questions of the day, especially the legitimization of colonial expansion and anti-slavery allied with sensibility, were discussed in sentimental terms, and through the campaign middle classes and women accumulated their political muscles.

Eun-Jung Yook, in "Romantic Sympathy: Sympathy and Self-fashioning in Wordsworth, De Quincey and Keats", in similar track, has pointed out Romantic imagination to be instrumental for generating "sympathetic identification with ourselves and others alike" (1). Yook further points out that "Adam Smith is adopted and adapted" (171) by nineteenth century writers, and "self-love" is behind all "benevolence and good will toward others" (171). This Romantic imagination and sympathetic identification with the self and others alike in Romantic abolitionist discourse feel like white man introduced and abolished slavery mainly through Romantic poet's struggle against bondage, inhuman treatment, and torture, in spite of the Africans' endurance and forgiving nature.

Robert Mitchell also highlights sympathy as a means of communication and movement of sentiments among persons (51). Emotional relationship can be founded on sympathy and anti-slavery poetry performed similar means by extending the horizon of imagination and sympathetic social relations. Selfless generosity circulating through sentimental communication in Romantic discourse helped extending more sympathy, Mitchell opines (51). He investigates into Romantic era discourse and points out that the foundation of every "inter-subjective relations" (53) in society is sympathy. Mitchell establishes his thesis that sympathy based on reciprocal benefit can be extended to unconditional sympathy through pedagogical imaginative process, and if we can sympathize with the dead without thinking of the benefit in return, then why not with slaves, dying, and poor (154)? Critics in the line of sympathy and sensibility have valorized the vitality of abolitionist discourse, and due to the effect of the sympathy element the discourse has been treated as being instrumental in bringing about transformation in the traditionalist consciousness of the then British society. The strand of women's participation in the anti-slavery movement has remained much explored area by critics and it is worth mentioning here to some extent.

In her book *Romanticism and Slave Narratives: Transatlantic Testimonies*, Helen Thomas discusses the context of slavery and anti-slavery along with the liberating discourse of Romanticism attempting to reflect Britain's participation in slave trade, investigate the similarities and differences between the strategies employed by radical activists and Africans in the abolitionist discourse. Thomas has made best of her efforts in establishing the relationship between spiritual discourse that emerged from Quakers and Methodists influencing Romantic ideology and bringing dynamism in abolitionist cause and black Diaspora in which spiritual discourse gets merged with African beliefs to construct hybrid subjectivities. Transatlantic

discourse of the spirit highlighted by abolitionists, evangelical revivalists, and Romantic poets affect African blacks in writing their narratives.

Clare Midgley in her book *Women Against Slavery: The British Campaigns 1780- 1870* shows that women jointly worked with Quakers and Society of Friends, for anti-slavery cause, against colonial plantation system and mercantile economy. She has brought abolitionist discourse by Wollstonecraft, Helen Maria Williams, Hannah More, Ann Yearsley, Anna Laetitia Barbauld, Mary Prince, and many other women activists to the discussion in order to empower her argument. Midgley writes of Helen Maria Williams attempting to "moralize both commerce and politics" (26) through her writing. Williams' famous phrase, "what is morally wrong can never be politically right" (Midgley 26), provoked the abolitionist cause greatly. Midgley writes of the vibrancy of the movement, with massive amount of sentimental writing in the wake of French Revolution, encouraging and educating people (28). Women's anti-slavery society took part in activities like funding, organizing, petitioning, abstention, pamphleting, informing and so on. Midgley observes three tendencies in the movement: philanthropic campaign, movement for human rights to address the degraded morality, and transform antislavery into mass movement (91). Women accumulated political strength by actively participating in the movement.

Elizabeth Diane Phillips investigates a number of women abolitionists like Hannah More and Helen Maria Williams to find out women writers crossing the line of sympathy entering the realm of appropriation. Phillips evaluates traditional views on abolitionism backed up by the issue of morality and evangelicalism to Eric Williams' emphasis on economic cause, and David Brion Davis's claim on the historical impact of slavery and its relation to class and capitalism to Seymour Drescher's neologism like econocide. Phillips generalized that Eighteenth century shift from religion to secular society also allowed the shift from divine authority to individual identity

and morality, and women's appropriation of the plight of enslaved Africans, she claimed, was a part of women's struggle to establish authority in the changed context. The critics have related the slavery question to the women's question in the contemporary society. Since women were the sisters in suffering with the slaves by oppressive patriarchy, they accumulated political muscles fighting against injustices by standing actively on the side of the victim. Critics have also explored abolitionist discourse from the point of view of capitalism's shift to alternative guise.

Peter J. Kitson , however, notices the representation of racial differences in Romantic discourse, since the British imperial expansion in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries raised awareness about other cultures and criticism of slave trade during that time ("Bales" 515). According to Kitson, slave trade discourse was constructed within the parameters of the larger discourse concerning economics and race; and on the other hand, ideas of human beings with different species due to varying mental abilities and skin colors contradict the biblical account of all humans belonging to single family (" Bales" 518). Racial discourse sought to establish the superiority of white race against the barbarous, savage Africans. Kitson establishes that since slavery violates the basic premises of Christianity, the abolitionists attempted to demolish black inferiority argument through abolitionist discourse, problematizing the assumption of European superiority at the same time ("Bales" 521).

Amit S. Rai follows Kitson's line in writing his book *Rules of Sympathy: Sentiment, Race and Power 1750-1850* in which he claims that abolitionist move was nothing more than the "emergence of modern humanitarianism" (33), based on capitalist market oriented social relations, in the time of "liberal capitalist democracies" (33). This can be new approach to practice benevolence, communication of sentiment through imaginative sympathetic process. Rai describes the rules of sympathy formulated by Hutcheson, Hume, and Smith then evaluates

sentimental literature emerged at the moment of crisis when capitalist market place restructured the socio-economic relationship. In the new situation, sympathy operates as market discipline through "bourgeois humanism" (67), learning to accumulate benefit from the suffering other. Abolitionist discourse, missionary discourse, and discourse of new sensibility seek to form moral conscience, appeal to reader, and identify with the misery of the victim through sympathy. These strategies are referred to as the tools for "colonial governmentality" (75) by Rai, and this can be instrumental in creating "sympathetic population" and "strengthening the bond between rulers and ruled" (84). This line of the strategic utility of moral sentimental discourse of sympathy for the accumulation of power is political, and affect theory can assist properly investigate the politics contained in such discourse.

All the three lines of argument reviewed above— abolitionist discourse evoke sensibility, moral sentimentalism, and sympathy as practiced by whites and blacks in the line of Carey; women's radicalism and their active participation in the abolitionist movement with vibrancy and vitality; and critics in the line who fail to notice true benevolence in the abolitionist discourse, instead see economics and shifting of capitalism into alternative safe landing form— evoke sympathy through moral sentimentalism and sensibility. This study is closer to the third line, however, it is interested in unraveling the politics of the affect of sympathy in abolitionist discourse through the analysis of three sorts of texts— written by high Romantic writers, women's texts, and those written by ex-slaves— in order to reveal and cross check the gap between the arguments from various affective circumstances of the authors. In spite of the predominance of sympathy element in the abolitionist discourse why there is not much thrust on the improvement of the status of the slaves? This fact, which lends novelty to this research, is laid bare through the use of the framework of the theory of affect. What the research goes on to

reveal is that the British were concerned more on upgrading their moral character and perpetuating imperial extension and that women abolitionists were also concerned more on accumulating political strength to fight against oppressive patriarchy and corrupted aristocracy than really making a genuine call for a empirical end to the practice of slavery. The organization of the entire dissertation into chapters has been further sketched in the next section.

Organization of the Study

The entire dissertation has been divided into nine chapters, in which first three chapters introduce the topic from various perspectives, then chapter four to eight analyze abolitionist literature from late eighteenth to early nineteenth century written by the whites, women, and ex-slaves, and the ninth chapter concludes the entire dissertation.

Chapter one introduces the topic, and establishes its relationship with various subsidiary discourse of abolitionism like sensibility, moral sentimentalism, and sympathy in the light of affect theory. It has been divided into several sections in order to introduce the entire dissertation from various perspectives.

Chapter two focuses new light in exploring abolitionist agenda through methodology for the entire dissertation, posing alternative framework for understanding social world of literary production, the review of affect theory. The play of positive and negative emotions like disgust, outrage, sympathy, shame, fear, sadness, courage and so on, in the process of literary production, text's capacity to trigger particular emotions in reader, the performativity of particular emotions and their effect, can be useful in exploring the politics in the abolitionist discourse.

Chapter three is the review of contextual abolitionist literature divided into three parts; first, discourse on slavery and anti-slavery has been reviewed in relation to Romanticism, the

subsidiary currents during Romantic period that added vitality to the reformation as well as abolitionist movement and at the same time Romanticism became the cause for sweeping socio-cultural, economic transformation. Second, Romanticism has been reviewed in relation to sensibility and moral sentimentalism, latter two have been reviewed as new rhetoric for humanitarian moral development supporting vitally to the abolitionist movement. Third, discourse related to sympathy has been reviewed in order to find its relation to abolitionist movement. The practice of pedagogical process for the extension of sympathy to the distant other by being impartial spectator and by developing imaginative reconstruction have been found to be supportive to abolitionist cause.

Chapter four analyzes Coleridge's *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, one of the high Romantic texts by one of the principal founders of Romantic Movement, as abolitionist text. The text has been investigated as poet's imaginative plea for the modification of consciousness about racial slavery, through gothic actuated transformation and not through moral sentimental self actualization. The analysis centers on the ambivalent attitude of the poet in the portrayal of the violator as the rightful beneficiary of reader's sympathy. Affects of outrage, disgust, horror, and shame are evoked in the text to criticize slave trade and slavery, however, the affect of sympathy has been found to be resorted for the accumulation of moral strength for the perpetuation of imperialism.

Further justification of the thesis has been explored in chapter five through the analysis of Wordsworth's abolitionist poetry— “To Thomas Clarkson”, “To Toussaint L’Ouverture”, “September Ist, 1802” [from *Poems in Two Volumes* (1807)]; from *Humanity* (1835); and from *The Prelude* (1850)— in which the poet's sympathy to the slaves comes closer to boost up the capitalist concern. Wordsworth's affect of disgust, outrage, fear, and shame in his abolitionist

poetry have been found not for the enhancement of the plight of the slaves but against the oppressive ordinance of the expansionist Napoleonic France. There is anger directed neither to the slaves and their savagery, nor to the British who were involved in inhuman act of slave trade, but only to the French oppressive ordinance and its expansionism, the depiction of France as villain and Britain as friend to slaves, keeping British society in beneficiary position, unfair representation.

Chapter six highlights antislavery society's abolitionist agenda, evangelical methodical reform into humanitarian Christianity, and Bristol and West Country radical dissenting tradition through the analysis of William Cowper, William Blake, and Robert Southey's abolitionist poetry— Cowper's 1788 poems “The Morning Dreams”, “Pity for Poor Africans”, “Sweet Meat Has Sour Sauce”, “Negro’s Complaint”, and the second book (On Slavery) of *The Task* (1785); Blake's “The Little Black Boy” (1789) and “The Chimney Sweeper” (1789 and 1794); and Southey's *Poems Concerning Slave Trade* (1799), a group of six sonnets and a ballad. These writers are involved in portraying horror, fear, scenes of atrocities, woes, and sighs through the poems. The readers get overwhelmed by submissive passivity of the victims, their patience, endurance, hesitation, readiness to accept their state as god granted, and of course, the white writer's unreadiness to improve the situation, blaming the entire phenomena as the outcome of the god's plan, the ideology of biblical fall, as explained well in Romantic irony. White writer's attitude in the poems explored in this chapter assure white readers of black people's passivity, unreadiness, inability, negation of vengeance even in the era of revolutionary instinct, war, and black uprising, suggest writers' conservative perspectives, sentimental appeal to the audience for their moral upgrading, safe landing plan to recover from the foulest blemish in their moral character but nothing with recovering the plight of the victim.

Women abolitionists Ann Yearsley, Hannah More, Mary Robinson, Anna Laetitia Barbauld, and Mary Shelley, in chapter seven, have been observed to be pouring outrageous and emotion laden expressions against the perpetrators in their anti-slavery discourse— Yearsley's "Poem on Inhumanity of the Slave Trade" (1788); More's "Slavery, A Poem" (1788) and "The Sorrows of Yamba" (1797); Robinson's "The African" (1798) and "The Negro Girl" (1800); Barbauld's "Epistle to Wilberforce" (1791); and Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818). Women themselves being the victims of exploitative patriarchy evoke genuine affect of sympathy for the racist patriarchy's victimization of the blacks.

Chapter eight deals with the authentic abolitionist signatures from the victims of slavery— James Albert Gronniosaw's *Narrative of the Most Remarkable* (1770), Olaudah Equiano's *Interesting Narrative* (1889), and Mary Prince's *History of Mary Prince* (1831). This chapter has been significant also because the data in mainstream Romantic abolitionist discourse, and women's discourse can be cross checked engaging them in critical conversation with the former slaves' narratives. Slaves' narratives became very popular during abolitionist movement since the narratives posited alternative perspective. The intensity of the abolitionist move can be gauged through consciousness of the slaves, their knowledge, energy, and vitality in action. This chapter also shows how slaves' narratives gradually develop maturity and how intensity of outrage increases with the progression of time without any advancement in abolitionist aspirations among the slaves.

Chapter nine concludes the entire dissertation gauging the vitality of abolitionist movement, collective contribution from civil society, religious society, political activists, women activists, and rebellious slaves themselves. The close observation on the play of the emotions of negativity in the discourse under analysis, by different narrative subjects in the texts, for different

purpose, suggests revealing politics. The abolitionist safe landing agenda, capitalist shift from slave labor to free labor, averting the possibility of bloodshed, accumulation of moral backing by performing affect of sympathy to the slaves have been the British mainstream concerns, abolitionist historiography agenda advocated and rationalized by white writers. The gap and ambivalence among perspectives from slaves, women, and mainstream white male writers have been tested, brought to conversation, in order to examine politics in the discourse.

Among several versions of abolitionist movement round the world, this study has remained an effort to synthesize British abolitionist discourse from the period of high time of the movement, the study of emotions in the discourse and discover the politics. Further exploration into French version of abolitionism would focus new light into the area. This chapter presented brief contextual background about the situation of racial slavery in eighteenth century British Empire and for abolitionist movement against the prevalent situation. The key argument has been set up along with the objectives of this study and prevalent assumptions related to the abolitionist agenda. Efforts have also been done to make a trailer on theoretical framework for the study, and to justify the appropriateness of the framework for the study of abolitionist texts in this dissertation. It is expected that the speculation on the finding and the reflection on the entire dissertation also on chapter plan along with their brief summary may assist in introducing the entire dissertation properly. The research topic must have clear relationship to the theory and the next chapter introduces the methodology.

Chapter Two

Methodology: Cultural Politics of the Affect of Sympathy

This study explores late eighteenth and early nineteenth century English abolitionist discourse and seeks to assess British compassionate humanitarianism performed in it. This period was significant for the abrupt change in British consciousness regarding racial slavery, development of new sensibility, and moral sentimentalism directed for the development of affect of sympathy for the slaves. This period was also characterized by the shift in economic thought and British revisionary strategy to prioritize new approach to economic extension in the changed context after the loss of North American colonies. By evoking the affect of sympathy with the slaves, does not Romantic abolitionist literature implicitly reflect the affect of sympathy to the blacks towards building an image of the benevolent English? Since this study is interested in unraveling the politics of the affect of sympathy in abolitionist discourse through the analysis of three sorts of texts— written by high Romantic writers, women's texts, and those written by ex-slaves— affect theory can be proper tool for the exploration.

British abolitionist movement was the seminal event that inspired similar movements worldwide later on. The history of slavery was worldwide phenomenon and has been stretched back to classical and medieval times. But the British abolitionism was the first institutional abolitionist venture which proved seminal as well. There are numerous and typical versions of slavery, anti-slavery, and abolitionism in the world history. American version was the most investigated one in the contemporary academia. This study, however, focuses on British anti-slavery and abolitionism. The study has been conducted primarily through the textual analysis of British Romantic anti-slavery literary creation produced during high time of abolitionism, 1780s to 1820s. Among high Romantic mainstream writers Coleridge, Wordsworth, Cowper, Blake,

and Southey have been explored to be writing on the topic of abolitionism. Prolific Romantic writers like Coleridge and Wordsworth wrote very little on the issue. Other mainstream Romantic writers like Lord Byron, P. B. Shelley, and John Keats did not write a single poem on the issue. Among women writers Yearsley, More, Robinson, Barbauld, and Shelley wrote for anti-slavery issue. For this study I collected all of the anti-slavery writing by them and investigated the play of emotions in them, especially for the evocation of the affect of sympathy. The narratives from ex-slaves— Gronniosaw, Equiano, and Prince— from the stated period have also been explored in order to reveal and cross check the gap between the arguments from various affective circumstances of the authors. All the primary texts under scrutiny have been stated in the previous chapter.

The topic under investigation in the discipline of language and literature demands descriptive analysis of textual data and hence it is based entirely on library research. The study follows descriptive explanatory research design for the systematic investigation on the issue under analysis. The research topic must have clear relationship to theory. This chapter formulates the theoretical framework for the entire study in order to explore properly the phenomena introduced in the previous chapter, also to focus new light into abolitionist rhetoric and track the politics. This descriptive explanatory research on the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century anti-slavery literature solely based on the textual data has been planned for the exploration through affect theory. Affect theory provides new insights into problem literature through analytical investigation of emotions at work in the formation of particular text and discourse. It posits alternative framework for understanding social world of literary production better by investigating overpowering emotions in the production of the text, and text's capacity to trigger particular emotion in reader. Affect theory unravels the patronized subjective knowledge what is

traditionally established as truth. It can answer contemporary problems and hold capacity to restructure social meaning by digging the deep rooted affects to the surface. The abolitionist discourse deal much with sympathy and humanitarian elements but the ground reality suggested that it was politics otherwise. The subjective truths can be better investigated through the analysis of the emotions at play. The significance of affect theory can be justified for the exploration of abolitionist literature produced during the stated period in England, as the archive of affect. Theoretical tenets of affect theory, critical pedagogy for the training of emotions, turn to affect for investigating problem literature, and theorization on negative emotions like disgust, anger and shame, that are useful for the study, have been reviewed here, in this chapter.

Peter Goldie makes new insights and exploration into the nature of emotion in the book *The Emotions: A Philosophical Exploration*. Emotion is not that simple, it involves different things. It is "complex, episodic, dynamic, and structured" (16). Sympathy is an emotion; antislavery movement is an action out of emotion. "Action out of emotion" is more effective than "action not out of emotion". Emotions create "feeling towards" (58), which is according to Goldie, "consciousness from the inside" (51), that functions as internal driving force, causes hormonal changes, brings about changes in automatic nervous system, and our thoughts and actions are directed towards the object (51). Goldie calls emotional engagement between or among people as "emotional identification" (178) through that process emotional contagion takes place. Sympathy, for Goldie, develops through "response tie, recognition of, feeling towards another's difficulties, and motivation to alleviate those difficulties . . . it does not involve having some sort of emotional experience as the other" (180).

Peter Marchand in his book *Yoga of Nine Emotions: The Tantric Practice of Rasa Sadhana* has formulated eastern method of studying nine emotions, *rasas*— love, joy, wonder,

calmness, anger, courage, sadness, fear, disgust— represented by a scale with one end denoting desirable or pleasant to another end undesirable or unpleasant emotion (8). The type of feeling produced by particular emotion can be happy/ sad, or good/ bad upon the audience, and on that basis certain emotion can generate affect of positivity or negativity on particular audience. Single emotion of anger, for instance, on the onlooker, can have affect of positivity for the victim and affect of negative for the victimizer, producing good and bad feeling on the respective subject. Marchand has described the practice for training of emotions for spiritual living, pedagogical process for transforming undesirable emotions into desirable ones by developing insights into "senses, food, energy, neurotransmitters, biochemicals" (3) only activating and internalizing their desired and positive effect on the personality for the spiritual moral growth (8). According to this framework, the overpowering negative less desirable emotions of anger, shame, fear, and disgust in the abolitionist discourse can be evaluated as obstruction to healthy spiritual living in English society at the period under study. Emotions of sadness like pity, compassion, sympathy to the pathetic situation of the slaves suggest the realization of English society of the wrongs of the past and hopes for healing possibility for the future spiritual well being.

Margaret Wetherell states recent turn to affect has generated new interest in affect expanding scope of social investigation in her book *Affect and Emotion: A New Social Science Understanding*. Wetherrel constructs an argument that emotions are powerful like “gusts of wind, the movement of molecules, the power of the lion, and the shivering of the sea” (13), embodied, “bits of body patterned together with feeling and thought, interaction patterns and relationships, narratives and interpretive repertoires, social relations, personal histories, and the ways of life” (14), constituting affective practices with vitality. Furthering argument, Witherell states, affective meaning making discourse helps create emotional community, and affective

discursive account helps shape consciousness of the social actors and agents. The discourse prevalent in different societies and historical periods functional in forming “emotives”, that are regulatory glue for the “emotional regimes” (67), Witherell continues. Circulation of affects according to Witherell seems to be “unconscious communication” (142) like “moving through communal affective atmosphere . . . can feel like swimming in the sea and passing unexpectedly from colder regions to warmer zones, from a top layer of water warmed by the sun into more chilly regions” (140). "Emotives" are oriented to individual’s "goals" (70), for Wetherell, and in order to achieve the goals one has to go along with "emotional regimes" (67), not go against the tide. In abolitionist discourse also there had been proslavery and antislavery conflict due to the differences in their goals. As a result, they used the emotive in accordance with the goals. Wetherell affirms that communication in crowds takes place through “shared identification” and “affective intersubjectivity” (148), which get captured by affective nervous system, and affect gets circulated through public discourse.

Martha C. Nussbaum's book *Political Emotions: Why Love Matters for Justice* also advocates for the rule of emotion in liberal democratic societies: “all societies need to think about the stability of their political culture over time and the security of cherished values in times of stress. All societies need to think about compassion for loss, anger at injustice, the limiting of envy and disgust in favor of inclusive sympathy” (2). England during the late eighteenth century also cultivated emotion for the stability of liberal principles and for abolitionism. Institution of democracy can be strengthened by addressing the “problem of hearts and minds”, Nussbaum continues, by enhancing “cosmopolitan sympathy for all human beings” (56). Writers of the early nineteenth century England accepted the national guilt and they were ashamed of what the English had been doing to the blacks. Nussbaum writes shameful situation strikes at the very

core of the self (362). It leads to action, as the English corrected their ashamed state by posing antislavery agenda. All ills in society are shameful, and healthy release of the shameful can ensure stability for liberal democracies. Sara Ahmed also makes similar claim for multicultural society: “to make people happier” means “to make society more cohesive” and “to put glue”, “to stick people together” (*Promises* 121).

Giovanna Colombetti in her book *The Feeling Body: Affective Science Meets the Enactive Mind* evaluates “all living systems are not only cognitive but also affective” (3). Cultures, rituals, customs are more affective and emotional, less cognitive, in this sense. Spinoza’s concept of embodiment, i.e., body and mind in interaction, suggests affects are not only emotional, but also cognitive, more matured than rational reflection. Body and mind are not separate. Spinoza’s philosophy “rejects” (5) Cartesians, the idea of the separateness of mind and body as two different “substances” (5), as observed by Colombetti, and formulates the notion of embodiment where mind and body interact in “parallelism” (5). Spinoza’s notion of embodiment has tried to bring emotional and cognitive process in interaction, separately functioning parallel. This notion considers affective process not merely the product of emotion but also backed up by mental cognitive ideas.

Colombetti furthers argument by referring to Magda Arnold’s observation that has highlighted the notion of appraisal along with emotion:

> Earlier theories could not explain why the same stimuli can induce different emotional responses in different individuals; or why at different times the same individual can react differently to the same stimulus. . . . In particular, stimuli elicit emotions when they affect the individual personally. . . . To arouse an emotion the object must be appraised as

> affecting me in the same way, affecting me personally as an individual with my particular experience and my particular aims. (85)

Any stimulus is responded after appraisal, “sense judgment” and “deliberate conscious appraisals”, or reflective judgment, i.e., response to a stimulus only after thinking about “threats and opportunities” to the individual (85).

Brian Massumi, *Politics of Affect*, has made detailed exploration into affect in order to investigate its politics and changing colors in capitalist society guided by profit motif. Massumi has used Spinoza's definition of affect as "the ability to affect and be affected" (qtd. 48) by socio-economic situations. Since we are the product of our situation and experience "no two persons in the same situation will have exactly the same experience of it" (11), for Massumi, further, "we have our own "magnetic field" (18) of subjectivities, and capitalism has "intensifying and diversifying affect" (18) through "controlled walking", "balancing and moving" "without the risk of fall down" (17), only this way can lead us to capitalist destination of surplus. Massumi refers to many "luring factors" (83), so it has capacity to "so fast changing" (83), and power operates in such society "through affect other than ideology and class" (83). In this way, capitalist society is dynamic, "not structured" (87), "ongoing" (89), not based on ideology but significantly guided by affect. Due to changing colors of capitalism, its capacity to continuously shifting into new form and its involvement in "micropolitics" (58), every action in capitalism are guided by the creation of affect with different effect meeting the goals of capitalism, for Massumi. As a result, shame can be masked, sympathy can be guided by the benefit of the self, disgust, anger, fear can be for the development of sympathy guided by self benefit and so on in the society with profit motif. This framework can focus new light into target abolitionist discourse for this study.

Evelyn Tribble asserts that scholars like Nigel Thrift, Brian Massumi, Teresa Brennan, Margaret Wetherell, and Giovanni Colombetti advocated for the contagion or transmissive nature of affects. For Tribble, affects are "embodied meaning making" (203) entities. Affective practices are like ongoingness. Tribble investigates affective practices in Shakespearian theatre, "capture the attention of their audience and harness their affects . . . to shape and mould their passions . . . art of action, gesture, movements, capture emotion, transform it, and carry it to the audience, through purposeful and meaningful movements of the body" (202). The framework suggested by aforementioned theories of affect can help focus alternative light on the area and issue under investigation.

Emotions are not always natural; they can be cultivated through education and critical pedagogical process. Critics in this line have been reviewed here further. Education as a social institution helps controlling emotion. It offers opportunity to think critically, reinterpret, and be reflective. According to Megan Boler, in *Feeling Power: Emotion and Education*, primary goal of education is to "discipline young people's social and emotional values and behaviors" (31). Educational training like critical pedagogy on emotion helps in "consciousness raising" (109). Boler writes on the line of Nussbaum in relating sympathy with justice, Romantic abolitionist literature to be sympathetic to the slaves must be providing justice, not merely passive sympathy (156). To be sympathy a virtue, it must be affective and directed to justice, it must have cognitive character as well, according to Nussbaum, as followed by Boler (157). The sympathizer must identify with the sympathetic subject, since that leads the sympathy in action. When you identify with the other, then pity posits other as secondary and self as primary object of concern, Aristotelian pity, that is directed to the self rather than to the justice or to action (158). Boler suggests alternative approach called "pedagogy of discomfort" (176) that leads one to engage in

critical pedagogy, then sympathy is not self directed and passive empathy driven, but call to action. The education can raise the agenda of social political change (Boler 179). Abolitionist literature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries also got nourished by or nourished the social, philosophical, moral, political discourse of the time. The discourse has pedagogic value for the public at large.

Martha C. Nussbaum has made critical investigation on the causes of deep rooted hatred, for instance, between India/ Pakistan, Nazi/ Jews, whites/ slaves, and feels the need of "critical public culture", "imaginative reconstruction" (413) for the development of compassion in the cases where otherwise would be impossible, in her book *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions*. The need of compassion as favorable emotion has been often the case to wonder whether the emotion, for instance, in England, during abolitionist movement, developed for spiritual well being or in response to English unrest, poverty, inequality, and moral degeneracy. Nussbaum's investigation reveals "shame, envy, and disgust" as "impediments to compassion" (47), and since compassion as the basics of ethical life, emphasis should be given to "pedagogical process" and the role of social "institution" (413) formulating favorable "social policies" (413) accordingly. Peter Marchand's idea of *tantric rasa sadhana*, the practice of cultivating negative and undesirable emotions into positive and desirable ones for the healthy living, described above, also justify the dominance of theoretical practice for cultivating emotions in the east.

The review of turn to affect theories can be useful here that help deal with problem literature properly with an alternative frame. Sympathy was considered as virtue during Romantic era. There had been substantial critical discussion of sympathy, especially for its extension to the distant others, from the self in the innermost centre to the others in the outermost

concentric circle, however, for Seth Lobis in the book *The Virtue of Sympathy: Magic, Philosophy and Literature in the Seventeenth Century England,* recognition of "another's problem in emotionally laden ways" (214) is not true sympathy, since it makes the sympathetic subject inferior, weak, and emotional unhealthy. Hence it is not good to force somebody to be the subject of sympathy. Selfless sympathy is directed to the benefit of the victim but sympathy with politics is directed to the accumulation of self benefit. Suzanne Keen's notion of "sympathetic overarousal" (19) in her book *Empathy and Novel* can also be quite appropriate in dealing with abolitionist sympathy, "inevitable leap between the perception and action", feeling for "others' distress but do nothing to alleviate it" (19) due to the collision of many affects. Romantic abolitionist literature deals with socio-economic, political, imperial issues of the time. In such context sympathy to slaves may lead one to action for bringing about end in slave trade and slavery but that action must have attracted several political, economic, social issues. And the collision of many affects led the actors to inaction. So Keen's notion of "sympathetic overarousal" (19) can help justify for the delayed response or hesitation in British society for the decision regarding abolition of slave trade and emancipation of slaves.

Gail Kern Paster also asserts that turn to affect has provided new perspective on reading affective literature properly. It assists in exploring the gaps. Affective literature moves people by “providing the political valency” (Paster 214). Affect theory is significant in investigating problem literature like abolitionist literature in extracting socio-economic and political meaning out of them. Turn to affect has made ease in investigating cultural historiographies of emotion.

Traditional reading of Renaissance plays suggested that they were directed to “good governance” (47), and they were referring to the agency of aristocrats and monarchs, and in this context, Mario Digangi offers an alternative reading to the plays. She notices “affective

entanglements", where various readers variously affected, possibility that everyone including aristocrats and commoners find their agency. "Because, for Massumi, affect is a force of trans-individual relationality and change" (48); affect is "rational", "pure sociality" (48), Digangi's effort in exploring embodied political relations in English Renaissance plays.

The concept of civil society and its practice came down from the time of Plato. Cultural theory's recent turn to affect was accelerated by scholars who worked in the field of affect theory to investigate the politics of emotion. Amanda Bailey makes minute observation on the nature of emotion that emotions in one part of the world affect other part as well: "in the early part of the seventeenth century medicine and natural Science retained the concept of sympathy, which continued to factor prominently in developing theories of magnetism, gravitation, and contagion" (30). Later in the eighteenth century sympathy was understood as moral sentiment. While Bailey observes "magical" or "astrological" conception of sympathy in Shakespeare's King Lear when the King gets subjects' sympathy while his daughters' antipathy in the play. King Lear believes "the movement of stars and planets correspond to human emotions" (Bailey 35). Bailey makes the point "shared bond of universal principles of conduct" are the secrets of sympathy's origin. From this point we can justify the abolitionists' sympathy to slaves as well as the proslavery whites' antipathy to slaves.

Amanda Bailey and Mario Digangi explore "affective technologies" (15) as persuasive techniques implied by sixteenth and seventeenth century writers. They point out the "ancient and early modern theories of emotion" (15) as "affective practices" (16), and the approach as an alternative critical tool for investigating literatures. Abolitionist literature can be explored in the new light through affect theory. Wimsatt and Beardsley advocated for "objective criticism" by avoiding intentional fallacy and affective fallacy, but in the wake of "affective turn", Joseph

Campana declares that “the new affective fallacy would be the denial of affect” (133). Campana extends his argument further by borrowing similar concept from scholars like Brinkema, Stephanie Triagg, Richard Meek, and Erin Sullivan who opine turn to affect as “larger awakening”, “social change”, “renaissance of emotion” (132). Campana brings critics of affect theory and supporters of affective turn into conversation. For the affective/ intentional fallacy critics, affects are “inhuman”, lacking “rationality”, “pre-subjective”, and “visceral forces” (132). The affect theory scholars find the turn to affect as creative, alternative approach. In this way, the study of emotions and their play in the text has been identified as significant tool for extracting meaning.

Negative emotions like disgust, anger, fear, and shame appear significantly in the abolitionist literature under the study. William Ian Miller, in his book *The Anatomy of Disgust*, has further made exploration in the affect of disgust. Victimization on the basis of appearance, color, and stock images like meanness, savage, dirty, uncivilized and so on, for Miller, are "disgust machinery for social control" (15). Performance of excessive disgust on a victim may lead to the development of "self loathing" on the victim, and Miller has clarified that the victim of disgust are subject to "double mortification"— invisible because contemptible, visible because disgusting" (189). Disgust used for warring against cruelty and hypocrisy, however, may be positive and desirable, while disgust warring against moral sentiments like guilt and benevolence may be negative and undesirable for the advocacy of justice, for Miller (197). Nussbaum, in the same way, writes of both necessity and not necessity of the emotions like disgust, anger, and fear (*Upheavals* 412). Since disgust and anger are negative emotions, when they are directed against cruelties, they produce desirable feelings, and when they are directed against the victim, they produce undesirable feeling, in dealing with justice.

Linda M. Grasso has made scholarly analysis on anger against "suppressed histories" for the "revolutionary coalition" (4), for supplying alternative options in the life of the victim, in her book *The Artistry of Anger: Black and White Women's Literature in America, 1820-1860*. Anger from the side of the victim is the first step to liberation, for Grasso, and it leads to rebellion, change, and revolutionary restructuring of social arrangement (11). Personal and institutional anger against oppression can be vital source of energy and political power to fight against oppression. Women abolitionists, in this study have been found to be using excessive anger for this purpose. Grasso is for "generative" and "resourceful" anger rather than "corrosive" (11) one, since the latter type is destructive. Literature of rage and anger, for Grasso, is "imaginative response to justice" and it can also play the role of "consciousness raising" (194), and repression of the victim's anger can be violent and oppressive. Nussbaum, on the other hand, brings Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. to her analysis, "anger is not necessary for the pursuit of justice . . . [it is] impediment to the generosity and empathy that help to construct a future of justice" (*Anger* 8). For the healthy future relationship, for generosity and empathy to maintain, anger may be obstruction for strength and dignity. Gandhi's "non-anger" method advocates for confrontation as "immediate task" (*Anger* 218), for responding to injustice, and further, responding to cruelties, bloodshot, and disgust with calm and clear eyes rather than anger (*Anger* 247). Structural problems related to cruelties and disgust can be solved through alternative narratives of changing consciousness, this is the weapon of the weak in the cases of confrontation against injustice, and the slave narratives could also be seen controlling violent anger, resisting the cases of disgust, hatred, and cruelties with calmness and bold personality.

Sara Ahmed's *Cultural Politics of Emotion*, an insightful postulation on "the passion of anger" which is necessary to generate "energy to react against the deep rooted social psychic

investment in racism as well as sexism" (175) can be useful in investigating abolitionist discourse giving new insight. Anger makes feminism and abolitionism movement. Anger is backed up by "information and energy" (175), for Ahmed, and "it opens up possibilities of action" (176). So anger is a speech act. The emotions of outrage and anger have been utilized by black writers and women writers effectively, too often, in the target abolitionist discourse. In the absence of apology, regret, shame from the violator or hesitation for the acceptance of misdeeds that caused injustice to the victim, then outrage can make the voice louder enough to be heard. Sometimes anger can perform the function of developing sympathy to the victim.

Elspeth Probyn also writes of shameful state as blushing in the book *Blush: Faces of Shame*, “shame buried in memory seems to erupt, shame makes us feel small” (2), “guilt is easier to forget, shame lingers deep within the self” (2). Of course shame leading to action is affective; it is also productive and positive. Positive release of shame can help manage interpersonal relations; it can function as a bridge between society and self. Probyn writes shameful stories like slave narratives are pedagogical, confessional, and affective (40). He further writes portrayal of somatic painful body in slave narratives helps changing consciousness, and affectively forces us to act (142). Stephanie Arel in the book *Affect Theory, Shame, and Christian Formation* has also made interesting analysis on shame and its role in the formation of Christian damaged self. According to Arel, shame affects the capacity to act and acted upon, since it is unpredictable emotion diminishing the self (23). With shameful character, head cannot be held high, other gestures how shame can be performative are, hide, cover, eyes down, head turn away, blushing etc., for Arel (76). Hiding or performing other gestures for our ashamed state cannot be permanent solution, and in this situation, Arel has suggested the methods of "restoring pride" or exposure of our ashamed state, and "attempt to eradicate the stigma of sin and anxiety" (117).

According to Christian system of confession, repentance, submission to god, acceptance of guilt are some of the remedies suggested for the treatment of internal wound caused by shameful conduct and sin as further suggested by Arel. Abolitionist discourse can be evaluated on the basis of whether it follows true mitigation of shameful conduct or it merely becomes the case of "masked shame" (Arel 117).

Sara Ahmed has also made insightful exploration into the emotion of shame. It is necessary to recognize the wrongfulness of the past, "feel bad for the past allows the nation to feel better" (*Promises* 102), it replaces individual guilt with "national shame" (102) which is necessary for nation building and bringing about harmonious reconciliation, according to Ahmed. Ahmed has seen shame as "crucial for moral development" (106), it helps construct "national identity and restoring pride" (*Promises* 109) with shame as binding force in the process of reconciliation. Shame can help overcome brutal history. So Ahmed's postulation can be useful in investigating target abolitionist discourse.

Negative emotions overwhelmed British society during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries due to the events happening around them, especially their moral degeneracy. Moral sentimental discourse, new sensibility, and vitality of new religious discourse have contributed in the control of negative emotions by proper training. According to Nussbaum, emotions are not "irrational", "upheavals", and "uncontrolled" all the time (*Upheavals* 10), we must tame and cultivate them into healthy ones through proper emotional treatment. Envy, hatred, disgust may be threat to democracy, but once disgust is directed to one's own cannibalism, it can have positive outcomes. So Nussbaum has placed greater importance to emotional training, Pedagogical process for bringing about revision in "stock cognitive images" (*Upheavals* 413), mitigating "primitive shame" by "social policies" (*Upheavals* 413) for

regaining wounded sense of dignity, never let go of justice, and strengthening human dignity by emotional readjustment.

Various strands of affect theory— theories on emotions and affect, critical pedagogy for the training of unruly emotions, turn to affect for reading problem literature properly, and investigation on negative emotions like disgust, anger, fear, shame and so on— reviewed in this chapter may support in the achievement of the objectives of this study. The review has helped categorize the theories bringing about ease to the complicated area. It is expected that the research questions for the study and the research gap derived in the previous chapter can be investigated with theoretical framework developed in this chapter. Previous studies have established that abolitionist discourse evoked sympathy to the slaves through moral sentimentalism and new rhetoric of sensibility. Postcolonial studies on the topic have also revealed that Romantic sympathy and Enlightenment sympathy tools have been used strategically in Romantic abolitionist literature for imperial extension and colonial advancement, to justify their benevolent rule in the colonies. This study explores the literature in the light of affect theory to unravel the politics of emotion and to scrutinize the socio-economic embeddings of the aesthetics of sympathy and its relationship to the question of slavery. The succeeding chapter surveys the abolitionist discourse further in order to establish its relationship with Romanticism, sensibility, moral sentimentalism, and discourse on sympathy.

Chapter Three

A Contextual Survey of the Romantic Abolitionist Discourse

During the 1780s and early decades of the nineteenth century Britain had spearheaded the transatlantic slave trade, abolished it in the Romantic era. This move initiated a trend that the other European powers and Americans would follow. The anti-slavery rhetoric, which produced pathos of sympathy with the slaves, appealed to the British through the media of pamphlets, poetry, speeches and sermons. The pathos of sympathy appeared in antislavery discourse in the 1780s and public oratory in the 1790s. This area has attracted considerable critical engagement. Late eighteenth and early nineteenth century supporting subsidiary discourse of moral sentimentalism, rhetoric of sensibility, and Enlightenment sympathy have been related by critics to the formation of Romantic spirit associated with slavery and anti-slavery question. This review surveys the contextual Romantic abolitionist discourse in order to see whether or not abolition was both a moral humanitarian and socio-economic issue of the age. The contextual literature related to the issue have been surveyed here under three sections that characterize Romantic spirit in relation to abolitionist movement—slavery and anti-slavery in relation to Romanticism, moral sentimental rhetoric of sensibility as influenced from Enlightenment ideals, and Romantic sympathy.

Romanticism, Slavery and Antislavery

Abolitionism has often been considered contentiously— a result of British humanitarian agenda enhanced by Christian benevolence, backed up by alternative vision of empire, the shift of economy from slave labor to free labor, and so on. This area demands critical investigation also because before the American war of independence abolition of slave trade had never been

debated in the parliament, and unexpectedly, after the loss of North American British colonies and massive bloodshed in French Revolution, British abolitionist agenda gets accelerated. This dramatic move in 1780s, the abolition of slave trade almost thirty years later in 1807, and emancipation of slaves after another thirty years in 1833, resulted in national triumphalism in British historiography. This move also became instrumental in bringing about structural changes in British economy— shift from slave labor, the medieval form of barbaric servitude to the free labor. Emancipation of 800,000 slaves between 1833 and 1838 boosted British abolitionists to host the first international convention, in 1840, to extend abolition of slavery worldwide (Drescher, *Mighty* 3). The capitalist transition from mercantilist economy based on colonial trading monopoly in agricultural product, raw materials, and secure protected market for the British goods, to laissez faire economy based on free labor and reciprocal benefit among landlords, capitalist, and workers.

The period between 1780s and 1820s has also been known as the high time of Romanticism. According to David Higgins and Sharon Ruston, in *Teaching Romanticism*, Romanticism is "a coherence force that somehow binds together the literature and culture of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries" (1). In the same way, Iain McCalman evaluates Romanticism as a period of "sweeping cultural transformation" (1). H. T. Dickinson also points out the period to have brought dramatic social economic change. Britain, as observed by Dickinson, the aristocratically dominated society with political authority in the men with substantial property, middle and landed class being inferior, formal institutions dominated by landed nobles and gentry, witnessed significant changes through the activities like the promotion of knowledge and education, reading and debating in radical club societies and open spaces, and through active participation of middle and lower classes for political reform, greater political

rights, and civil liberties (35). This culture has been observed as the fertile background for raising voice for the benefits of the oppressed.

Sue Chaplin introduces the works of “Big six” (148) in order to define Romanticism canonically: as a literary movement, it was “profound shift in sensibility” that took place during that period in Britain and throughout Europe, intellectually, “a violent reaction to Enlightenment”, politically, “inspired by the revolutions in America and France”, emotionally, “value of individual experience together with a sense of the infinite and transcendental”, and socially, “it championed progressive causes” (148). Peter J. Kitson further adds, Romantic period to be the age of revolution, criticizing transatlantic slave trade, and the Great Reform Act of 1832 ("Romantic" 306). It was also the age of sensibility, Methodism, and evangelical revival that reformed church, Kitson explores; further, Clapham Sect had been very active club like institution involved in reformation of manners and enhancing the sensibility for the abolition of slave trade ("Romantic" 321). These characteristics can be observed to be supportive for reformation and change, and accordingly, abolition campaign was conducted with energy and vitality, with active participation of the middle class.

Alan Richardson has observed anti-slavery discourse seeking to formulate “popular sentiments” ("Slavery" 504) against slave trade, producing “appeal to the emergent mass of reading audience” ("Slavery" 504). Richardson reads anti-slavery Romantic writing as “celebration of British moral ascendancy” ("Slavery" 506), from slavery to free labor, and sometimes emancipation of slavery was interpreted as new imperial ideology. In the same way, Angela Esterhammer reads Romanticism as an intervention in the existing phenomena with performative significance, since the signs and rhetoric affected the reader. This approach to

Romantic literature can justify the vitality of the society that went through revolutions, reformation and abolitionist movement.

Brycchan Carey's exploration into antislavery literature between 1766 and 1831 further reveals the frequency of arguments in Britain for and against slave trade, more than "any other colonial topic" (*Abolitionism* 77). Carey suspects accuracy in the argument for abolitionism but finds "rhetoric" producing special politics, and evaluates much of the literature concentrating on "discursive and intertextual" (*Abolitionism* 79) historical accounts rather than the conduct of the people in relation to slavery question. The characteristics of the Romantic spirit noticed by the critics supported in bringing about transformation in the instinct of the people that drove human consciousness toward abolitionism.

Thomas Clarkson's famous appeal for reforming all the misconceptions regarding racial, religious, mythical wrongs by asking series of questions to the Christians, English people, about black slavery compelled them to reflect upon the shameful act of slave trade. Clarkson wrote his essay targeted to the readership at home, who are generous and benevolent English. He attacked all the rationalizations about racial superiority and scriptural domination to the blacks (74). Great rule of Christianity can be the scheme of universal benevolence, Clarkson suggested (100). In response to the questions of why and how of anti-slavery campaign during Romantic period, Sarah Lloyd has made observation on English poverty during the high time of anti-slavery movement. Lloyd shows that poverty came under pressure during the time of war and socio-economic, demographic change in Europe (115). She portrays writers imagining economic, moral, political bonds holding rich and poor together (116). There had been fears of revolution spreading from France. In these contexts, Lloyd observes, political economists, demographic theorists like Adam Smith, Burke, Malthus, Ricardo and others who had offered new approaches

emphasizing reformation in social environment; and contributed in the solution of the situation of poverty when working class men took part in radical politics (118). The secular views along with socio-political new contexts have been identified as the supporting factor for the development of alternative consciousness.

Kenneth Morgan further surveys British history of slavery and anti-slavery in relation to Africa that flourished between seventeenth and eighteenth centuries highly lucrative on triangular basis across the Atlantic, when leading philosophers like Hobbes and Locke accepted slavery as normal feature of society (*Slavery and British Empire* 23). Morgan notices intellectual attacks on slavery toward the end of the eighteenth century, against racial treatment to blacks, with Quakers, parliamentarians, civil society, legal society, black resistance, in spite of the fact that the enterprise had been highly profitable. This line of argument has been extended by Drescher further relating abolitionism with economic decline for the empire.

Seymour Drescher surveys history of slavery from classical times in his book *Abolition: A history of Slavery and Antislavery* and finds it rooted in legal, institutional, and economic structures in almost all societies (19). He points out “the economies of the British West Indian colonies” to be “completely reliant upon slavery”, containing “five-sixth” (118) portion of population as slave. Drescher also points out the Enlightenment ideals of liberty and equality, Anglo-American religious revival, and the English institutions to be the cause of revolution and movement against slavery (124). Drescher’s further explanation on the plantation economy and its relation to antislavery cause assisted by Eric William’s “decline theory”, despite the importance of financial capital from plantation economy and slave trade, industrial revolution discredited the importance of that economy. Slave trade had enormous importance in the rise of British economy. Rise of abolitionism has been referred to as the decline of economy and hence

decline theory. Drescher further called it “econocide”, abolition comparable to committing suicide for the British economy— plantation economy or the colonies had been protected market before slave revolution in French colonies (*Econocide* 39). Drescher further mentions the decline of production, decline of profit, ruin of the proprietors, hostility between slaves and owners to be the results of decline and econocide (*Econocide* 45). This line of explanation seems to be counter argument on the British antislavery movement guided by British benevolent humanitarian campaign.

Romanticism spirit and intellectual threats have been recognized by the critics for the initiation of anti-slavery movement at the end of the eighteenth century. But other factors have also been seriously noticed. Ian Haywood reads British Romanticism concurrently with a series of catastrophically violent events— “slavery and slave trade, the American Revolution, the French Revolution, the Irish rebellion, and a series of industrial and political riots” (*Bloody* 2). The representation of violence in such events, Haywood notices, are “spectacular” with “visual nature, extreme scale, and public impact” often “sensational” with “high degree of cultural impact” (*Bloody* 3). Such representation formed important discourse in the Romantic period. Sensational discourse is sublime, dramatic, exciting, visceral, appealing to senses, and targeted to sensibility; spectacle of suffering body delivering emotional and moral message through Romantic imagination (*Bloody* 3). Atrocious treatment to slaves in the representation helped raising consciousness against such spectacular violence. Haywood explores horrors of captivity, slave ships, violence, and torture that caused “transition from Africa to slavery” (*Bloody* 17), the evidence of spectacular violence. Clarkson’s comment on Christianity “but a system of murder and oppression” functioned as “sensational twist” (*Bloody* 14), for Haywood, to add to the

spectacular evidence of violence, inspiring slave rebellion, and of course, the eye opener to the British readership.

James Walvin notices yet another factor assisting anti-slavery spirit— mounting consumerism and luxury in British society created by slave grown product ("Slavery" 59). Sugar developed new consumer culture by transforming routines of domestic life ("Slavery" 60). Abolitionist raised objections against the system since 1780s. Walvin indicates that American war and the loss of colonies was a big national humiliation, abolitionist campaign was to redress and restore British belief of liberty. Kenneth Morgan has further evaluated British imperial economy in *Slavery, Atlantic Trade, and British Economy 1660- 1800* by critiquing Adam Smith's line that focused on the imperial activities benefitted "certain interest group such as merchants and planters but not benefit the economy as a whole" (27), also the higher import prices than export, and the flow of funds from imperial trade to British economy has been found to be polluting home economy (44). But Morgan brings "world system theory" into analysis that advocates, capital accumulated from the colonies played vital role in accelerating home economy (58). Integrated transatlantic economy had been very important "free trading zone open to all European powers" (14). Morgan also posits "navigation act" (66), as an evidence justifying imperial economy to be beneficial, suggesting large protected market in the colonies for home industry product (66), that supplied labor, raw material, land to produce staple product, safe market for home industry products.

British abolitionism has remained much debated topic. Turn to abolition has been viewed as abrupt and unexpected; full of contradictions and ambiguities, and the response to it was also very slow. Seymour Drescher points out the "distinguishing feature of British abolitionism" (*Abolition* 209), before the American independence, the issue of slavery had not been debated in

the parliament. Before that point, writers, missionaries, parliamentarians rather justified slave trade. British Parliament had still been "unresponsive" (*Abolition* 210) to the issue of slave trade until 1783, when the Quakers submitted the first public petition to the parliament, Drescher claims. Although the enterprise had been identified as "the world's most deadly, brutal, unjust, immoral offence to humanity" (*Abolition* 213), the bill against slave trade "would be moved twelve more times in parliament" (*Abolition* 216) to abolish slave trade in 1807, as Drescher has pointed out. Strong civil society struggled very hard to bring parliamentarians out of the clutches of planters and capitalists. Drescher also writes of abolition as time consuming, based on experiment, and gradual process. Drescher termed the long duration as an age of experiment that would remain a "great experiment" (*Experiment* 143) in British political vocabulary. The argument had been divided between anti-slavery and pro-slavery sides, especially for and against the line of Adam Smith's free labor ideology, Malthus's population principles, and so on. Drescher borrows the word "experiment" from Science, but it seems to be based more on fiction than on objective evidence and data.

David Brion Davis reads slavery existing in society from classical time, and with the emergence of secular social philosophy man's inner goodness was identified with the power of sympathy as secularizing tendency in the eighteenth century (45). Methodism, evangelicalism, and secularist practices denounced slavery. The African was considered the innocent child of nature, man of natural sensitivity and virtue, oppressed by the vices of civilization: these are anti-slavery sentiments as identified by Davis (48). The vitality of the abolition movement compelled the British to redefine national interest. Davis notices that Wilberforce wished to root out the social evil through practical Christianity, conversion of English upper class to Evangelical religion for the regeneration of moral domestic society (416). Davis Eltis had also made similar

argument about ideological shift in British society caused by abolitionist debate earlier. The British saw abolition as confirmation of their evangelicalism. They perceived extension of anti-slavery impulse to be caused by superiority of free labor, others viewed colonial tensions diverting from domestic problems.

There had been number of social evils like widespread poverty, discrimination against women, property accumulated in the hands of few landlords and merchants, in British society in the eighteenth century, along with the racial slavery. Poor people and women were in radical politics. Slave rebellion had also been common. Barbara Caine notices women activists trying to establish that they were rational creatures like men. Women's weakness were not inherited in their physical or mental make-up but were the result of dependence, unemployment, lack of education and their place in hierarchical structure, as pointed out by Caine (45). Women were actively involved in antislavery movement as well.

Alan Richardson writes of black protest in the form of obeah, witchcraft, dark magic, and supernatural elements. Richardson observes highly elaborated system of belief— supernatural and religious practices— and points out "the black magic has association not only with supernatural, but with political power as well, especially with slave rebellion" ("Romantic" 6). Michael Craton (1982) noticed slave rebellions in Barbados (1816), Demerara (1823), and Jamaica (1831-32) that generated new idea in European metropolis. The planters feared that the slaves might be infected by ideologies from American, French, and Haitian Revolutions. Not only women but also slaves were actively involved in the movement. David Geggus has also studied slave revolt in French colonies of San Domingue, West Indian wealthiest colony. The planters presented the atrocities of the black rebels as proof of their barbarity, while the abolitionists viewed it as the sign of humanity. The slave revolt had been welcomed in Britain

saying that Europe lost one of the prolific colonies for the good. Coleridge hated slavery and admired Toussaint, the revolutionary hero (Geggus 145). London Gazette stated “every liberal Briton should feel proud of the happy revolution that with British help had brought the blacks to power in nominally French colony” (Geggus 130).

Romanticism has been characterized by sweeping social cultural economic transformation and revolutions in Europe. American, French, and Industrial Revolutions changed the physical material structure of Europe. Age old racism and slavery could not have sustained from the turbulence and upheavals. The change in socio-economic structure brought about transformation in consciousness and thinking. The reviews made in this section suggest that Romantic spirit developed favorable instinct for driving human consciousness toward anti-slavery question. The ills prevalent in the then British society associated with inhuman institution of slave trade, widespread corruption and poverty, consumerism, and luxury contributed to the development of dissatisfaction in public. As a result, women, middle class, poor, and slaves through their activism fueled the abolitionist movement further. But can this plain development justify properly the vitality of the significant movement ever in the history of the evolution of mankind? What made English Romantic argument so powerful and persuasive in relation to slavery and anti-slavery question? In the next section, efforts have been made to associate new rhetoric of sensibility and moral sentimentalism with Romantic abolitionist discourse.

Romanticism, Sensibility, and Sentimental Rhetoric

Critics have maintained considerable engagement on the late eighteenth century new rhetoric of sensibility and moral sentimentalism as persuasive technique to evaluate British nationalist claim on humanitarian moral development leading to abolitionist cause. Heather

Kerr, et al. notice eighteenth century print-culture for the extension of modes of expression and the "growth of literary sociability" (4). W. Gerrod Parrot further elaborates the role of widely used emotional communication in public sphere and newspapers. Parrot has noticed the role of philosophers in extending sympathy; massive consumption of sentimental novel also contributed to the same (20). Parrot refers to Daniel Batson, "heightened awareness of another person's suffering as something to be alleviated [is the] ultimate goal of being kind and helpful" (37), and through that process we can "escape feeling of guilt or shame", and "inhibit aggression and hostility" (37). This shows that emotional communication played vital role during the problematic time. Laura J. Rosenthal evaluates Smith's notion of impartial spectator to be theatrical. General tendency is that people sympathize with the better off than to the down trodden. But Smith believed that death comes to everyone with equal terror and hence equally suffering to all. Rosenthal argues, with this assumption Smith suggested the therapy for extending the circle of sympathy to the distant other.

Sentimentality has been much acclaimed mode of criticism for the late eighteenth century public discourse. R. S. White in his book *Natural Rights and the Birth of Romanticism in 1790s* states sentimental to be "bridge linking philosophy, politics, and Romantic literature" (41), as made popular by literary historians. In the eighteenth century, sentimentality had been considered negative trait, benevolence and sympathy to be aristocratic philanthropy, natural rights to be social (42). White indicates anti-slavery a mass movement, lively and full of vitality, accelerated with sentimentality, Wilberforce in the Parliament, Clarkson seeking evidence of cruelty, Quakers and radical working class organized against slavery.

Michael Slote in *Moral Senntimentalism* brings Hutcheson, Kant, Hume and Smith to critical conversation and prefers moral sentimentalism for universal benevolence and moral

judgment. Kant's conscientious judgments based on conscious adherence of moral principles are egotistical and selfish, as commented by Hutcheson. Kant's ethical rationalism, on the other hand, charges against moral sentimentalism, saying that "sentiments . . . don't always lead us toward right action . . . and they often lack the force of momentum" (Slote 98). Slote defends moral sentimentalism by relating it with empathy, objectivity, and rationality. Even for intellectual thought and rationality moral sentimentalism is crucial. According to Slote, mere rationality can be egotistical, mere sentimentality can equally be lacking morality and rationality, so moral sentimentalism can be the right path to moral judgment.

Ann Wierda Rowland relates sentimental with sensibility, sensitivity and sympathy, "the capacity for highly refined and sensitive emotional response" (193)— the scenes in the sentimental fiction repeatedly include "suffering, tears, and tender emotions, developing a theatrical narrative style" (193). Rowland finds rhetorical connections between revolutionary politics and sensibility, and sentimental figures to be useful in radical abolitionist literature.

Lynn Festa states the sinews of British and French empires to be literary imagination, sentimental mode, systems of commerce, tax collection from colony, slave trade, and armed power, in the book *Sentimental Figures of Empire in the Eighteenth Century Britain and France* (2). Sentimental mode, according to Festa, had been effective sinew, "turning inward of sentimental mode and turning outward of empire" (3), the sentimental mode as rhetorical practice helped formulating "humanitarian sensibility" (2) and "sympathetic movement of emotion" (3). Sentimental mode, Festa observes, has nothing to do with "truth" or logical validity, but "its ability to affect the reader" (15), used by both abolitionists and pro-slavery writers as rhetorical strategy. Their "philanthropic activism" (17) was sustained only by applying sentimental mode. Scholars created public discourse on extension of sympathy to the alien

people by means of imagining into wider circles of gravity and extension of magnetic field among the heterogeneous population of the empire. Sentimental mode assisted in doing this. Festa examines that sentimental mode is effective strategy to bring communities together; it does not need "preexisting likeness" (55) but "shared relation" (55) among its members. In order to win the heart of the colonized people, sentimentalists did not only write of their "deeds" and positive things but also the colonial "misdeeds" (Festa 57). Enlightenment writers justified empire, civilizing mission, and mercantilist policies by using sentimental mode in their writing. Festa further elaborates the argument "sentimental tropes migrate across generic boundaries", from autobiography to abolitionist verse, parliamentary speech, pro-slavery and anti-slavery writing (151). Such tropes assist in extending "sympathetic identification" (153) and changing our preexisting concept of humanity. Warren Hastings famous impeachment trial in late 1780s in the British court is also the case of moral sentimentalist appeal of the empire to justify its benevolence to the people of India. In the same manner anti-slavery discourse also used moral sentimental argument as persuasive technique but in closure examination of the discourse reveal something else.

Paul Goring in *The Rhetoric of Sensibility in the Eighteenth Century Culture* also examines eighteenth century public space and civic practice, vibrant culture with polite expression through sentimental fiction. Goring finds eighteenth century fiction didactic and moral with "meditation of body", the "negotiable" body, "heroic body" with appealing potentiality (143). He calls the sentimental gestures to be rhetoric of sensibility. Goring finds the somatic gestures, "hysterical fits, fainting, sighs, groans, fevers, madness" (165), and emotional language of body to be highly appealing. Moral sentimentalism is negative trait often egotistical, selfish, manipulative, strategy of the ruler to bring communities together, and such argument

applied for the benefit of the self, the critics in this line seem to suggest. Yet this strategy often works as effective persuasive technique.

Robert C. Solomon's *In Defence of Sentimentality* surveys philosophic contentions from Plato to eighteenth century that place sentimentality as an emotion "cheap, superficial, manipulative, verbal kitsch" (31), and strongly defends it by making argument based on Hutcheson's theory of moral sense, Hume's theory of moral sentiment, and Smith's notion of magnetism for the extension of sympathy. He further argues that justice based on reason and rationality is too often "overwhelmed by selfishness" (33), and hence not directed to true sense of justice, whereas, for Hume and Smith, and of course, Hutcheson before them, sympathy must be directed to fellow citizens and for their well being. The sense of justice that has emerged from sentimental passion is far from the Hobbesian and Mandevillian justice centered on the selfish motive. Between the two extremes, Solomon stands somewhere in the middle, and makes point that sympathy and justice are always partial, "view from somewhere" (34), and that sympathy can be "cultivated" (35), just like Gayatri Spivak once said democratic ideals are not natural, rather they are taught and practiced.

Shaun Nichols raises question on the nature of morality whether it is based on rationality or on emotion in his book *Sentimental Rules: on the National Foundations of Moral Judgment*. Idea of morality based on rationality adds objectivity to the moral judgment. Such moral judgments are based on "meta-ethical traditions" (65), according to Nichols. Such morality is based on "conceptual claim" and "empirical claim" (66) backed up by moral and rational requirements and produced on the ground of "rational cognitive mechanisms" (66). Morality according to this perspective is "grounded in reason or rationality rather than the emotions or cultural idiosyncrasies" and Nichols adds this sort of morality secures objectivity (66).

Rationalists believe that human beings are different from other animals because of brain and reasoning power. Nichols states tradition of moral sentimentalism began in the eighteenth century with Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, and Hume, where empirical evidence is supported by sentimentalism. Moral judgments based on sentimentalism are "grounded in affective response" (83). They are based on "emotivism" (85), "altruistic motivation" (40), and "pro-social behavior" (30). "Perspective taking" and "mind reading" are necessary for "altruistic motivation" where we take perspective of another person imaginatively, and investigate psychological states of the person. These capacities assist in moral judgment which is not merely rationalist or sentimentalist but interdisciplinary approach, according to Nichols. We can reach better moral judgment through interdisciplinary process. Sentimentalism had been used as a strategy in the late eighteenth century to address the issue of poverty, slavery, colonialism, imperialism, and other social ills at the time of crisis. Its positive effects are the solution of the contemporary problem by averting the possibility of danger, and revealing of not only positive deeds but also misdeeds and negative ideals. Abolitionist debate and other social issues would not have been that powerful and effective without moral sentimental argument.

Rhetoric of sensibility itself had been empowered by moral sentimentalism. Critics notice that new sensibility contributed in reformation of manners at the end of the eighteenth century. Alexander Cook investigates the importance of sensibility and moral sense in the eighteenth century Europe to bridge gap between nature and culture, "techniques for training unruly passions and for nurturing social sentiment" (85). He finds moral sense and sympathy to be related to personal satisfaction, social harmony; moral judgment to be rooted in sentiments; sensibility to be alternative path toward morality; social discourse, art, rise of commercial society, increase in leisure, pedagogy all nurturing sensibility (96). He further elaborates

affective pedagogy actively involved in developing “hygienic” social behavior, “soft and relaxed nerve fiber” (97), and training for cultivation of sensibility to maximize sentimental capacity in the eighteenth century society. So the society was actively involved in following and forming new sensibility for feeling better.

Henry Martyn Lloyd asserts sensibility as “tonic force” (175) for all knowledge and all action. He defines sensibility as the aptitude and basis of sensation to receive impression from objects. Sensibility is such an active sense that makes our external passive sense active in developing moral sense and benevolence. Lloyd contemplates on natural diversity and embodied differences in humans, closely connected to nature, to the air, fire, and earth that help constitute “embodied epistemology” (181). The epistemology matters from inherited traits, sex, climate, seasons, education, temperament . . . diet, exercise, sleep, age” and so on, and hence different sensibilities at different ages in different sexes, airs, climates, and influences of stars (Lioyd 181). So Lloyd emphasizes on “embodied particularity” or “differentiated sensibility” rather than “universality of reason” (183). He further characterizes human beings have “superior sensibility” (184) from that of animals, and that sensibility can be modified through morality, humanism, pedagogy, and sentimentalism.

Peter Otto posits similar critic on sensibility. He suggests sensibility to be the eighteenth century “antidote” (198) for the loss of humanity and that literature to be the “great engine” (198) for supporting or overthrow the existing social order. Sensibility taught “new morality” and “good sense”, and hence, used as a tool to establish “empire of good sense” in the eighteenth century Europe. Christopher C. Nagle also asserts sensibility, a vital force of eighteenth century culture, initiating sympathy, fellow-feeling, and benevolence, a vibrant sociable energy,

accelerated in Romantic era writing, even greater by women writers in his book *Sexuality and Culture of Sensibility in the British Romantic Era*.

Reason is the tool of the powerful, emotion, a tool of the weak. Slavery had been justified by rationalizations. Slaves could not apply their reason to disprove it. Sentimental discourse and new sensibility led the late eighteenth century society to the cause of abolition of slavery with vitality. Noal Jackson in *Science and Sensation in Romantic Poetry* asserts nineteenth century Science to have made advancement in brain and nervous system associated with human sensation and hence social theorists applied the "principles of medicine to the theory and practice of political reform" (5). Romantic poetics with highly sensational and suggestiveness" quality, accelerated "new humanist movement", by "widening the sphere of sensibility" (6). Analogies and metaphors related to the language of sensation used in Romantic poetry mostly borrowed from the literature of Science and medicine include, "electric contagion" (51), "electric fluid" (54), "nervous energy" (54) and so on, to refer to contemporary press and sensational literature, that functioned instrumental "powerful stimulus to the cause of political reform", and as an "agent of Enlightenment" (Jackson 58).

G. J. Barker Benfield characterizes the period with consumerism and cultivation of sensibility of the middle class toward the lower class. Sentimental fiction popularized new sensibility. Benfield treats sensibility synonymously with consciousness and it played important role in the era of reformation of manners (103). It provided "germ for moral sense" (104), and in the construction of new image of social personality. Sensibility was extended from domestic space to the wider public sphere also through sentimental literature. Benfield finds sensibility suggesting new worldview guided by religion and morality. New sensibility played prominent role in British society in the latter part of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

Adam Smith also wrote of social passions— fellow-feeling, pity, compassion for the misery of others— that please us greatly (13). Smith made publicity of the great law of Christianity. Hatred and anger "poison to the happiness of good mind", "generosity, humanity, kindness, compassion" (37) are social passions. John Piper portrays the life of an evangelical MP, William Wilberforce, fighting for 30 years for the abolition of slave trade and another 26 years for the emancipation of slavery itself. Piper writes of his continuous struggle from the age of 26 to 74 for the same cause of "public righteousness" (*Roots* 117), and the "peculiar doctrines" of Christianity had been the roots of endurance for his struggle (*Roots* 118). The peculiar doctrines gave birth to pragmatist, utilitarian, and most practical moral outlook in Wilberforce. Inspired by the peculiar doctrines, Wilberforce had been involved in pragmatism, the reformation of culture, and justice. Piper writes, the bills to abolish slave trade had been presented to the parliament between 1787 and 1807, by Wilberforce, no less than eleven times (*Amazing* 14). Wilberforce has been presented in Piper a great "doer", "pragmatist", who never abandoned his course for public righteousness, greatly involved in "making goodness fashionable" and "reformation of manners" (*Amazing* 21) in the late eighteenth century when there had been loose morals and corrupt public life. This vital moral force of sensibility contained higher level of patience and unimaginable control of emotion. Anti-slavery issue also helped add to the moral force of the imperial character for the sustainable guise of their capitalist shift. Enlightenment ideals also assisted in bringing about transformation in traditionalist consciousness, especially at the time of high profitability of slave labor.

A number of critics have related Enlightenment philosophy to the intellectual and cultural transformation that took place from the decade1780s in England. Clifford Siskin and William Warner state 1780s as the "decade of black hole" (2) in European history, the onset of

Romanticism, the Enlightenment theory put into practice. Kant's announcement in 1784, "men advance from self-incurred tutelage into general Enlightenment", and "do this" or "dare to know" (3) became signpost to modernity, a vital force into action, according to Siskin and Warner. They further elaborate Enlightenment put into practice during Romanticism with the rise of public sphere and printing, mediating Enlightenment ideal and Romantic practice. Romanticism, new rhetoric of sensibility, sentimentalism, and print created vital force into play, especially after 1780s.

Michael Scrivener in *The Enlightenment World: Cosmopolitan Ideal in the Age of Revolution and Reaction, 1776-1832* further characterizes eighteenth century Enlightenment world as cosmopolitan in nature with public sphere expanding rapidly with vitality in 1790s. The intellectual property produced in the public sphere became cosmopolitan. Scrivener follows Habermas in identifying the vitality of public sphere mediating between individuals and state, it functioned as "imagined community oriented toward justice" (34). Expanding public sphere "strengthened Enlightenment and reform" (Scrivener 51). High value was given to reader, Adam Smith's "judicious spectator", Shelley's "readers as jurors" (71) are extended into Martha Nussbaum's "judicious reader", twentieth century strong civil society, watchdog for justice, the causing factor for political change through public opinion (Scrivener 71). This vital force public sphere had accumulated became instrumental in raising abolitionist issue accelerated with moral sentimental rhetoric of sensibility. Scrivener further elaborates strong arguments against racial slavery as the product of Enlightenment (97). He follows David Brion Davis, prominent historian of slavery, who found the issue "major political point of contention in the eighteenth century" (97) that played vital role in the "evolution of morality" (97). Abolitionists were against racial prejudice. They made horrors of slavery public and created moral pressure to end slavery. Anti-

slavery issue made the British morally powerful, and this Romantic spirit was the product of Enlightenment ideals.

Alexander Murdoch credits Science and journalism for enhancing intellectual achievement in the age of Enlightenment along with the expanding print culture and readership (109). In the same way Clare Jackson projects revisionist insights into the notion of history, the new light based on innovative thinking, optimistic premises, and "rejection of the predominantly cyclical interpretation of history that had been articulated by Renaissance, Medieval, and Classical authorities" (178), following progressive notion of history. Jackson further characterizes Enlightenment with "optimism" based on "Enlightenment interest in progress" (178) and "universal political aspiration to embrace liberal democracy" (179). Enlightenment was related to refinement, betterment, progress, and optimism. Human beings were perfect with enormous capabilities to shape their future destiny. Jackson refers to John Locke who denied the innate idea and valued the role of moral educational institutions in preparing man. Hobbesian idea of the self was also rejected, in favor of sociability and sentiment. Eighteenth century moral sentimental philosophy, political economy all contributed in shaping Enlightenment characteristics in the eighteenth century. Enlightenment ideals described here provided intellectual inspirational nourishment to raise voice against injustice at the end of the eighteenth century Britain.

Geraint Parry further characterizes Enlightenment as continuing process, the result of education, learning, and reforming, the reproduction of Enlightenment through "educative experience" (217). Just like democratic values are not innate in humans, rather gained through educative process, Enlightenment values are also the product of long term pedagogy. Parry

indicates the role of eighteenth century imaginative literature of sensibility playing vital role in the formation of Enlightenment ideals.

Kathryn Sutherland also asserts that Enlightenment brought lots of changes in people's thinking and life style that enhanced new economics of Enlightenment. A set of trading principles and practices based on mercantilism and agrarian economy were challenged in favor of the trading practice based on reciprocal benefit, the practice popularly known as laissez-faire economy, in which free labor was favored in place of slave labor, and the new system had been based on the division of labor. This new economics of Enlightenment brought revolutionary change in the field of political economy.

Martin Fitzpatrick comments eighteenth century Enlightenment as multidimensional, "several Enlightenments" (299). It produced multiple programs of reform by implying critical reasoning to human problems from every sphere, in order to "ameliorate human condition and create a more harmonious, tolerant, and virtuous society and government" (299). This intellectual awakening sought to establish man as the citizen of the world. Fitzpatrick associates Enlightenment with progress and improvement (300). David Hume, Hutcheson, Smith were all Enlightenment thinkers, Fitzpatrick called their period to be powerful and creative. They all challenged orthodoxy, conducted campaigns for universal tolerance, political reform, and the abolition of slave trade (306). This Enlightenment character enhanced the spirit of imperial extension and colonialism in place of slave trade and slavery.

It can be derived that the shift of economy from slave labor to imperial colonial extension had been the hidden agenda behind Britain's active participation in abolition of slave trade and slavery issue in the Romantic period. The reviews in this section divided under three

categories— dealing with moral sentimentalism, sensibility, and Enlightenment ideals— suggest that Romantic anti-slavery spirit, taking inspiration from all of them, developed and forwarded the issue forcefully accumulating moral strength that could be utilized to meet their larger goal. Moral sentimentalism used to be taken as egotistical and selfish strategy in the eighteenth century but it had wonderful effect for the British, at the time of difficulty, in averting the possible danger and managing contemporary problems also persuading people effectively. Moral sentimentalist argument also enhanced new sensibility that has been reviewed as 'antidote' for the loss of humanity, 'tonic force' for teaching good sense, and developing new consciousness. And above all, eighteenth century Enlightenment ideals of 'dare to know', strong conviction for the progressive notion of history, embracing liberal democratic ideals, rejection of self in favor of sociability, and so on, filled in the Romantics the abolitionist spirit backed up by moral sentimentalism and rhetoric of sensibility. This frame demands further exploration into related yet even effective phenomenon, Romantic sympathy, the related literature have been reviewed in the next section of this chapter.

Sympathy

Seth Lobis, in the book *The Virtue of Sympathy: Magic, Philosophy and Literature in the Seventeenth Century England*, revisits the concept of sympathy by differentiating between “universal magical” and “interpersonal” or “moral” sympathies (3). Seventeenth century has been termed as the critical period for the shift in conception: sympathy as natural and cosmological versus sympathy as moral, social, psychological. Lobis emphasizes sympathy in the age of sensibility as nurture phenomena gained through educational practices, the process same as gaining democratic ideals and humanistic attitudes. Had sympathy been natural force, there could not have been slavery, human bondage, and cruelty all over the world. The rise of

sensibility and sentimentality in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries reformulated the earlier conceptions of sympathy. Sympathy is like any other virtue that can be cultivated by new sensibility, Lobis suggests. He also observes eighteenth century new sensibility as reaction against Hobbesian "egoistic psychology" (71). He also evaluates the efforts to "Christianize sympathy" (119), "before the fall, Adam and Eve are shown to participate in an all-encompassing network, a sympathetic cosmos in which all things are vitally interactive" (127). Both Edenic sympathy and Shaftesburian sympathy were widely read in the eighteenth century, and sympathy was considered essential relation for the "order and coherence of the cosmos" (Lobis 259). In order to explain the notion of universal sympathy, Newton's ideas, magnetism, analogies from religion and medicine were used widely, as Lobis observes. Sympathy had also been at the heart of morality in Romantic literature.

Ildiko Csengei also explores into eighteenth century discourse and suggests Hutcheson, Hume, and Smith to be the cause behind the spread of sympathy from self centered human nature, as had been explored previously by Hobbes and others, in *Sympathy, Sensibility and the Literature of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century*. Literature enhancing new sensibility helped spreading universal benevolence toward humankind. Universal sympathy has binding capacity. Smith's famous "impartial spectator" places the role of imagination to be highly important in spreading sympathy, benevolence, pity; suggesting the darker, uncanny side.

Michael L. Frazer, in the book *The Enlightenment of Sympathy: Justice and the Moral Sentiments in the Eighteenth Century and Today*, makes investigation into Hume, Smith, and Herder's ideas of justice and moral sentiments that he found functional in developing Enlightenment of sympathy in the eighteenth century, the ideas to be equally useful in handling multicultural problems of pluralistic society even today. Frazer evaluates Hume's sentimentalism

to be “free standing” from religious normative authority or metaphysical traditions. Religious normativity tells virtue in this world as path to the other worldly bliss, but for Hume virtue is the means of this worldly happiness. Platonists, Epicureans, Stoics all make normative authority about virtue and vice, but Frazer differentiates Hume who formulated free standing sentimentalist ethics of virtue and justice detached from religious and metaphysical normativity.

Frazer notices Smith to further his argument. Since there is diversity in the world, no rules are common to all species. Justice is human convention. Without justice society dissolves. For true sympathy, we are to eliminate the distinction between the self and the other, to identify their pain as one’s own, to be impartial spectator. In order to resolve the issues of multicultural society, philosopher must be a man turning philosophy into anthropology. Frazer finds link between and gradual development of sentimentalism from Hutcheson’s theological sentimentalism to Hume’s free standing sentimentalism, to Smith’s liberal sentimentalism leading to Herder’s pluralist sentimentalism. Frazer observes pluralist sentimentalism in Herder with humanity in the centre surrounded by pluralist source of religion, philosophy, and history with sentimental education enhancing humaneness. This type of pluralist sentimentalist training helped spread humanitarian moralist judgment in abolitionist movement toward the end of the eighteenth century.

Hume’s idea “proximity tends to stimulate sympathy, and that distance tends to diminish it” (140) has been further extended by Fonna Forman-Barzilai in *Adam Smith and Circles of Sympathy: Cosmopolitanism and Moral Theory*, that “imagination” and “reflexivity” (166) of the “impartial spectator” (76) “carries the distance back to us” (144). Barzilai furthers the argument by linking Smith’s “impartial spectator” with Emerson’s “concentric circles” (9). Barzilai relates Christian ethics “of increasing our sensibility to the interest of others” and stoic idea “feel for

ourselves as we naturally feel for others" (120), with Smith's "impartial spectator". Enlightenment cosmopolitanism advocated for the "citizen of the world" (Barzilai 120), self in the centre, extending the concentric circles and repeating the process "until all humanity rests inside the inner", erasing the distinction between self and other. Barzilai explores two way process for extending Smith's circles of sympathy to cosmopolitanism: extending inner circle to the enlarged concentric circles of sympathy, and bringing outer circles to the innermost circle, to erase the distinction between self and other, so that "all humanity rests inside the innermost circle" (122). Barzilai concludes, this Smithian therapy, "superior grasp of truth and reality" (170) that helps "transcend affective biases" (160), and "enlarges our perspective and refine our judgment" (164). This therapy had pedagogical significance for nurturing sympathy during the period; however, the discourse also developed the foundation for imperial colonial expansionist instinct among the Romantics.

Theorization on sympathy had already been there in Western metaphysics since classical times. The turn to sympathy in the late eighteenth century England had been so instrumental that it constituted a vital force functioning for the cause of anti-slavery sentiment. Sympathy although natural to man's heart, would remain inactive until imagination sets it to motion. Sympathy may be natural to human beings but it can also be extended to universal sympathy by educative process and imaginative training just like democratic traits are nurtured gradually. All the subsidiary discourse like Enlightenment, Romanticism, sentimentalism, and new sensibility helped extending the circles of sympathy from the self in the center to the distant other in the outermost concentric circle. It suggests sympathy can be extended to the downtrodden, poor, and the other. Vital force of Romantic sympathy added to the abolitionist rhetoric.

This chapter, planned for the survey of the contextual abolitionist discourse under the focus of the study, has categorically reviewed them under three sections. First, slavery and anti-slavery question has been observed in relation to basic tenets of Romanticism. Critics have investigated anti-slavery move through some significant characteristics of Romanticism— socio-cultural economic transformation, age of revolutions, rise of middle class and so on. Romantic spirit has been recognized as driving human energy to fight against poverty, corruption, consumerism, luxury, and slave trade. Women, middle class, poor, and slave through their activism fueled the abolitionist movement. Second, moral sentimentalism, new sensibility, and Enlightenment ideals helped drive Romantic spirit further, avert possible danger by managing contemporary problems, develop responsibly informed public with new consciousness. Third, sympathy has been considered instrumental appealing strategy for the anti-slavery argument. Philosophical discourse from that time have been observed to be suggesting methods of extending sympathy to the outermost concentric circle from the self in the centre through critical pedagogical and imaginative process. Enlightenment ideals, moral sentimental new rhetoric of sensibility have been suggested as the mechanism for the extension of sympathy to the distant other.

The review in this chapter emphasized on the characteristic features of Romanticism, influence of Enlightenment ideals, moral sentimentalist rhetoric of sensibility, and Romantic sympathy to be the significant factors associated with British abolitionism. However, this study moves beyond abolitionist poetics and investigates on Romantic sympathy, moral sentimentalism, and new rhetoric of sensibility in order to assess British compassionate humanitarianism and the capitalist revisionist strategy of economic shift in the changed context after the loss of its North American colonies. It is also interested in investigating whether the

politics of the affect of sympathy to the slaves to be guided by building an image of the benevolent English or by the reconciliatory plan for the slaves, through the analysis of selected abolitionist texts by high Romantic mainstream writers, low profile yet radical women activists, and narratives written by the ex-slaves, in the succeeding chapters. In order to explore the issue properly affect theory has been chosen as theoretical frame which has been reviewed in chapter two. The next chapter on Coleridge's abolitionist poetics and politics in his one of the famous anti-slavery poetry has been dealt with in detail with reference to abolitionist mechanics surveyed in this and the previous chapters.

Chapter Four

Politics of Affect in Coleridge's *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*

This chapter analyzes *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* (1798) — a high Romantic text— in terms of Coleridge's imaginative plea for a modification of consciousness about racial slavery prevalent in the then British society. *The Rime*, written during the consolidation phase of British colonialism, especially after the loss of North American slave colonies, and in the context of the problems developed due to European rivalries on the issues of Atlantic slave trade in the wake of the French Revolution and the rise of Napoleon, embodies what Brian Massumi puts affect as an "ability to affect or be affected" (151).The poem is intended as a medium for the transmission of affects in the then British society which, according to mainstream British historical records, was fixated on debating human rights for the black slaves. John Piper in his book *Roots of Endurance* posits the vibrant picture that Quakers, the Society of Friends with religious faith on pacifist views, Methodist Christian movement founded by John Wesley in the eighteenth century England that focused on Christian conduct, and Evangelical Christians that included political activist and parliamentarian William Wilberforce, constituted a vital moral religious political and social force against slave trade in their preaching, gospels, and activism. Slave rebellion and their uprising also jointly contributed to the historical abolitionist movement. The main ingredients for *The Rime* come from the religious ideas of Old Testament, anthropomorphic elements from Greek poetry, and the ideas of extension of all life including man and other creatures to one universal and divine life from Hebrew poetry (Ve-Yin Tee 67). The study of Medieval and German literature developed his sense of imagination, fancy, supernaturalism, and gothic elements. By using all the ingredients, Coleridge formulated radical humanitarian political discourse against slave trade in his Bristol lectures and some of his poems written during 1790s

and 1800s.While *The Rime* draws on the Romantic trend of building up an affect in favor of the abolitionist movement, it is not directed against evoking Britain's anti-colonial moral sentiment which was in fact the main reason for the slave trade. The machinery of the gothic through which the moral sentiment is generated works to keep intact the image of British colonialism.

The Rime has been criticized for its emphasis on "gothic supernaturalism", its being "German origin", having "extravagant" incidents and so on. Wordsworth attacked *The Rime* that "the principal person has no distinct character", that the principal character "does not act, but is continually acted upon", and that "the events having no necessary connection" (as qtd. in Tee 67). Coleridge himself commented *The Rime* having "the moral sentiment too apparent . . . in a work of such pure imagination" (qtd. in William Christie 105). Southey called the poem "a Dutch attempt at German sublimity", but Charles Lamb praised its magical power to hold the reader's attention, "we are dragged . . . along like Tom Piper's magic whistle" (qtd. in Christie 107). The poem is sensational in gothic mode.

The Rime has been reviewed from the perspective of slavery and abolitionism by a number of critics. R.S. White reads the poem as Coleridge's sense of collective horror created by slavery. This may be the result of the violation of human rights in slavery and slave trade. White finds the Mariner's guilt reflected in the poem due to the new sensibility in the process of development and benevolence toward all humans (172). Alan Richardson observes *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* as full of "references and allusions, to colonial exploration, 'exotic' histories and traveler's tales, bear an oblique but demonstrable relation to British natural guilt and imperial anxieties more generally" ("Slavery" 503). Dabbie Jean Lee associates the Yellow fever, in *Ancient Mariner*, to the sinful act of slave trade. Lee locates slavery as guilt of the British and the guilt is associated with their civilizing mission, and "Albatross is an emblematic

representation of all innocent lives destroyed by European conquest . . . including the guilt associated with slave trade" (29). Slave grown "sugar" is comparable to "disease of white culture", "signified a rotting away of white flesh" (33). Lee cites Hutcheson "the overloaded ships, which, like the curse of vile Pandora's Box, bring forth disease with misery" (38). The slave ships transported all bad things to the otherwise civilized continent. It brought moral sterility, sickness, lethargy, 'death in life' situation in English life.

J.R. Ebbatson views *The Rime* as "Christian epic, Freudian confession, Jungian archetype" (171) by interpreting the act of shooting an albatross. Ebbatson comments Coleridge dramatizing "Christian myth" (172) of confession and "Fall" (173) in his narrative. Premise from Christianity, "love one's neighbor as oneself" has been identified to have violated by the Mariner. The argument has been extended to slave trade and slavery by critics. *The Rime* advocates for reconciliation between races and for the acceptance of guilt, shooting an albatross, Mariner's acceptance of guilt, his physical and mental suffering, can further be extended to Christian confession.

The critical significance of this chapter, however, lies in the investigation of Coleridge's politics behind the transmission of affects like horror, outrage, disgust, shame, and sympathy through *The Rime*. Compassionate humanitarianism as evolving in the text remains problematic, especially in the changed political economic context, in the background of revolutions and British involvement in war with France; moral sentimentalism in the text directed against the excess of slave trade and at the same time for the perpetuation of imperialism . The main argument has been directed to establish that the turn to affect, turn to sentimentalism, and humanitarian cause have been largely used as rhetorical persuasive techniques for the enhancement of conservatism, i.e., the spiritual politics of quietism, averting the possibilities of

violent means against atrocities, accumulating moral backing from the abolition of slave trade and using it as a tool for imperial advancement. The contextual background for abolitionism and its relationship to the production of *The Rime* is worth surveying at this point.

When the abolition of slavery became moral and socio-economic issue of the day British Romanticism made use of the sentimental rhetoric of sympathy as persuasive discursive technique. The unexpected turn to humanitarianism through valorization of the affect of sympathy after 1780s has remained an uncharted area in literary criticism worth investigating. It is interesting to explore how the British Romanticism stemmed from and react to the issues generated by the experience of slavery in the difficult time of socio-economic turmoil. *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* explores contemporary social political issues, especially the abolition of slave trade and slavery, and hence the textual approach to history. Late 1790s has been termed as Coleridge's greatest activity period at Bristol as high profile political speaker and writer with radical ideas against slave trade and parliamentary corruption. Bristol and West Country had been radical dissenters against mainstream political and religious discourse. According to Peter J. Kitson, these commercial and colonial cities had long tradition of dissent, going against London and Westminster ("Coleridge" 115). Coleridge must have felt the need for treating people's disillusionment with politics, when there had been the prevalence of Hobbesian view that man was by nature savage and war like. Since Bristol had been colonial and trading centre during the period, being the gateway to colonies, the dissenters expressed their radical ideas not only against slave trade but also against anti-colonial government in London. In the changing economic context and developing new humanitarian context, Bristol dissenters' ideas had been ambivalent.

The British parliament failed to pass the slave trade bill in 1795 that provoked Coleridge for pouring his agitation in his lectures at Bristol addressing the audience of merchants, leaders, and plantation owners who got profits from the commerce and slave grown products: "A part of that Food among most of you is Sweatened with the Blood of the Murdered . . .. O Blasphemy! Did God give Food mingled with Brothers' Blood! Will the Father of all men bless the Food of cannibals . . .?" (qtd. in Timothy Whelan 102). The affect of outrage and disgust directed against the slave traders, slavers, and corrupt government, affect of negativity, produced good feeling among the middle and lower class contemporary public. Such affective argument stirred the sentiment of the middle class public resulting in sympathy directed to the slaves and hatred towards the corrupt government. Coleridge has extended the horrors linked to human trafficking to the consumers of the slave grown products. Similar affect of rage and disgust has been evoked by Coleridge's publisher Joseph Cottle: "Why do corrupt government and tyrannical leaders not understand that all mankind are brethren?, the offspring of one common parent, who has placed his children in this world in order to prepare them for a better, by cherishing universal benevolence?" (qtd. in Whelan 103). Cottle's statement is tantamount to a call for securing human rights for the hapless slaves.

Coleridge's esemplastic imagination in *The Rime* does draw on the then prevailing discourse about colonial voyages and the slave trade. Tee dwells on the contemporary English naval history, especially the British strategy and tricks during hostilities with France, sending troops with military ships to the rival's sugar islands, for instance, the capture of sugar colonies of Martinique, Guadeloupe, and St. Lucia in 1794 (55). Sea life has been depicted to be very risky since there had been danger of epidemics, pirates, rivalry with military ship, and unfavorable climate and calamities factors. Tee speculates Coleridge's sea men might be

"smugglers or pirates" "fleeting vengeance of military law" (50). They might have sailed to the extreme south to the safe distance to escape the military ship on the course. Wordsworth pointed out in 1843 that the germ of *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* came to Coleridge from reading *A Voyage Round the World*, in which George Shelvocke, the captain and author, mentions of the route "west across the Atlantic, then south to round Cape Horn to reach the Pacific Ocean . . . the route of Speedwell" (qtd. in Tee 55). Wordsworth's indication seems convincing since Shelvocke's description of the climate and creatures are matching to the setting and plot of *The Rime*:

> Add to this our misfortune of having continual misty weather, which led to us under hourly apprehensions of falling foul of islands of ice . . . the cold is certainly much more insupportable in these, than in the same Latitudes to the Northward . . . so rigid climate . . . we had not the sight of one fish or any kind . . . nor one sea bird, except a disconsolate black Albatross . . .. (Qtd. in Tee 56)

The disconsolate black Albatross in Shelvocke's description can be taken as noteworthy catalyst to Coleridge's imagination. The Mariner might have violated the rule of hospitality by killing the Albatross since it was disconsolate, hateful, and black. Coleridge's attempt in this context invokes natural and transnatural forces for teaching English life of hospitality and cosmopolitan love to all God's creatures, just like the Mariner: "I pass, like night, from land to land;/ I have strange power of speech" (Coleridge, VII, lines 586-87) for teaching and praying of cosmopolitan love to "Both man and bird and beast" (VII, line 613).

The theoretical tool for vindication of the argument comes from affect theory which reveals the politics behind the evocation of an affect. New rhetorical persuasive techniques of

moral sentimentalism and Romantic sympathy have also been used in order to explain the affect(s). Fonna F. Barzilai's ideas on educative imaginative process for the extension of sympathy through Smith's notion of impartial spectator and Emerson's concentric circle have been utilized. Joseph Campana's concept of affective turn and Mario DiGangi's notion of affective entanglements have been applied in order to analyze the persuasive techniques in *The Rime*, and to investigate the hidden politics in it. Julie Reiser's terms like culture's shared nervous system, affective circumstances, and shared response-ability are very effective in evaluating ethical tilt of the author to particular community. Evelyn Tribble's ideas and Teressa Brennan's ideas about the transmission of affect, and Margaret Witherell's evaluation of emotions as "affective machines" (16) have been applied in the analysis. Elspeth Probyn's ideas about writing shame, especially his using of Deleuze and Guattari's phrase subjective disposition as the influencing factor have also been used in order to evaluate Coleridge's *The Rime*. The traces of the trauma of colonial guilt have been investigated in the light of the trauma theory utilizing Dominick LaCapra's notions of acting out, transference, and middle voice, and Cathy Caruth's notions about expressing the inexpressibility and incomprehensibility of the cultural aspect of trauma. The textual analysis has been done in the light of affect theory stated.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge's *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* can be read as a fictional narrative evoking affective politics, which is integral to the propagation of new humanitarianism in the context of Britain's expanding colonial horizons. Coleridge's powerful imagination highlighting moral responsibility resulted from shameful burden of guilt caused by inhumanity in slave trade and horror situations related to Middle Passage atrocities. The Mariner's outrage illustrated in *The Rime* stems from Coleridge's knowledge of the atrocities of the Middle Passage

as performed by the slave traders and crews on the slave ships, against the slaves in chain, on the board:

> I looked upon the rotting sea,
>
> And drew my eyes away;
>
> I looked upon the rotting deck,
>
> And there the dead men lay (IV, lines 240-243).

Coleridge, haunted by the knowledge of the inhumanity, the diseased bodies, rotting bodies, the stinking on the slave ships during Middle Passage, atrocities on the board against slaves while transporting them across the Atlantic from South African slave ports to North America, comes up with the Romantic imagination guided by disgust and outrage. Affect of disgust against the Middle Passage spectacles like rotting sea, rotting decks, dead men and so on in *The Rime* produce similar affects in the readers. The diseased slaves in chain, their excretion all over, dying and diseased slaves thrown alive into the sea must have created such intentional mindset of the writer, producing disgusting image in the readers' mind. In this sensational argument, the transmission of the affects of horror and disgust from writer to reader in the seemingly anti-slavery text has been seen for the purpose of developing hatred of the audience against inhuman act of slave trade. Coleridge's outrageous disgust to the evils of slave trade and slavery gets reflected also in his lectures for abolitionist ideas and boycotting the slave grown products. The ideas had been directed to the formation of consciousness and new sensibility, especially in the context of new humanitarianism due to "moral responsibility generated by commerce and colonialism" (Deirdre Coleman 241). But it is worthy to analyze in *The Rime* whether the

evocation of such sensational affects are meant for upgrading the status of the slaves and developing affect of sympathy to them or just Coleridge's politics otherwise.

Mariner's killing of the Albatross, central incident in *The Rime*, has been interpreted as the breach of the rule of hospitality, according to the Christian world view of cosmopolitanism that all God's creatures including man and bird are the part of the same divine universal soul. Lines from *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* are excerpted here for further reference:

At length did cross an Albatross,

Through the fog it came;

As if it had been a Christian soul,

We hailed it in God's name

. . . . . .

And a good south wind spring up behind;

The Albatross did follow,

And every day, for food or play,

Came to the Mariner's hollow! (I, lines 63-66, 71-74)

In the left hand side glossary note to the cited text Coleridge himself in the 1817 version of the poem has written "Till a great seabird called the Albatross, came through the snow fog, and was received with great joy and hospitality", at another point, little further, another glossary note appears, "The ancient mariner inhospitably killeth the pious bird of good omen". Coleridge has

mentioned the word hospitality in his 1800 version of the poem as an "argument" at the top of the poem thus:

> How a ship, having first sailed to the equator, was driven by the storms, to the cold country, towards the South Pole, how the Ancient Mariner cruelly, and in contempt of the laws of hospitality, killed the sea-bird; and how he was followed by many and strange judgments; and in what manner he came back to his own country. (Qtd. in Christie 103)

The killing of the pious bird of good omen has remained the central regretful event. In all these instances the notion of hospitality is seen to be problematized. Albatross has been referred to as Christian soul that crosses through the fog bringing joy to the distressed crew who appear hospitable to the bird; the rule of hospitality gets violated when the Mariner kills his own guest with his cross-bow. The incident can be related to Shakespeare's famous play in which Macbeth murders King Duncan, when the former has been his faithful warrior and host, and the latter has been the respectable and guest to the former's residence. The Mariner's killing of the Albatross, and Macbeth's murder to King Duncan, both seem similar cases. Both are taken as regretful in the respective texts. Both cases breach the rule of hospitality, both transgress the boundary of Christian textuality. Slave trade and inhuman act of Middle Passage atrocities are also interpreted as transgression of Christian textuality. *The Rime* makes available what has been masked, hidden or constructed otherwise by mainstream historical consciousness. Coleridge's plea for the modification of consciousness, gothic-actuated transformation, is ambiguous, since efforts have been made for the systematic portrayal of the Mariner, the violator of the rule of hospitality, to be the rightful beneficiary of the reader's sympathy. The reason behind such portrayal in *The Rime*, especially in the context when "new poetry was refusing imposed or inherited forms" (Susan J. Wolfson 403), has been an interesting area to investigate. Coleridge bears populist

agenda of, using Massumi's term, "micropolitics" (58), just like the affects of horror and disgust directed to the development of sympathy ultimately to the Mariner, showing that there was breaching of the rule of hospitality in such society with high level of morality, can be populist critical practice in a moralizing kind of way, just like Warren Hastings impeachment case in British parliament from 1788 that tried systematically to show that the British were after all benevolent rulers in India. This can be referred to as Coleridge's sentimental appeal and critical practice of "controlled walking" (Massumi 16), balancing and moving act of affects, as practiced popularly in capitalism.

The killing of the Albatross in *The Rime* can be related to the deep rooted system of racial slavery in the Christian world. Several instances in *The Rime* like the spectacles related to Middle Passage atrocities created in the poem, the effect of the image created by the filthy looking water snakes and the Mariner's been able to extend his love to them, the black color of the male spectre in the skeleton ship indicating the ghost of the black slave who suffered the atrocities on the slave ship, and the reference to the epidemics related to tropical hot climates of the African coasts unbearable to the whites people, justify *The Rime*'s relation to racial slavery. There had been roar against slave trade in the later part of 1790s in England, but the legislatures and slave owners did not pay heed to it. Due to the British society's indifference to the issue, Coleridge might have used affect-oriented approaches that, according to Massumi, "tend to focus on the immediate without considering the historical background" (177). Massumi harps on immediacy, in which the affective experiences rely on three kinds of memory—memory of the present, view of the past from the perspective of the consciously experienced present, and the felt memory of the future (62). Coleridge's focus has been less on the past and more on securing the future. Coleridge does not evoke much about the past atrocities; rather the perpetrator has been

presented facing dire circumstances in trial with nature and supernature, thereby achieving reconciliatory settlement in the end. The affective turn of Coleridge in *The Rime* facilitated, using Brennan's term, "atmosphere getting into the individual" (36) and, using Witherell's term, establishing the issue into "national present tense" (16), all meant for the transmission of affects. Coleridge's fascination with supernatural daemonic power for the invasion of free will was perhaps necessary for making affect of sympathy instrumental. Gregory Leadbetter writes of Coleridge's daemonic imagination to be useful for "invading the free will with devil" (8) that is instrumental in transforming the subject's free will by the intervention of external and supernatural devilish agency. This transformation has become the drama of becoming, not like the drama of the fall according to the Christian knowledge.

Coleridge has tried to create the equilibrium in the plot of *The Rime* that the Mariner "hath penance done" (V, line 408) and now he "pass, like night, from land to land" (VI, line 486). The drama of forgiving the Mariner can be interpreted as white writer's 'ability to affect' the reader 'and be affected' by the socio-economic situations. The drama of forgiveness to the Mariner, for his misdeeds of killing the Albatross that can be related to all the crimes and atrocities committed by white slave traders, crews and sailors on the slave ships, and slave holders against the slaves, has been performed in very smart way in *The Rime*. But Mariner's burning desire to travel from "land to land" (VI, line 486) can be interpreted as his new idea developed out of the changed political economic situation. In other words, it is Britain's shifts in interest from inhuman act of slave trade to the perpetuation of imperialism. Capitalism created slavery in the western world; the same tool became means for eradicating slavery, not out of true humanitarianism but out of politics of fulfilling alternative capitalist interest in the changed political economic context and prepare background for the same. It was the shift of interest of the

capitalist from slave labor to the free labor of laissez faire economy as advocated by then political economist like Adam Smith. According to Massumi, “capitalism starts intensifying or diversifying affect, but only in order to extract surplus value” (20). The changing nature of capitalism and hidden politics in them cannot be so easy to predict. According to Reiser, the author writes from his “affective circumstances” (8), and Massumi elaborates, “our experiences are not objects. They are us, they are what we are made of. We are our situation. We are our moving through them” (14). We, our experiences, our expressions are the product of our situation. Kitson has also rightly commented on the agitation of the Romantics against the slave trade and the institution of slavery as the “conservative-minded project to turn the people away from attempting to change society by political means” ("Politics" 676), turning people to “spiritual politics of quietism” ("Politics" 676), diverting people from violent reaction and political revolutions to the realm of Romantic imagination, displacement of historical, social, economic reality by idealism. Romanticism averted the potentials of violent revolutions like that in France and America, and of course, the violent slave uprising in the slave colonies. Romanticism cooled down the revolutionary instinct to equilibrium by foregrounding the issues like reformation through moral sentimentalism, new sensibility, Methodism and Evangelicalism. It brought abolitionist agenda to the fore. The politics behind all these things revealed their desire for the extension of colonies to the east and Middle East, in the context of the loss of North American slave colonies. It was seen rather a shift of economy from highly profitable slave trade and slavery to alternative colonial economy as explained by the world system theory, exploiting the resources from the colonies and accumulating capital and resources for the development of the centre of the empire. Political actors also announced the reformation agenda to the colonies. The entire discourse had been directed to the justification of imperialism guided by humanitarian

cause. Mariner's thirst in *The Rime*, "I pass, like night, from land to land/ I have strange power of speech" (VII, lines 586-87) and his getting penance might be guided by similar desire.

In *The Rime*, Coleridge has imagined a situation where the Mariner's curse has been intervened by transnatural forces in order to bring about expiation rather than the Christian redemption. It is also the transgression of classical assumption of Christian doctrine. In Coleridge, nature and supernatural communicate and seek to establish harmony by playing with fate. Mariner is passive; fate is active, playing upon him. Mariner's killing of the Albatross has been avenged by polar spirit through the effect of magic, "Instead of the cross, the Albatross/ About my neck was hung" (II, lines 140-41). The killing of the Albatross is symbolic to all crimes and atrocities associated with slave trade and hence portrayed as regretful. There cannot be rational justification for that. The play of fate and involvement of gothic supernaturalism have been identified as tools for bringing about transformation in the Mariner. The affect of disgust and horror exuded in the above cited lines can be seen to have planned for the transmission of the same affects in the then British white readers so as to persuade them against the crimes and atrocities related to inhuman act of slave trade. The affects of negativity related to the inhuman act might have produced good feelings in the middle and lower class public who clamored against poverty and social ills prevalent in the then British society due to uneven distribution, slave labor, parliamentary corruption, and capital in control of few aristocratic families. There is no doubt that Coleridge's sentimental affective argument in *The Rime* supported the abolitionist movement, but the affects have been seen as the background for the "micropolitics" (Massumi 58) in the development of the affect of sympathy to the Mariner. Coleridge raises voice against the mainstream establishment but not with too much cruelty. His looks like conservative minded

project, begging for the forgiveness appeal for the perpetrator, rather than granting justice to the victim by violent means.

The Mariner has been depicted distressed: “Alone on a wide wide sea! / And never a saint took pity on/ My soul in agony” (IV, lines 233-35), in trial with nature and supernature, writer’s systematic effort to develop readers’ sympathy to the Mariner by portraying his pathetic state, his shameful outburst of regret, sentimental and appealing argument. “Writing shame”, for Probyn, “is a visceral reminder to be true to interest, to be honest about” ("Writing" 87), he continues, shame enlarges since “onlookers bow their heads in shame, sowing the seeds of shame in the inmates” ("Writing" 88). Good literature of shame spreads “optimism” ("Writing" 87), it is crucial for moral development, bringing about national reconciliation between the perpetrator and victim, and restoring national pride. Does *The Rime* succeed in establishing that? The Mariner expresses his love and kindness to filthy and hateful creature in the sea out of compulsion, since there was no sign of life around for days, thus:

> O happy living things! no tongue
>
> Their beauty might declare:
>
> A spring of love gushed from my heart
>
> And I blessed them unaware. (IV, lines 282-85)

This portrayal of the state of the Mariner is the result of affect driven shameful revelation in the process of making Christian self. But the revelation is not far from, to use Deleuze and Guttari’s phrase as qtd. in Probyn, “subjective disposition” ("Writing" 87). In Coleridge, it smells his ethical tilt to his community when efforts are seen to be made for the development of the affect

of sympathy to his community through *The Rime*. Writing shame with 'subjective disposition' cannot be writing on the moral ground, it seems only to be the face saving and ethical tilt to the community. It is at the same time the inversion of "Judeo-Christian symbolism that associates the snake with the source of all evil" (Gregory Leadbetter 174). The previous incident of the Mariner's killing of the Albatross had not been part of his nature or will, rather it was accidental, and due to the play of the external force or fate, Coleridge shows. Mariner's love to the water snakes, "I blessed them unaware", also has been seen not to be the part of his nature but due to the play of fate. Coleridge has used the otherwise filthy looking water snakes as the symbol of Mariner's universal love to God's all creations, the message Mariner tells the Wedding-Guest in *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*:

> He prayeth well who loveth well
>
> Both man and bird and beast.
>
> He prayeth best, who loveth best
>
> All things both great and small,
>
> For the dear God who loveth us
>
> He made and loveth all. (VII, lines 612-17)

Coleridge's water snakes are loving, playful, sympathetic, whereas Milton's serpent had been Satan and vile, the symbol of evil. Coleridge's imagination leads to an alternative perspective that deconstructs the traditional notion about racial slavery deep rooted just like the symbolism

related to serpent. The blacks have been considered savage, primitive, barbaric, and inferior race created for the service of the superior race. They have been hated like the serpent. By the use of transnatural forces in *The Rime*, the Mariner has been placed in such a situation that he is alone in the wide sea even without any living creature in sight. The Mariner is in the state of compulsion to extend his love to God's creation since there is no other sign of life around for days. Moral sentimentalism evoked in the poem has been directed against the excess of slave trade and against the English conduct in the atrocities associated with it. Coleridge has been successful in raising contemporary issue very forcefully, in extending the circles of sympathy to the outermost concentric circle, by erasing the distinction between self and the other.

The Mariner develops new consciousness that man, bird, and beast are the creation of the same spirit. This is perhaps the gesture of shameful revelation in him. He does not get expiation from the curse of unthinking killing of the Albatross and subject to torture until he blesses the water snakes. If we analyze the argument in surface we can notice a Romantic poet's love towards nature and nature's creatures. But we can interpret the deep meaning further to the widespread contemporary social evil of the inhuman system of racial slavery and many other social ills during that time. Man's evil will has always been coated with rationalization, just hidden or masked the reality. But here the Mariner is in the state of compulsion to act. He has no freedom of choice for rationalization or any sort of escape. Love has been the only liberator in this drama of becoming. He has been transformed into deathless wanderer:

And till my ghastly tale is told,

This heart within me burns:

I pass, like night, from land to land

I have strange power of speech. (Coleridge, VII, lines 584-87)

Mariner's traumatic outburst has been directed the benefit of the self rather than to the benefit of the victim.

The Rime of the Ancient Mariner looks like the rewriting of the myth of the fall; it rather can be interpreted as the myth of becoming. The myth has brought optimism and hope, on behalf of the perpetrator rather than the victim, opportunity given to man in order to come out of the vicious circle of fate and curse, or the serious crime against humanity, slave trade and slavery, for instance. Willingly realizing, confessing, and developing new consciousness is one method. In the case of indifference and negligence forceful and revolutionary method to make realize can work. But in the case of a poet of imagination, Coleridge's method of mixing the gothic (trans)naturalism for creating the compulsion state and make realize has functioned well in directing people's awareness to redress the evil and come out of the vicious circle. That is why abolitionist movement has not experienced the massive bloodshed and cruel means of revolution like that in France. Whatever may be the contexts, politics, or constraints behind the curtain, the development of new consciousness against inhuman act of slavery is great thing. Full justice to the victims of the wrongs of history cannot be granted. This is possible only in reaction against action, or violent revenge against the perpetrators. But this cannot develop peaceful coexistence. The abolitionist writing that appeared from 1790s to the early nineteenth century functioned as catalyst for bringing about changes in people's consciousness. Mariner's story resembles to the experience and practice of a contemporary religious social activist and reformer John Newton who had been slave trader and the captain of a slave ship, and later completely abandoned the course and dedicated rest of his life for the religious cause preaching people of morality and new sensibility against slave trade and slavery. His religious sermons and Methodism influenced the

abolitionists including William Wilberforce. But there was not much thrust in the reformers like John Newton and William Wilberforce for raising the status of the victims of the atrocities. They were in the process of accumulating moral backing for the advancement of the empire.

Publications on yellow fever show that "it was the epidemic of the West Indies from 1793-1796, losses of army navy averaged as high as 35,000 annually" (Tee 53). Skeleton ship carrying ghostly crew can be suggestive of the contagion of epidemics from ship to ship. Ships in general had been considered as ghostly, bringing yellow fever and trouble from tropical climate. The yellowness of the female spetre in *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* must have been suggestive of yellow fever: "Her lips were red, her looks were free,/ Her locks were yellow as gold:/ Her skin was as white as leprosy" (III, lines 190-92). And through the effect of her magic, "Four times fifty living men . . ./ They dropped down one by one" (III, lines 216, 219). The affects of horror and fear developed in the plot of *The Rime* are meant for redressing the sinful act Mariner had been involved in. The epidemics and deaths, the septre woman and her magic, natural and supernatural forces are all the spectacles utilized in bringing about transformation in the Mariner, ultimately developing affect of sympathy to him. All the spectacles related to Middle Passage horror are targeted to slave trader in order to develop fear in them and hatred to slave trade. Coleridge's hidden politics might be directed to the accumulation of moral backing for the extension of British Empire, especially in the changed political economic situations.

The Rime of the Ancient Mariner shows that Coleridge was troubled by the contemporary political problems as well as slave trade and slavery. The Mariner has been depicted to be in the process of becoming. According to Christie, "psycho-spiritual dis(ease) to be overcome by a mind working in concert with God and nature" (113), that Coleridge accomplished by writing *The Rime*. Archetypal guilt, collective in the English unconscious could be realized to the "heart

of darkness" (Christie 107) only by creating dream like horror. Man is born naked but constantly in the process of becoming, unlike animals that remain as they were born. Coleridge's Mariner establishes this effectively. The Mariner gets involved in transformation of his mind through natural and transnatural agents. Nature or transnature is given agency, and they perform their capacity to bring about transformation in the Mariner's consciousness, and they become instrumental in the process of the Mariner's becoming. Nature and transnature agents like climate, moon and stars, storm, Albatross, polar spirit, spectre woman and her mate, water snakes, Mary Queen and so on are depicted effectively in the poem. Imagination modifying novel ideas can be more effective art than plain adherence to the truth of nature. The former is more artistic and effective than the latter. The former has remained Coleridge's art in *The Rime* that has been instrumental in the process of becoming, by the use of gothic mode and sensational moral sentimentalism.

The extension of sympathy through educative process or through imaginative training had been the widespread concept towards 1790s that came into existence in reaction to Hobbes's "egoistic psychology" (Seth Lobis 71). Traditionally sympathy used to have related with 'proximity' or 'reciprocity', that is, sympathy directed to the self or its extension to the closest circles, or based on giving and receiving, the both way traffic. Classical notions of sympathy directed to the suffering of the hero have been used indirectly for the benefit of the self. However, Barzilai has made investigation into Smith's "impartial spectator" and Emerson's "concentric circles" as imaginative educative process for extending sympathy to the cosmopolitan citizen including downtrodden, by extending the circles of sympathy and repeating the process "until all humanity rests inside the innermost circle" (122). The educative and imaginative training of sympathy thus seems to be targeted to develop harmonious

"intersubjective relations" and practice "how sympathy could be sparked in the cases where it appeared to be lacking" (Robert Mitchell 93). Sympathy is rather vital moral force that could be extended to beggar, slave, or even to the dead. Critics have called it Romantic sympathy as well. But the smell of hidden politics is that sympathy flourished through sentimental literature and new sensibility especially in response to changing socio-political and economic relations seems to be the strategic tool for "colonial governmentality" and "bourgeois humanism" (Amit S. Rai 15). Coleridge has used his full effort in developing reader's sympathy to the Mariner. Due to the effect of his killing of the Albatross he has faced innumerable dire circumstances and that the divine power has forgiven him, and hence he deserves to be the rightful person for reader's sympathy, this seems to be what Coleridge wishes to show. To quote lines from *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* at length:

> I heard, and in my soul discerned
>
> Two voices in the air
>
> "Is it he?" quoth one, "Is this the man?
>
> By him who died on cross,
>
> With his cruel bow he laid full low
>
> The harmless Albatross.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The other was a softer voice,
>
> As soft as honey dew.

Quoth he, “The man hath penance done,

And penance more will do.” (V, lines 395-400, 406-09)

We find sentimental affective argument in the lines. Shame has been masked and the effort has been directed to the formation of Christian self. Argument based on rationality could not have brought about reconciliation in the possible danger of racial rivalries between slaves and the owners, so Coleridge’s turn to affect can be interpreted as reconciliatory practice.

If we take *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* as abolitionist text, this can be read as Coleridge’s, to use Campana’s term, “affective turn” (133), for persuading others, an effort to face saving and giving clean cheat to the slave trade or slave holder. The poem is the forgiveness appeal of the poet on behalf of the Mariner. DiGangi has used a term “affective entanglements” for showing the effect of the same affect on different readers, and for showing how the writers use affect for persuasive purpose differently, for some, it can be to persuade others and be beneficiary oneself, and for others, get persuaded and be the medium of other’s benefit. In the first type, there is obvious and more degree of politics since it is directed to the benefit of the self; in the second type, there is politics but reconciliatory solution. In this case, the white is the agent, persuader, and beneficiary. Coleridge’s Mariner represents white man, perpetrator in the case of racial slavery, and violator of the law of nature and divine rule, in the case of the plot of the poem. Coleridge has used his full effort in persuading the reader by accumulating sympathy for the Mariner and making him the beneficiary. In the first person narrative, the narrator who himself remains the violator or the agent of the misdeed and the causing factor for the misfortunes that follow, cannot remain free from rationalization or biasness. This looks like the intentional politics of Coleridge’s turn to affect guided by some hidden interest.

Amanda Bailey and DiGangi's terms like "affective technologies" (15) and "affective practices" (16) can also be interesting in reading Coleridge's use of affect as persuasive technique in *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*. The same emotion can have stirring capacity on the onlookers differently. Coleridge's perpetrator has been put in trial with natural supernatural forces, a gothic-actuated transformation, and sensational emotional treatment for averting their course of conduct in the changed political economic context. Observing it from the postcolonial perspective one can smell obvious politics in Coleridge's favoring the Mariner and his neglecting the victim. Imagination modifying the colors of novelty has been persuasive affective technology used in the poem. Affective practices are the intentional efforts that guide the readers to make believe. According to Reiser, writer is a part of "culture's shared nervous system" (79), who extends his actual affective experience to the reader, from his own "affective circumstances" (78). This is what Wimsatt and Beardsley called intentional and affective fallacy. But reading affective literature by neglecting affective politics in them would be new fallacy, according to 'turn to affect' theorists. The entire Romantic discourse turning to moral sentimentalism, in the process of forming new sensibility, in order to evoke Romantic sympathy, cannot remain free from constraints. I have already cited Coleridge himself commenting about *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* with "the moral sentiment too apparent . . . in a work of such pure imagination" (Christie 105).

Affective literature moves readers by "providing the political valency" (Gail Kern Paster 214) to character(s), sometimes justifying, other times praising or blaming, according to the affective circumstance from which the writer's perspective has been formed. Coleridge gives political valency to the Mariner, who has been portrayed to have suffered much due to his inhuman act. Violence against the Albatross can also be interpreted as symbolic to all inhuman

crimes or the breaches of the rules of morality or hospitality. Coleridge makes the supernatural powers remold the Mariner, gives him 'political valency', after staging the drama of expiation and forgiveness. Coleridge has asked readers in the narrative, indirectly though, let's forgive him, he has faced sufficient dire circumstances and tortures in the trial with nature and transnature. Now he deserves to be the missionary of God for spreading harmony and love. Mariner himself claims in the seventh part of the poem thus: "I pass, like night, from land to land;/ I have strange power of speech" (VII, lines 586-87), and until he does that "This heart within me burns" (VII, line 585). The Mariner has been transformed into God's agent preaching people that "He prayeth well who loveth well/ Both man and bird and beast" (VII, lines 614-15). The more the writer tries to cover the shame the more it gets revealed because the poem is written from the perpetrator's perspective to valent with him. Going 'from land to land', preaching of love to all God's creatures including 'man and bird and beast' can be interpreted as the white man's civilizing mission of colonization, a sentimental affective argument.

The Rime of the Ancient Mariner has remained the narrativization of the colonial guilt for the acting out the Mariner's trauma. Good trauma writing traumatizes the reader creating secondary trauma in him. It is written in middle voice, in free indirect speech blending and balancing the first person and the third person, according to LaCapra (19). It has the quality of repetition and "transference" (LaCapra 36). Mariner's acting out his trauma by telling it to people from land to land is the 'transference' of his trauma to the reader. This acting out has healing potentiality. Hole in the psyche can be healed by acting out and 'transference' of the trauma, but the problem with trauma writing is perspectivization and ethical tilt due to political motivation and ideology at work. However, the smell of politics in *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, being written by white writer for the white readership, appealing readers' sympathy

directed to the white character, his empowerment and giving him clean cheat, absence of the victim's voice, lessens the value of the poem from being good literature of trauma. The value of the Mariner's trauma lies in transmission of affects that are directed to the development of the affect of sympathy to the self. By reading Mariner's trauma, only slave traders and slavers can develop intersubjective cultural empathetic bridge, not their victims. The acceptance of the guilt is the duplicate mask like thin layer of sugar coated candy. Mariner's burning desire to "pass, like night, from land to land" reveals his mask targeted to the extension of colonies by using the tool of moral sentimentalism. Coleridge's revealing politics all over has been directed to divert radical agitation and protest to the spiritual politics of quietism and prepare the ground for colonization to the east and to the Middle East.

To conclude, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* has been observed in order to investigate the play of affects like outrage, disgust, horror, shame, and sympathy developed therein and found that sentimental humanitarianism was the critical affective practice guided by politics, especially in the context of changed political economic situations of England. The writer's affective turn is guided by persuasive technique from the self beneficiary position. *The Rime*, narrativization of the Mariner's trauma of guilt caused by slave trade and spectacles of Middle Passage atrocities against slaves on board, aims at transmission of affect of outrage, disgust, shame, and horror directed against slave trade in order to accumulate moral strength for the perpetuation of imperialism and transmission of sympathy for the Mariner, does not appear to be the good literature of trauma. Coleridge's efforts in the text have been invested to provide political valency to the Mariner. Imagination modifying sentiments has been the affective technology. Coleridge writes this text from the self beneficiary affective circumstances of his 'culture's shared nervous system'. *The Rime* has brought about revision in the sympathy's

relationship with proximity and reciprocity. Sympathy has been developed to the cases where traditionally it appeared to be lacking; however, it proves to be guided by ethical tilt rather than morality, in the end. Coleridge's play with imagination, natural, supernatural, and gothic posits smart and clever treatment to the Mariner's breach of the rule of hospitality, the revelation of knowledge about the universal divine soul, was necessary condition for bringing about transformation in the Mariner and making affect of sympathy instrumental, for the cases of such atrocious brutality. Coleridge brings populist agenda of 'micropolitcs' showing that there was high level of morality in society, forgetting about the historical past and thinking only about secure future. Spectacles of Middle Passage atrocities haunt Coleridge but the victims of the atrocities are not considered about in *The Rime*. The acceptance of colonial guilt, practice of new humanitarianism and Romantic sympathy are all persuasive techniques used in the poem to cool down revolutionary instinct and turn people to spiritual quietism. Hidden interest behind the crocodile's tears of the Romantic humanitarianism had been directed to the extension of colonies in the context of the shifting economic interest from slave trade and slave colonies in the Americas to the extension of empire in the east, especially after Britain's loss of North American slave colonies.

Coleridge's outrageous disgust to the evils of slave trade, its inhumanity, acceptance of colonial guilt, in the changed socio-economic, political context are seen to be guided by politics, as the efforts are made for the affect of sympathy to direct to particular community with the purpose of colonial governmentality. British Romanticism made use of the affective sentimental rhetoric as persuasive technique when abolition of slavery became moral and socio-economic issue of the day. In Coleridge, the affect of sympathy has been found to be directed to his community rather than to the victim. All the rhetorical persuasive techniques and affective

technologies used in *The Rime* are for the enhancement of conservatism, i.e., ‘spiritual politics of quietism’, accumulating moral backing from the abolition of slave trade and using it as a tool for colonial advancement.

Chapter Five

Politics of Sympathy and Outrage in Wordsworth's Abolitionist Poetry

Wordsworth has written a number of poems dedicated to the abolitionist cause. His sonnets *Poems in Two Volumes* (1807)—"To Thomas Clarkson", "To Toussaint L'Ouverture", "September Ist, 1802"—, *Humanity* (1835), and *The Prelude* (1850) deal with the issue of slave trade and slavery explicitly. These poems show Wordsworth's anger on the attitude favoring perpetuation of slavery for economic reasons. This chapter seeks to show that Wordsworth's abolitionist poetry stems from the affective circumstances and not from his genuine feeling for the predicament of the slaves. His sympathy for them verges on the capitalistic and the affect of outrage evoked is not so for the plight of the slaves as much it is for the oppressive and ordinance of expansionist Napoleonic France. The outrage at the French villainy translates as the British honesty about the issue of slavery in Wordsworth.

Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey in the Lake District of England became close friends with Thomas Clarkson who was writing on behalf of the abolition bill in early 1790s. Clarkson has commented about Wordsworth's poetry through the "Quaker perspective", though he was not himself a Quaker: he was "the spirit of God . . . given to men . . . spiritual teacher or guide" (qtd. in Woof 94). Clarkson saw spiritual teacher in Wordsworth who dealt with material world through spiritual eyes, which is, for Clarkson, more effective technique than general teaching. The technique could move the reader more effectively than treating nature merely as material entity. Wordsworth published a sonnet "To Thomas Clarkson: on the Final Passing of the Bill for the Abolition of Slave Trade, March, 1807", for Allan Richardson, "a congratulatory sonnet" ("Slavery" 503) published by Wordsworth, as tribute to Clarkson, a leader of anti-slavery movement, as the house passed the abolition of slave trade bill in 1807.

Wordsworth wrote a sonnet "To Toussaint L'Ouverture" dedicated to freed slave and revolutionary abolitionist hero Toussaint who resisted Napoleon's attempt to re-establish French rule in San Domingue but was arrested and killed in detention under severe torture in 1803. At that time Toussaint must be a terrorist in the eyes of empire but it is questionable that Wordsworth made him revolutionary hero by writing a sonnet dedicated to him. Alan Richardson comments, by writing the sonnet, Wordsworth "countered widespread demonization of the Haitian revolutionaries" ("Slavery" 503). But Marcus Wood contends that it was not Wordsworth's valorization of Toussaint rather "he was just being fashionable, he was contributing to anti-Napoleon propaganda currently flooding the nation" (231) by making him revolutionary hero, Wordsworth secures his position within the propaganda. Wood further elaborates about British government's failure to control San Domingue and surrounding French colonies after six years attempt fighting against Toussaint and the revolutionaries. After the withdrawal of the British troops, the French went to the expedition with British consent, but Wood argues "the fatal entrapment and imprisonment of Toussaint by the French had provided the British with the chance to create the myth of a noble black, who had been fighting, and winning, against the common enemy" (231), Napoleon's France. This attitude has generated a surprising query how the barbarous and wild rebel suddenly turned into a noble figure in British imagination.

Carey reads Wordsworth's "To Thomas Clarkson" and "To Toussaint L'ouverture", written in the year 1807, as "more than merely lukewarm" (*Abolitionism* 85), for the abolition of slave trade cause. Marcus Wood does not find the proportion between compassionate logic and pity or pain felt for the slaves. Rather, in Wordsworth, he finds "egotistical empathy" (203) that slaves were not in the centre of British imagination, but their personal circumstance was in the

centre. Wordsworth's two great poems on slavery *The Prelude* and "To Toussaint L'ouverture" are also about the "process of imperial chaos" (231), especially after the French revolutionary wars. Toussaint had been fighting and winning against the common enemy, so Wordsworth's sympathy Wood would call "egotistical" (231).

The autobiographical self created by Wordsworth in *The Prelude* is the blend of subjectivities. Ashton Nichols has evaluated the "dramatized cultural self" in *The Prelude* as the "politics of self representation" (132) and Wordsworth's "disillusionment with revolutionary politics". He further argues that the adult subject in the autobiography senses "multiplicity of voices" drawing "strength from the cultures, legends, tales, and experiences around him" (136). Wordsworth's efforts have been seen in renovating virtue through recollection. Geoffrey H. Hartman discusses the "Prelude theory of development" (124), that is, accepting the world of everyday than the "mythical heaven from where the child fell" (135), and developing the child in most humanistic way possible according to the teachings of the nature. Wordsworth also believes in gradual development of a child, which is also his liberation what Hartman calls "bildungsroman" (124). Hartman also finds Wordsworth's expectation high on reader, as he provokes him for criticism from this worldly imagination. In the tenth book of *The Prelude*, according to Wood, Wordsworth writes about slavery but only confining it to "gauze the moral health of the nation" (231). The moral health of the nation, as Wood finds in Wordsworth, depended on the success of the abolitionist movement. Primo Levi has similar contemplation: "Compassion itself alludes logic. There is no proportion between the pity we feel and the extent of the pain by which the pity aroused" (as qtd. in Wood 229). Slaves were not in the center of Wordsworth's imagination. The circumstance in which the British had been and upgrading their moral health were seen to be his principal concern.

William Wordsworth also wrote poems on antislavery theme. Brycchan Carey explores a "confessional passage" ("Slavery" 85) in Wordsworth's *The Prelude*, that is very normal, that Carey finds like "lukewarm about the abolition campaign" ("Slavery" 85). Lee also finds ecological metaphor used in *The Prelude*, to refer to slavery, "the most rotten branch of human shame" that ought to "fall altogether with its parent tree", Wordsworth as cited in Lee (41).

For the poet like Wordsworth who had been raised and brought up in the Lake District among rustic humble people and its vernacular, the virtues that shaped him was sublime and against the grain. According to David Morse, these "virtues" are the "sublimity of his character" (264). Jeffrey C. Robinson alludes Hazlitt's evaluation of Wordsworth, in him "a power of raising the smallest thing in nature into sublimity by the force of sentiment . . . he has no fancy, no wit, no humor, little descriptive power, no dramatic power . . . (247) yet sublimity in simplicity. R. L. Brett and A. R. Jones also write of Wordsworth's visionary style giving "charm of novelty to things of everyday" by "awakening the mind's intention to the lethargy of custom . . . loveliness and wonders of the world" (xx). He has amazing power of raising sympathy of the reader to the sublimity of nature. Nature and everyday rustic life are portrayed in Wordsworth in sublime manner. John Williams furthers the argument, in Wordsworth; incidents are colored through character (102). The feeling developed through the incident gives importance to action. Wordsworth repairs "false opinions and contentious thoughts" (Williams 102) by writing poetry in order to renew and restore virtue to freshness. In his abolitionist poetry, imperial notions and contentious issues related to slave trade and slavery are renovated. For doing this Wordsworth has created typical character and incident also in order to stir the reader to action.

Wordsworth travelled to France in 1790 and 1791. In 1793 England declared war on France, and in the same year Wordsworth travelled to West Country and Wales at his growing

youth of 23. According to Carol Kyros Walker, Bristol at that time had been the trading centre; its merchants prospered through slave trade (168). Wordsworth met Southey, Joseph Cottle, Coleridge, and a circle of intellectuals with radical ideas. Wordsworth also encountered ruins of the massive castles, factories, beggars at the tourist sites, wealthy merchants getting prospered, massive and widespread poverty, unemployment, picturesque scenes and so on that moved him greatly (Walker 169). Radical politics affected public awareness as well. Michael O'Neill argues that Edmund Burke, the MP for Bristol lost his seat due to his conservative views when Bristol had been radically forward (259). Bristol radical intellectuals displayed revolutionary ideals while the nation was in no mood to tolerate dissenting libertarianism due to the bloody things happened in France then recently.

Wordsworth's golden age ideals, however, were based on conservatism, Burkean ideas, and countryside agrarian ideals. He was against revolutionary radical ideas and against Napoleon's expansionism. He was against modernist ideals of change during industrial revolution in England, in favor of rural life and agrarian society, what Mark Keay has called the late eighteenth century "golden age theories" (85). London, the centre of state authority and widespread corruption with power in the hands of few landowners and aristocrats, declared war against France on the pretext of stopping Napoleonic expansionism (Keay 85). Wordsworth's emphasis in this context could be seen in preserving moral ground of the nation. Nation's unnecessary spending in a long war against France also provoked middle class reformers. They were against slave trade and for the free labor. Wordsworth was intellectually indebted from Edmund Burke and hence he rejected radical politics in favor of conservatism. Burke's conservatism affected many high Romantic writers.

Daniel Robinson has claimed that Wordsworth's public sonnets respond to the "public events of great national significance . . . [from] historical, social, political or cultural importance" (141). But the questions arise: whether the prolific poet like Wordsworth writes much on abolitionist cause. Do his abolitionist poems raise the issues related to slave trade and slavery, atrocities being committed against the slaves, directly and effectively? Why did not he publish a single of his abolitionist poems before the passing of the abolition of slave trade bill in 1807 while he was in touch with radical ideas since the early 1790s? Did he write few of his abolitionist poems only to register his name in the list or with serious purpose? Perhaps Wordsworth wrote with imperial colonial mindset and not with the true humanitarian agenda. He was only worried about moral upgrading of British society, the conservative minded project of reforming the situation rather than going against the prevalent ills in revolutionary ways. It all reveals the confused state of mind of the society as the confused mind of the poet. Theoretical notions from affect theory have been utilized for the vindication of the argument. Wordsworth's efforts have been noticed for the cultivation of sympathy in his poems. McCarthy's idea of writerly capacity and use of imaginations for the development of sympathy and Barzilai's ideas on the cultivation of sympathy have been used in the chapter. In the same way, Reiser's term, writer is the "culture's shared nervous system" writing from "affective circumstances" (79) and Nussbaum's ideas on sympathy directed to the benefit of the self or the other have been used effectively as theoretical notion for strengthening the argument. Arel's theorization on writing shame, Massumi's critique on capitalism and surplus motif guided by "our situation" (14) and "immediacy" (62) are perfectly effective tools for dealing with Wordsworth's abolitionist discourse. Further, Rai's postulations on "bourgeois humanism" (67), "colonial governmentality"

(15), and Spivak's notion of "fantasy of imperial paternalism" (qtd. in McCann 51) have been used effectively in dealing with Wordsworth's abolitionist discourse in the chapter.

Wordsworth published his *Poems in Two Volumes* in 1807 in which we find his poems dedicated to liberty and with public events of historical, social, political, and cultural significance. Among the poems, very few deal with the issue of slavery and slave trade. The poems also highlight British- French rivalry and upgrading the moral character of the nation. These poems have been analyzed in detail in this part of the chapter.

The first volume of the *Poems in Two Volumes* by Wordsworth published in 1807 has a collection of abolitionist sonnets dedicated to liberty: “To Toussaint L’Ouverture”, “September Ist, 1802”, “London 1802” among others. Another sonnet “To Thomas Clarkson” has been collected in his second volume. Wordsworth honors abolitionist figures like Toussaint and Clarkson in his famous sonnets “To Toussaint L’Ouverture” and “To Thomas Clarkson” respectively. Wordsworth creates incidents, characters, and delivers the moral spiritual message slightly in sublime way.

“To Toussaint L’Ouverture” can be categorized as Wordsworth’s one of the greatest sonnets dedicated to liberty. Toussaint, the freed slave who also become the governor of Haiti and who resisted Napoleon in his attempt to reestablish slavery in the island, has been valorized and praised in the poem. Readers can find Wordsworth’s admiration for the public figure, his efforts in the construction of public figure must have been praiseworthy for the abolitionists. The sonnet can be read as the turning point in the contemporary discourse also because it countered the widespread demonization of the rebellion in the colonies. The poem made Toussaint the revolutionary hero, cosmopolitan spirit, universal truth of righteousness, love and liberty. This

poem appeals for love to humans, nature, and God; teach mankind become more virtuous and moral.

Wordsworth's effort in the sonnet has been directed to inculcate benevolence and compassion in the readers for the revolutionary hero by awakening their imagination for him. This sensational twist, the shift of emphasis from the savage black forces to the rightful rebels, is the eye opener, the evidence of the transformation in the character of the British. Wordsworth's confidence in his poetic power could only do this; the sestet part of the poem announces thus:

> Thou hast left behind
>
> Powers that will work for thee, air, earth, and skies;
>
> There's not a breathing of the common wind
>
> That will forget thee, thou last great allies;
>
> Thy friends are exultations, agonies,
>
> And love, and man's unconquerable mind. (Lines 9-14)

Through the lines Wordsworth has made Toussaint, a Negro revolutionist, the heroic and immortal figure. Toussaint resisted bravely the Napoleonic efforts of reinstating slavery in San Domingo. Wordsworth sets Toussaint so firmly in the unconquerable mind of the public that he is everywhere in the "air, earth, and skies". He will never be forgotten for he is in every breath people would take because of his association with liberty, love, and righteousness. The manner Wordsworth valorizes Toussaint is significant especially in the context when Haitian revolutionaries had been demonized in the public discourse and in the eyes of the empire.

Britain invaded San Domingo in 1793 and began to suffer heavy casualties there. France outlawed slavery in 1794 and stood with the Haitian revolutionaries. As a result of this British forces withdrew from there in 1798. Toussaint and the revolutionaries had full control of the island till 1801. It was a great blow to the civilized self of the British. Toussaint became the governor, promulgated constitution, ended slavery in the entire island. Britain and France made peace treaty in 1801. It was Britain's strategic move. Britain allowed Napoleon to send large expedition to San Domingo to restore French authority. It was the treaty of the empires for securing benefits of both parties. Toussaint was captured by the French by treachery in 1802, and in 1803 he was killed in detention under severe torture. These are the historical records from David Brion Davis. Violent resistance of the revolutionaries had destroyed British navy. Toussaint and his allies were demonizing, savage forces, and barbarous blacks in the eyes of the empire at that time. Wordsworth did not write a word in praise of Toussaint. None of the High Romantic writers did that. But as the Napoleonic France captured Toussaint and he was almost about to die, suddenly Wordsworth wrote a sonnet valorizing Toussaint, published the sonnet about four years after the revolutionary figure's death, only when the abolition bill was passed by the parliament in 1807. Gayatri Spivak's phrase "fantasy of imperial paternalism" (qtd. in McCann 51) can be used here for Wordsworth's voyeurism, valorization of Toussaint the revolutionary figure. Wordsworth moves with the current, not venturing to go against the grain; since he represents the "culture's shared nervous system" writing from particular "affective circumstances" (79), using Julie Reiser's terms. This trend of sympathy to the revolutionary figure can be pointed out as "bourgeois humanism" (67), borrowing Amit S Rai's term, sympathy not out of sympathetic identification with the victim but out of changing nature of capitalism, sympathy for the suffering other and learning to gain benefit by it, a new type of

political economic relationship due to the character of capitalist market. This type of sympathy cannot empower the victim; rather it makes him even vulnerable and weak.

Toussaint has been portrayed as “unhappy”, “miserable”, yet “chieftain”, the leader of his barbarous culture, locked up in confinement, mythological political construct, the poet seeks to establish in the octave part of sonnet. Has Wordsworth been successful in developing readers’ sympathy for the revolutionary hero? Sympathy has been highly circulated emotion in Romantic abolitionist literature, writer’s effort in attracting reader’s sympathy to characters. The success of the writer depended on the “capacity to enter imaginatively into the lives of others” (McCarthy 121). Development of sympathy had been the indicator for popular discourse from the perspective of Romantic texts. Barzilai remarks that sympathy was not something permanent, rather it can be cultivated through pedagogic process; it “enlarges our perspective and refine our judgment” (164). But Amit S Rai comments, capitalist anti-slavery discourse, gothic sympathy, missionary discourse are all pedagogic strategies of “bourgeois humanism” preparing ground for “colonial governmentality” (15). In such case sympathy engenders benefits from the suffering others. Wordsworth sets sympathy to motion through imagination. Wordsworth shows that Napoleonic France is responsible for pushing Toussaint to the sympathetic situation. This way of extending sympathy to the victim can be beneficial on the part of the sympathizer but not the victim. It must have been national ideology to win the sentiment of the blacks and use it against the French and for the benefit of empire. Otherwise, French might use slaves against the British. Brian Massumi also critiques changing colors of capitalism, “controlled walking” and “balancing act of affect” (17), which are more powerful than ideology. Ideology is rarely permanent in capitalism, since it functions flexibly and tangibly, concerned with “immediacy” (Massumi 62) which is more affective. In capitalism, Massumi postulates, “we are our situations” (14) with

flexible ideology guided by benefit. Wordsworth has written other sonnets like “King of Sweden” and “September Ist, 1802” in which Napoleonic France has been blamed as wicked. Reader gets surprised whether Wordsworth has honored Toussaint and the King of Sweden only because both of them fought bravely for liberty and patriotism against Napoleon’s expansionism.

“September Ist, 1802” is about an unnamed Negro woman, banished from France by the Government ordinance, the hateful and disgraced act of tyranny, who travelled as fellow passenger together with the speaker of the poem:

> Was silent, motionless in eyes and face.
>
> She was a Negro woman driv’n from France,
>
> Rejected like all others of that race,
>
> Not one of whom may now find footing there;
>
> This the poor out-cast did to us declare,
>
> Nor murmur’d at the unfeeling ordinance. (Lines 10-14)

These lines portray not only the sympathy of the speaker to the banished Negro woman but also the speaker’s anger, hatred, and dissatisfaction to France, its out-casting and banishing slaves, its “unfeeling ordinance”. The Negro woman’s pathetic portrayal, “silent”, her “motionless” state, her “languid speech”, “dejected”, “meek” appearance have been imagined to set reader’s sympathy to character in motion, and at the same time severe hatred to the victimizer. The main subject of the poem is not to arouse sympathy to the victim but to highlight the “unfeeling ordinance”. In all the poems described, Wordsworth has imagined the juxtaposition of French slavery and English liberty. Wordsworth’s historical critical approach in these poems suggests

his effort in making positive image of the self and villainous image of the Napoleonic expansionist France. According to Martha Nussbaum, compassion is sad and painful emotion directed to other person's misfortune, and the purpose may be making the subject of sympathy beneficiary or for the sympathizer's self benefit (*Upheavals* 10). She further premises that shame, envy, and disgust are the impediments to true compassion (*Upheavals* 47). Compassion without any condition or selfless benefit is rare, and that is true compassion, obviously directed to the benefit of the victim. Compassion developed for the victim out of envy and disgust to the victimizer may be guided by the speaker's "affective circumstances" (Reiser's term used above) and national prejudices. Shame also "diminishes the self" (Stephaine Arel 23) and hence less desirable emotion, but for the healthy spiritual wellbeing for the future it must be replaced with compassion, pity, and benevolence. Otherwise, shameful state may haunt or chase a person throughout life. Healthy transformation of the past collective shame of history into spiritual wellbeing, however, is very rare. Generally it is guided by rationalization, also overpowered with envy and disgust. Wordsworth's abolitionist poems were written with the purpose of developing compassion, pity, and benevolence to the victim, but these emotions appear masked when the speakers' efforts seen directed to self beneficiary motive, shame seen to be masked, envy and disgust directed to the traditional enemy, France.

Sonnets like "September Ist, 1802" and "To Toussaint L'Ouverture" got published in the same year 1807 when Wordsworth's another famous sonnet "To Thomas Clarkson" was published in the same collection, *Poems in Two Volumes*. In such a situation described above, abolition of slave trade and slavery was very difficult task that Britain accomplished, Wordsworth establishes. On the one hand France had been banishing and out-casting slaves inhumanely from the country, and on the other hand, Britain was struggling very hard for the

freedom of the slaves. He wrote the sonnet in honor of the English abolitionist "To Thomas Clarkson" who "Didst first lead forth this Pilgrimage sublime" (line 5), though there had been controversy even in Britain at that time on the message the line wishes to deliver, especially when Wilberforce Sons objected to it, the author himself makes a long footnote comment in 1838 that the publisher Poppins Printers edition of the volume for the poem includes:

> This honor has, I am told been denied to Mr. Clarkson by the Sons of Mr. Wilberforce, in account of his life lately published by them, and priority of exertion in this cause— (public exertion, I suppose, for with private, I have nothing to do)— claimed for their father . . .. Although in fact who might be first and who might be second, where such rare and high qualities where put forth by both laborers is of little moment; yet . . . I shall avail myself of some future occasion to make public the grounds of evidence upon which I first entertained, and still retain . . . every part of this humble tribute to the virtues of my honored friend. (5)

Of course, if Wordsworth's abolitionist poems read together, Clarkson, Wilberforce and all actors for the cause, represent Britain. Wordsworth's "To Thomas Clarkson" was written on 'the Final Passing of the Bill of the Abolition of Slave Trade', since Clarkson was the social activist, Wilberforce was the political activist fighting for the same cause, the author's main argument has been analyzed here not in terms of persons but in terms of public attitude, the circumstances that shaped the British subjectivity with respect to abolitionist consciousness.

The octave part of the sonnet "To Thomas Clarkson" seeks to establish that abolition of slave trade bill that the British parliament passed after too much of public and political activism "was an obstinate Hill to climb" (line 1), "toilsome" and "dire" (line 2) act that the British knew

"feelingly" (line 3). It was so difficult a task that the British could only have accomplished because they were the "true yoke-fellow of time" (line 8). With the passing of the bill "The bloody writing is forever torn" (line 11), and with this the British became the "firm friend of human kind" (line 14), whereas the rivals to the British, the French, had been forming the ordinance for banishing and out-casting slaves from the country. Wordsworth seems to portray in "September Ist, 1802", the French racist policy, Napoleonic ordinance during San Domingo campaign that banned colonial blacks from France.

Some portion of the tenth book of Wordsworth's *The Prelude* also contains contemplation on the issue of slavery and its abolition. According to the information in the footnote, the text was written in 1805 during the abolition controversy. The revised text appeared in the version of *The Prelude* published in 1850 in America, perhaps to energize the abolitionist movement in the United States. This text has nothing to do with British abolitionist movement, because it was published in America in 1850, neither to affect British abolition of slave trade (1807) nor the emancipation of slavery (1833). Wordsworth wrote another poem with abolitionist theme, *Humanity*, which was again written in 1829 but published in 1835, long later than it was actually expected for the British abolitionist movement. But Wordsworth's abolitionist ideas in the poems are worth-analyzing in the context.

The abolitionist text in the tenth book of *The Prelude* summarizes the British experience and reminds reader of the need of humanity and moral character:

Twice had the trees let fall

Their leaves, as often Winter had put on

His hoary crown, since I had seen the surge

Beat against Albion's shore, since ear of mine

He caught the accents of my native speech

Upon our native country's sacred ground. (Lines 239-244)

The speaker tells his experience about the abolition of slave trade and slavery, "twice had the trees let fall" "upon our native country's sacred ground". From the spatial-temporal context of the poem's publication it can be inferred that Wordsworth might be sharing his native country's experience to the American readership.

The abolition of slavery had not been easy task as has been previously mentioned when dealing with sonnet addressed "To Thomas Clarkson". It was "obstinate Hill to climb", "toilsome", "dire" act. *The Prelude* has also similar spirit:

first memorable onset made

By a strong levy of humanity

Upon the traffickers in Negro blood;

Effort which, though defeated, had recalled

To notice old forgotten principles" (lines 250-254).

It took almost 50 years to "notice" the "old forgotten principles" in England, from late 1780 to the early 1830s. The speaker has strong faith to share in *The Prelude* that prosperity is nothing in the absence of moral character, humanitarianism, and liberty. In the absence of the ideals prosperity would "fall together with its parent tree" (line 265), just like the fall of the system of human trafficking. Prosperity in the absence of justice, righteousness, liberty, and morality

would corrupt “the minds of all ingenuous youth” (line 270) and push them to the state of guilt and shame. Such ideas must have influenced American readers with strong affectivity.

Wordsworth’s very powerful poem *Humanity* also argues against all kinds of bondage, chain, and walls slavery could create. He has raised powerful questions: “Shall man assume a property in man? /Lay on the moral will a withering ban” (lines 79-80)? Man is not the object to be bought and sold as others’ property. So slavery is shameful. Wordsworth also highlights the 1772 famous maxim in order to forward his argument in the poem: “Slaves cannot breathe in England/ Yet that boast/ Is but a mockery! When from coast to coast,/ Though fettered slave be none, her floors and soil” (lines 83-85). The speaker of the poem does not seem to be satisfied with the existing situation when old maxims are but hypocrisy and human conduct about slave trade are mockery to the old principles. It is surprising that Wordsworth, the epochal mainstream poet, uses popular old maxims from the late eighteenth century, from 1772 court trail of the slave Somerset, Thomas Paine’s basic premise from *The Rights of Man*, and then contentious issues at that time like division of labor and free labor in place of slave labor, free market based on laissez faire economy with reciprocal benefit in place of mercantilist agrarian economy with protective market based on extra tariff and duty, from Adam Smith’s 1776 ground breaking book *The Wealth of Nations*, in writing the poem *Humanity*, much later, in 1829 (published in 1835), than they provoked the public with agitation and movement.

Wordsworth, in his poem *Humanity*, advocates for Adam Smith’s classic book *The Wealth of Nations*, published at the beginning of industrial revolution, the path breaking venture that suggested division of labor, free labor, productivity, free market based on reciprocal profit and so on in the context when the failure of the previous model of capitalism, based on mercantilist agrarian economy protected by slave labor, tariff and duty, was observed. It was the

brilliant capitalist shift to an alternative model of modern free trade, the shift of interest from North American and West Indian slave colonies to the new colonies in the East. Whenever problem appears in existing order, capitalism finds alternative path for the growth and continuation of the system leaving some contentious topics. Capitalism keeps changing, according to Massumi, it moves forward through "controlled walking" and "balancing" (14) its pace.

From these analyses it can be postulated that Wordsworth was not a risk taking poet. He wrote on the contentious issues only when they were settled and got resolved, much later than the issues really stirred the society with forceful current. Such a great revolutionary change like the abolition of slavery took place in the history of mankind during the age, yet the silence of the mainstream high Romantic poet like Wordsworth has been observed as surprising. Wordsworth raised the voice of the rustic people in the countryside in common people's vernacular, issues of the poor when there had been widespread counter public culture and oppositional politics in 1790s, yet very little and slightly about racial slavery. Abolitionist movement got accelerated through popular agenda, middle class and black uprising, the movement from below. Readers expect mainstream writer's contribution in the ground breaking change in the transformational history of human kind, but the close study of such movements reveal that they are initiated and accelerated not by the mainstream established writers, instead, backed up by low profile writers. High Romantic writers like Byron, Shelley, and Keats did not write a single line on the issue. Rather it was supported by radical press, feminism, dissenting church, oppositional network of clubs, social activism, journals, pamphlets, debates (Andrew McCann 2). Widespread conservatism among the established strata of society can be referred to as the product of black

rebellion monstrosity and people's disillusionment with radical politics due to the failure of emancipator promises in French Revolution.

Wordsworth's abolitionist ideas are the product of British perspective, the influence of his "affective circumstances". Through the sentimental poetry Wordsworth extends sympathy to the slaves, like a capitalist pedagogy learning to benefit from the suffering of another. In Wordsworth, there is anger directed not to the slaves and their savagery, neither is it directed to the British who were involved in the inhuman act of slave trade, but to the oppressive and "unfeeling ordinance" of the expansionist Napoleonic France. The French perspective in this area in further research would satisfy the reader with better understanding and would reveal Wordsworth's politics more vividly. Wordsworth's anger directed to France is meant for developing blacks' hatred to their "unfeeling ordinance" and also an appeal to join hands with the British who address the issue "feelingly". Wordsworth deals with the issue in smart and strategic way to pace with the changing nature of capitalism, depicting France as villain, Britain as friend to slaves, and keeping British society in beneficiary position. He publishes his abolitionist poems only after the settlement of the anxiety, after 1807 and 1833. Wordsworth's conservative project seems to be smart technology to cool down revolutionary radical instinct in quiet and spiritual manner, and at the same time empower and enlighten the British with moral back up for the future dealing.

Wordsworth's anti-slavery poetry registered abolitionist issue as historiographic record. Since the writer writes from his "affective circumstances", writing with the consciousness of his society, one must not expect negative portrayal of his own image from the writer like Wordsworth, from privileged position of his society. He does not highlight atrocities being committed against slaves; neither does he depict the inhumanity that really took place in the case

of Negro trafficking in detail. Writers should maintain high level of moral sense and dignity of one's society through their writing so that future generations would get moral strength in place of humiliation and collective structural shame from the historiographic records. We cannot redress and compensate fully for the historical wrongs only we can bring about transformation for the future course of conduct and action. We need much more love, hope for the shared future, and determination to combat the corrosive forces of disgust, hatred, and rage. Has Wordsworth been successful in delivering all these attributes through his abolitionist poems? Fear, the overwhelming emotion in Wordsworth, leads him to create the other, as a way out. But the way Wordsworth others France only diverts the issue from abolitionism and leads the argument somewhere else. Fear is good because it makes us think, be careful, wise. It is useful; it makes us sincere, dutiful, and humane. If anger is directed against oppression it can be vital force. Institutional collective anger can be source of energy and political tool to combat social ills. But Wordsworth's concern seen to be directed to the upgrading of British moral health, defiled due to the inhuman trafficking and treatment to the slaves, so that the accumulated moral strength could be moral back up for overcoming shame, and energy for Britain's future course, for the perpetuation of imperial leadership, which is bourgeois humanism guided by benefit in which sympathy's main concern is to accumulate benefit not to the victim but to the sympathizer.

Chapter Six

Representation of the Submissive Passivity of Slave Victims: Politics of Sympathy in the Abolitionist Poetry of Cowper, Blake, Southey

The review in chapter three shows that Romantic poetics in relation to abolitionist rhetoric has been appreciated area in criticism. But the portrayal of the subject in Romantic literature and its politics has remained worth investigating. Romantic abolitionist instinct in Cowper, Blake, and Southey got inspired from Anti-slavery Society's abolitionist agenda, evangelical methodical reform into humanitarian Christianity, and radical dissenting tradition of Bristol and West Country along with changing political economic ideas. None of the high Romantic male writers, this chapter seeks to justify, are radical and aggressive in the case of abolitionism since their efforts has been seen to be invested in depicting the victim with submissive passivity accumulating moral strength for the victimizer. Their political motive in evoking the affect of sympathy for the blacks is geared towards dramatizing the humanitarian intention of the well-meaning British people towards the slaves rather than actually making a strong plea for the abolition of slavery.

The masked shame of the imperialist project has been directed to the circulation of abolitionist propaganda for establishing the relationship between abolitionism and British mercy, in all writers described in this chapter. Cowper, Blake, and Southey all portray the black dramatis personae with submissive passivity, negating the possibility of violation and revenge from them. All these strategies have been observed to be backed up by self beneficiary politics, the affect of sympathy to the slaves for the benefit of the self, rather than initiated with true humanitarian cause.

William Cowper (1731-1800) published four ballads in 1788— "The Morning Dreams", "Pity for Poor Africans", "Sweet Meat Has Sour Sauce", and "Negro's Complaint"— and the second book (On Slavery) of *The Task* (1785) on the theme of slavery and abolition. The former ballads were written during the abolition controversy towards the end of the eighteenth century, for the popular audience, upon the request of Wilberforce and the abolitionists. The House passed the bill for restricting the number of slaves to British colonies in the West Indies in 1788, despite petitions from merchants and planters of Liverpool against it. Cowper's abolitionist poems were written on the background of late 1780s. His famous poem "Sweet Meat Has Sour Sauce" has been written under the persona of the captain of slave ship, in which the trader laments the inevitability of the abolition of the trade, the passing of the bill for restricting the number of slaves in the British colonies was thought of as progress towards abolition. According to Duncan Wu, in his abolitionist poems, Cowper's "loathing of slavery was also shared by Hannah More, Anna Laetitia Barbauld, and Ann Yearsley" (*Companion* 19).

Cowper was much troubled by slavery and slave trade since it was the major blemish upon British moral and imperial mission. He has followed "celebratory national agenda", the belief on essentiality for maintaining the "national image", as has been discussed by Wood (81). Wood does not find Cowper's abolition propaganda "politically and racially straightforward" (82), rather, he only wrote for "popular circulation across England in the late 1780s" (82). Wood further elaborates Cowper relating slavery to larger imperial history blaming Spanish beginning, intellectualizing, and fictionalizing, introducing figures like John Newton as abolitionist hero, actively taking part in religious and moral upgrading of Britain (84). Wood reads Cowper as "religious enthusiast capable of articulating his sense of sin, despair and salvation with peculiar transparency and intensity" (65). Wood further extends his argument that, Cowper has attempted

to establish through his poems “if God could have created such non-Christian objects of total suffering as the African slaves, then he can have no interest in human life” (69), especially when there had been the prevalence of the trend of conversion of the slaves into Christianity in order to prove that the slavery was voluntary service to the brethrens and it was not the exploitation of Africans. Cowper’s loathing of slavery, in his poems, has been directed to animalizing treatment, bondage of body and mind in slavery, conversion of the slaves so that it could be seen that we are all slaves to Christ for his sacrifice to humanity. Africans’ service to the whites was also seen as voluntary service to their savers from African primitivity and brutish savagery. God was the “blind and pointless piece of machinery” (Wood 69) to create non Christian objects of total suffering, so conversion was thought of as the solution given by the God’s so-called representative, the whites, that would treat the brutalization of the victim, racist discourse, and animalizing attitude.

R.S. White reads William Cowper’s “The Negro’s Complaint” (1788) and finds Cowper commenting slavery against natural law and natural rights. The Negro has been forced from home and pleasures in Africa into slavery. He gives his life for the pleasures of others as a slave (173). Duncan Wu has also made exploration into “The Negro’s Complaint”, in which the Negro slave is given agency and voice. The speaker in the poem must be the convert to Christianity, a believer that he has strong patience for after life justice. Cowper portrays sentimental picture spreading horror, fear, and the scenes of Middle Passage atrocities being committed against the slaves.

Lynn Festa has evaluated Cowper’s abolitionist poetry as “plea for humanity” by articulating the “suffering of the slaves in first person in order to stir the reader” (160) and by addressing the British reader as “you” or “thee”, applying “identification technique” (160),

racially conditioned addressor and addressee. Cowper, in “The Negro’s Complaint” follows the first person technique for the speaker, describing his plight, woes, suffering, and series of questions to traders, parliament, consumers, Christians. But Alan Richardson finds in Cowper to have denied racial hierarchy. Richardson finds Cowper pitying poor Africans and highlighting slave traders’ “hypocrisy” and “lack of humanity” ("Slavery" 501). So Cowper’s views expressed in his abolitionist poetry, his representation of the blacks, and the extension of sympathy through the poems has been seen to be ambivalent, as observed by the critics.

William Blake’s (1757-1827) poems like *All Religions are One* (1788), *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1790), and *The Visions of the Daughters of Albion* (1793) raise the bigger issues like dissolving the boundaries between religious and cultural differences considering the poetic genius as the true source of all religions, promoting the balanced dependence upon spiritual and physical perception, and attacking slavery, sexual inequality, colonial expansionism, Helen Thomas synthesizes. Blake’s other abolitionist poems from *Songs of Innocence* and *Songs of Experience* like “The Little Black Boy” (1789) and “The Chimney Sweeper” (1789 and 1794) poems confront colonial ideology drawing parallels between black and white, countering the proslavery argument, standing for racial spiritual equality. According to White, Blake’s poem influenced by American Revolution, French Revolution, slavery, child labor and so on. White investigates Blake’s mythological psychological model to explore into innocence and experience as exposing many social issues of the day. White considers slavery to be the main source of all injustice, by reading Blake; freedom from slavery thus becomes “metonymic for all forms of liberation, political, sexual, and intellectual” (169).

Enlightenment thinkers defined humanity as universalist concept, but Dennis M. Welch has commented “Hobbes, Locke, Hume and others” (109) defined humanity in terms of “skin

colour, cultural background, and so forth" (109). Welch illustrates Hume positing the racist view "the English as the most remarkable of any people that perhaps ever were in the world . . . the Negroes to be naturally inferior to the whites" (109). Welch points out the racial immaterialist essentialist views prevalent still in proslavery proponents that had been national discourse before the insurgence of the abolitionist ideology. But Welch shows Blake to have discredited the assumption portrayed through Oothoon's suffering as a slave woman "admitting to forms of defilement that are only experiential and not essential" (123). Blake's poetry helped question traditional essentialist racist notions rooted in people's beliefs, according to Welch.

Peter J. Kitson comments on Blake's "Little Black Boy" (1789) and asserts the poem representing slaves and portraying abolitionists' sympathy ("Romantic" 368). Kitson notices the black boy in the state of innocence accepting the hierarchies of color. The black boy must have been brought up at the time when racial worldview had been widespread. The issues of racial and gender oppression have been noticed in Blake by Kitson as well. Blacks and women were in a state of mental imprisonment. According to Kitson, Blake raises the issues of "representation of slaves" and the "limits of the abolitionists' sympathy", the "vision of interracial fraternity" ("Romantic" 368) through "The Little Black Boy".

Marcus Wood has also made similar comment on "The Little Black Boy", pointing out "conventional set of beliefs relating to superiority of whites . . . race agenda" (197). Wood has investigated the racist stereotypes that the child accepts his mother's doctrines that he is "just a shadow of the white" (198). Alan Richardson comments on the deep rooted racial beliefs in the little black boy are the results of "internalized" and "imposed" "restraints" ("Slavery" 501) set by colonizers through their religious mission on his innocent state. The boy remembers his mother teaching him in Africa and the white masters teaching him in slavery quite contrary.

Robert Southey's (1774-1843) abolitionist poems include *Poems Concerning Slave Trade* (written in 1798 and published in 1799), a group of six sonnets and a ballad, that emphasize on the moral and physical aspects of slave trade. Chine Sonoi has seen more provocative tone in Southey than in Coleridge but his writing is full of ambivalence that "Southey's nationalist stance is more strongly evident in his belief in the value of English civilization" (21). Sara Salih's critical investigation on black canon has postulated some characteristics: "Slave narratives are likely to share certain identifiable formal and substantive features. They are focused on the same objective reality, they are addressed to a defined audience, and they have a clear motif: "to reveal the truth of slavery and so to bring about its abolition."" (123)

As other Lake Poets and West Country radicals, Southey was influenced by places, people, history, legend, condition of the poor in Bristol and West Country. The revolutionary ideals and radical politics were influenced by war with France as well. But the nation was in no mood to tolerate dissent and libertine instinct. Lynda Pratt surveys the characteristics of the period, the creative excitement and the source of imagination comes from West Country consciousness of landscape, space, its dissent with London, 1793-1798 war between Britain and France (211). For a young, ambitious poet like Southey, these were noticed to be the sources of radical ideas in him.

The poets highlight antislavery society's abolitionist agenda. They are overwhelmed by the fear of rebellion and the inevitability of the abolition of slave trade and slavery in the near future. All the circumstances lead them to loathe slavery in the abolitionist poems. Main efforts has remained to be directed to moral upgrading of English society, may be for the future imperial advancement, from the disturbed, troubled, guilt ridden shame of the poets as representative of society. The circumstances forced the British to assume that slavery was the source of all evils

like consumerism, corruption, and growing poverty in British society. In this context Cowper's guilt ridden shameful outburst for moral awakening, Blake's progression from humanitarian Christianity to anti-imperialist political radicalism for the transformation of religious consciousness for political economic reform, and Southey's emphasis on the enhancement of moral character of the British by depicting cruelties, inhuman treatment, woes, sighs, nostalgia of the blacks in slavery, are all spiritual religious approach for the strengthening of the moral character of the British rather than the well being of the victims.

The critical stance of this chapter, however, puts emphasis on the problematic related to the portrayal of the black subject in the poems. In spite of the cruelties, inhuman treatment, horror, fear, the scenes of Middle Passage atrocities, woes, sighs, and nostalgia the blacks show extraordinary level of endurance and patience, the overpowering spiritual force, their incessant belief in afterlife or otherworldly justice. Physical revenge, the slave rebellion has been averted in the abolitionist poems described in the chapter, in spite of the prevalence of bloody encounters and slave revolts in the colonies at that time. The reader get overwhelmed by the black characters' patience, endurance, narcissism, hesitation, readiness to accept their state as god granted, and the belief on the ideology of Fall. The writers' effort is seen only for the moral awakening of the British, since all the cruelties and inhuman treatment to blacks made the system of slavery the foulest blemish upon the character of the British, the big blow on their civilized self. Such ambivalence, this chapter claims, may be in order to ensure the public of the impossibility of violent rebellion from the slaves in vulnerable state when there had been widespread threat of vengeance from the slaves. The slaves are conditioned through religious conversion and spiritual training that this worldly suffering may bring one closer to God, and hence to other worldly bliss. Victims are made even vulnerable by making them support

victimizer's ideology. This has been observed to be dangerous logic, one of the conservative perspectives in the era of revolutions, war, and black uprising. Theoretical back up for the vindication of the argument in this chapter has been utilized from affect theory and Romantic irony. White writers' practice of writing shame has been observed through Arel's formulations on "gestures for shame" and "masked shame" (76). Probyn's ideas on "writing shame" have also been utilized as the frame for the critical appreciation of the abolitionist discourse under observation in this chapter. Massumi's ideas on capitalist "controlled walking and balancing act" (48) and Keen's notions of "sympathetic over arousal" (19) have also been utilized. Nussbaum's stance on the negative emotions like outrage, disgust, and hatred to be dangerous situation for the compassion and justice in the future conduct has been useful notion to understand the arguments developed in the abolitionist poems dealt with in this chapter. In the same way, Marchand's notions of emotions and their role in producing positive and negative biochemicals in body (2) have been utilized here in order to investigate British society at the time of the prevalence of overwhelming negative emotions in their life and conduct, due to slavery and slave trade. Colebrook's notions of Romantic irony have also been highly useful to deal with the Romantic poets like Blake, in this chapter. The textual analysis has been made in the light of the theoretical notions raised briefly.

William Cowper highlights the set of circumstances or the stock images that were powerful spectacles in the abolitionist campaign: the slave trader treating the slaves to be goods, stock, objects to be sold, cargo; controlling the slaves with chains, whips, lashes, padlocks, bolts, screws; opening the lockjaw for the force feeding in the case of denial in hunger strike; treating Africans as stacked and displayed exquisite goods from strange continent. The African cargo stacked and loaded on the ship "scores in a row", so that maximum number could be managed at

the available space on the ship. Cowper's famous abolitionist poem "Sweet Meat Has Sour Sauce" (1788), written on request of Abolitionist Society, on the persona of a captain of a slave ship, attacks the slave trader's attitude, sung in the ballad form in order to make severe irony on the conduct and treatment of the traders to the slaves. The trader is shocked at the news that "my trading is like to be o'er" (line 2), the reference to the certainty of abolition of slave trade inferred by the slave traders with the passing of the Bill for restricting the number of slaves to the colonies by British Parliament in 1788. The gestures and spectacles justifying activities of cruelty in dealing with the inhuman trade reveal shameful deeds of the traders to the reader, as recorded by Cowper in the "Sweet Meat":

> Here's supple-jack plenty, and store of rat-tan,
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Here's padlocks and bolts, and screws for the thumbs,
>
> That squeeze them so lovingly till the blood comes,
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Here is a notable engine to open his jaws. (Lines 14, 18-19, 24)

These lines are severe irony to the pro-slavery argument trying to justify that the slaves are better off in slavery than in African primitivity, savagery, and unfavorable climate, as Thomas Bellamy (1745-1800) has argued in his dramatic piece "Benevolent Planters", a West Indian anti-abolitionist text that depicts harmonious relationship between slaves and masters.

Bellamy posits an African sailor, a friend (Quaker term for greeting) to both slaves and masters, who in the prologue to the dramatic piece "Benevolent Planters", speaks of the harmony

and love between slaves and masters in Jamaica, where due to the “kinder master” “who made me soon forget I was a slave/ And brought me to this land, this generous land . . . [where] soft humanity’s kind laws” (lines 28-31) are in practice, the slaves find themselves in favorable situation than in the “Afric’s torrid clime, where every day/ The sun oppresses with his scorching ray” (lines 1-2). The argument in Bellamy suggests that the Quakers, friends to slaves and masters, enter into plantation slavery as slave owners in order to turn the enterprise kind and humanitarian to slaves, bringing about reconciliation to the problem caused by contradiction.

Oran and Selima are slaves to Heartfree and Godwin respectively, in the drama “Benevolent Planters”. The masters are benevolent since they help unite long separated lovers Oran and Selima. Oran juxtaposes the memory of his childhood parental love, carefree life, childhood friends, maids, landscape, river, wood, full of love with the moments of being sold into slavery as “clouds now the brightness of my fate o’ercast” (prologue line 14). The phrases like “the white savage”, “wrath in his eyes”, “fierce looking”, “fury in his tongue”, “dragged me to the loathsome vessel”, “grabbed me my every childhood pleasures” and so on suggest Oran’s judgment through the mouth of the African sailor who speaks as a friend to both slaves and masters, of the “insensible white savage” that he was sold into slavery in the foreign land, his beloved separated from him. The African sailor also speaks of the white people’s “God like plan” of forming new nations like Gambia and Angola that not only blacks but whites too adore. The argument is artificial, fragment, saying and not saying, meant and not meant argument in flux, the case of romantic irony. The description of horror and despair at the time of kidnapping from African villages, dragging them to the slave ships, and the spectacles of atrocities while transporting them across the Middle Passage change dramatically when the slaves enter into the plantations belonging to kind masters. Their benevolent plan to treat all gods' creatures including

white, black, slave, master, bird, and beast as the descendents of same gracious parents and to create new countries for the blacks with their freedom made them forget that they were in the horrors of slavery.

Since the slave trade is soon likely to be over, the persona of the poem, slave trader, in Cowper's "Sweet Meat Has Sour Sauce" exhibits his equipments and materials used in the enterprise to the reader in exposing manner, "Here's is supple-jack plenty . . . Here's padlocks and bolt, . . . Here's a notable engine . . ." and so on. He also describes the manner in which the slaves were used to be stacked and loaded on the slave ship, "scores in a row", so that maximum number could be transported in a single trip to ensure maximum profit. The treatment of slaves as "goods", "stock", "choice pieces", "black cargo of African ware" to be sold in the market so as to ensure maximum gain. The speaker uses exclamations like "ah!" "oh!" to indicate that the song is surprising "that you never heard before" and "which nobody can deny", the refrain in the poem. The description and revelation in the poem, and the inhuman treatment to slaves are shameful revelations to the English readership, suggesting sterility in the moral character of the British. The trader is worried about his own rights, his profits, stock to be sold off, exposure of his inhumanity and iron heartedness. But the revelation looks like the perpetrator's acceptance of guilt, confession, forgivable case according to the system of Christian redemption. The politics behind the poem feels like develop reader's hatred to slave trade, the foulest blemish on British moral character. However, it has no plan for the betterment of the victims.

The slave trader's exhibition of the machinery, exposure to the controlling device used in the trade, and the spectacles suggesting his surrender are however, not caused by ashamed state realized through his Christian self. Rather, his dramatic gestures, in "Sweet Meat", his selling off the stock because "my trading is like to be o'er" (line 2), become "masked shame" (117), using

Arel's term. The gestures performed by the speaker are not serious since inhuman and cruel treatments to slaves have been portrayed humorously. Arel has listed gestures for shame as "hide, cover up, eyes down, head turn away, blushing" (76), and shame "attempts to eradicate the stigma of sin and anxiety" (117), but the speaker's dramatic performance in comical manner, in "Sweet Meat" has lost the seriousness of true shame. The speaker confesses his guilt, vows never to repeat it again, but his sympathy to the slaves has merely been planned for protecting himself from slaves' hatred. The slave trader's sympathy and shame in the poem have been invested for bringing about calmness and relaxation to his own fear, and there are nothing like mitigating ways of shame or restoring pride. Since the shame is directed to the recovery of the wounded pride of the self, it has become rather "masked shame", not directed to the readjustment of his sinful act, nothing about the well being of the victim. The speaker has been portrayed shameless.

Cowper’s another abolitionist poem, “The Negro’s Complaint” (1788), written on the persona of a negro slave, who in a revolting tone complains to God as well as the English, questioning the motif of his captors, the purpose looks like Cowper’s attempt to change the mind of the English from the loathsome forced labor and inhumanity in slavery. The first person speaker speaks from the contemporary anti-slavery knowledge that forced labor is the violation of natural rights of a man, since there is no reciprocity of benefit in slave labor, neither is there dignity and pride in one’s labor. It is most inhuman, based not on reciprocal reward and benefit but on punishment and torture. The speaker complains to God for creating plants like cotton and sugarcane that demand slave labor. Cowper’s Negro speaker speaks of his own humanity to the whites, the “slaves of gold” the “iron-hearted” masters who were treating slaves in most inhuman way: “forced from home and all its pleasures/ Afric’s coast I left forlorn,/ To increase a stranger’s treasures” (lines 1-3). This is the violation of natural rights of the slaves and disrespect

to their labor. The speaker asks forcefully to the dumb ears, “What are England’s rights, I ask,/ Me from my delight to Sever,/ Me to torture, me to task?” (lines 10-12). It was the great blow on the civilized rational enlightened self of the whites that Cowper makes his persona hit upon:

> though slave they have enrolled me,
>
> Minds are never to be sold
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Skins may differ, but affection
>
> Dwells in white and black the same. (Lines 7-8, 15-16)

The enlightened and rational Negro speaker challenges the white to “Prove that you have human feelings/ Ere you proudly question ours!” (lines 55-56). It is shameful revelation to the white audience that the Negro speaker commands his captors to change the thoughts from being “slave of gold”, be sensible, and prove their humanity. The slave trader’s perspective in “Sweet Meat Has Sour Sauce” proved the captors to be “slave of gold” and been involved in inhuman activities, while “The Negro’s Complaint” posits the loathsome response to the captors’ attitude and activities, commands them to be sensible and develop human feeling.

God created man and bird and beast, but the disappointment of the Negro for the God’s indifference to the conduct of his non-Christian child and total suffering of the African slaves can be realized in “The Negro’s Complaint”. Cowper wrote “The Morning Dream” (1788) in order to heal the disappointment so that the glory of God could be preserved in the belief of man, especially in the context of Evangelical methodical efforts for the revitalization of Christian humanitarian values. “The Morning Dream” is the narrativization of the dream in which the first

person dreamer in the form of pastoral ballad envisions the British slave owner in front of two kneeling slaves about to whip them, and suddenly, gets haunted by the appearance of the radiant glow of Goddess Britania causing the man to drop his whip, a complete anti-slavery argument backed up by supernatural force for creating the fear bringing about forced transformation in the self stubborn and unwilling to change, the gothic actuated transformation. The Goddess in the dream in “The Morning Dream” declares— “And smiling divinely, she cried,/ I go to make Freeman of slaves” (lines 15-16), the lines Cowper must have planned in response to the lines in “The Negro’s Complaint”:

> Is there, as ye sometimes tell us,
>
> Is there one who reigns on high?
>
> Has he bid you buy and sell us,
>
> Speaking from the throne, the sky? (Lines 25-28)

“The Morning Dream” is the song sung of the slaves’ broken chain in which the Goddess with a shield at her side sets forth “to make freemen of slaves”, “oppression” sickens and dies at her sight, and with the radiant glow of the Goddess the man drops his whip.

Cowper has portrayed Negro speakers in both "The Negro's Complain" and "The Morning Dream" who have accumulated boldness and authority due to their conversion to Christianity. Both of the speakers revitalize humanitarian Christianity through victim's anger and hatred directed to the victimizer. Cowper's rhetorical strategic use of emotion in the poems is directed to change the mind of the English. The use of negative emotions like anger, disgust, and hatred from the victim to the perpetrator, has been planned as shameful severe blow on the

civilized self of the English. The emotions of negativity depicted in the poem as rhetorical technique have produced desirable and good feeling among the victims and bad feelings among the perpetrators. This method of bringing about transformation in the stereotypical consciousness of the subjects has been effective in Cowper's abolitionist poems. However, as far as the performance of negative emotions by the blacks against whites in practice during 1780s is concerned, better insights can be developed through the perspectives portrayed in the upcoming chapter on the slaves' narratives.

Cowper's famous poem *The Task* (1785), written little earlier than the abolitionist ballads described above, whose second book reflects his deep worry for the moral blight the institution of slavery backed up by greed has brought to English society: "My soul is sick with ev'ry day's report/ Of wrong and outrage with which earth is filled" (lines 6-7). This poem was written especially with Cowper's wish to abolish slavery in the British colonies: "We have no slaves at home— then why abroad?" (line 37). Further he refers to Somerset case in the British court in 1772: "Slaves cannot breathe in England; if their lungs/ Received our air, that moment they are free,/ They touch our country and their shackles fall" (lines 40-42). At the time of Somerset ruling in 1772, according to Eric Metaxas, there were 14,000 blacks in England, and their integration into society indeed proved problem, and from 1776 onward, the numerous American slaves who had broken their shackles by joining the British forces during the war added the number (191). The argument Cowper has made in the poem suggests that the British sacrifice for the blacks can be compared to the God's sacrifice to humanity, and the claim that there were no slaves in England at that time was the argument based on wrong premises. According to Marcus Wood, in fact, there were probably about 10,000 slaves in England, and there were slave auctions held in Liverpool and London (81). Cowper believed that abolition was essential to

maintain the national image. But the abolition propaganda, the celebratory national agenda, was not racially, politically straightforward, just in popular circulation across England in the late 1780s.

Cowper attempts to show that slavery was the institution related to larger imperial history, and Britain's current involvement in the enterprise as the blemish upon national character. However, Cowper's attempt was not seen in raising the issue of Atlantic slave trade, to address the question of trauma slave trade generated for Africans. He just intellectualizes through rationalizations at the time of Britain's efforts to upgrade their moral status blemished by their involvement in one of the foulest crimes against humanity in *The Task*: "And let it circulate through ev'ry vein/ Of all your Empire, that where Britain's power/ Is felt, mankind may feel her mercy too" (lines 45-47). This attitude can be interpreted as Cowper's advocacy for imperial advancement. He circulates the message of Britain's commitment for the abolition of slavery and accumulates moral backing for the future course of action. Abolitionist consciousness gets sparked in Cowper from certain incidents and ideas like Somerset case of 1772, the passing of the bill for restricting the number of slaves in British colonies by the parliament in 1788, Quaker rhetoric within society of friends, Adam Smith's laissez faire economy based on free labor, and of course, the future course for the imperial advancement of Britain in the changed political economic context. Cowper's "Sweet Meat", "The Negro's Complaint", and "The Morning Dream" all were written in 1788, in ballad form, giving agency and empowerment to the blacks. The "task" of writing poems on the theme had been set by Cowper earlier in 1785 by writing *The Task*. Cowper's turn to abolitionism has been referred to as his unrest due to "wrong and outrage with which earth is filled" (line 7), and hence he has used the emotions of negativity on behalf of the slaves.

Britain's abrupt turn to abolitionism can be referred to as capitalism changing its form, using Brian Massumi's phrase, "controlled walking and balancing act" (48), to escape the threats encountered by contemporary form of capitalism. Earlier form of capitalism accumulated profit from slave labor, and when the system faced problem, North American slave colonies remained no more in British clutches, then came the propaganda of abolition of slave trade and extension of empire to the new territory. The slave trade, inhuman treatment to slaves, kidnapping, horror, torture, middle passage atrocities were the blemish on the British moral character. The propaganda of abolitionism only after the loss of slave colonies and when the reports of slave rebellion have been coming every day is clearly backed up with politics. It was especially aimed for upgrading the moral character of the British. As described earlier, there had been 14,000 blacks (freed slaves and black soldiers who fought for Britain) in Britain. Moreover, there had been widespread poverty and corruption in British society. In order to come out of the whirlwind evocative of further danger, Cowper's abolitionist discourse backed up by evangelical Christianity, moral sentimentalism, Romantic sympathy, and new sensibility proved to be helpful. Cowper through his abolitionist poems reveals his worried concern for the moral degeneracy in British character. Through the moral character gained from abolitionist ideas, Cowper wishes to strengthen Britain's sinews for the future advancement of empire to the east, which can be commented as changing colors of capitalism, and of course, Massumi's term "micro politics" (58) can better explain the British effort to generate affect of sympathy for the self benefit.

Slave trade and slavery diminished the Christian self. It pushed them to the shameful state that resulted in erosion of dignity and self respect. Abolitionist discourse can be read as British effort to mitigate the hurt civilized self, restore pride, and attempt to eradicate the stigma

of sin and anxiety, remedies for internal wound. Cowper's abolitionist argument in the "Sweet Meat Has Sour Sauce" can be remarked as, using Stephanie Arel's phrase, "masked shame" (117). The speaker of the poem is not aware of his inhuman treatment to the slaves. The Negro's questions to the British audience in "The Negro's Complaint" also push the captors to the shameful state. But Cowper's argument in *The Task* is directed to heal and restore the wounded pride by accumulating moral backing. The persona in the poem wishes to "circulate" British abolitionist ideas throughout Britain's colonies so that "mankind may feel her mercy" (line 47). The "masked shame" in Cowper's abolitionist poems function for the development of the affect of sympathy to the self, restore the pride, be self beneficiary but not to readjust the sinful act, neither directed to the well being of the victim.

William Blake in his "The Little Black Boy" from *The Songs of Innocence* emphasizes on the mother's lessons taught to the child under the tree in his Edenic state. Mother's lesson and the tree can be understood as biblical reference. The persona, the black boy in the poem, came to know of his identity and God. The bodies of black boy and white boy are different but soul in both of them white. God gives light and nourishment to all creatures and hence the source of life and light for black and white is same. Black and white skin are but clouds, as the clouds remove both enter into the realm of white soul, that is heaven. These are the mother's lesson to the black boy that he delivers to white boy thus: "When I from black and he from white cloud free,/ And round the tent of God like lambs we joy:/ I shall shade him from the heat till he can bear" (lines 23-25), because "My mother bore me in the southern wild" (line 1), that the black boy can bear heat and light.

Blake has been read as tireless critic of injustice and inequality standing up for the voiceless. His poems seek to question the subjugation of blacks in slave trade and slavery. But

the argument in “The Little Black Boy” suggests that sufferings of black children in this life will be better for them in other worldly bliss. In the case of Atlantic slavery blacks are the victim and whites, the victimizer. The mother teaching the black child the lessons of submissive passivity can be interpreted as the victim’s ideology supporting the victimizer. The child’s fractured ideology; the religion his mother taught him under the tree might be the rules of Christianity exposed by the missionaries. This poem has nothing to do with abolition of slave trade and slavery. Rather Blake is seen in this poem for the continuation of black’s service to white. There is nothing like revolutionary instinct against oppression in the inhuman institution of slave trade and slavery. Since skin color and complexion are problematized with significant emphasis in the poem, Blake has highlighted only racist agenda. The poem establishes that all races and complexions are equal but in heaven, not on earth. The black child’s knowledge and the white child’s ignorance about all religious matter can be interpreted as black child’s fall from the state of ignorance and white child’s Edenic state of innocence, since fall has been associated with disobedience, knowledge, and punishment. The black child, Blake’s poem suggests, might be subject to serve in slavery because he was wild, fallen, lacking light in his skin, cursed son of Ham.

Romantic writers observe human life from the biblical reference of fall. There are apparent principles of contradictions in life; before fall characterized as fixed, certain, state of bliss; and the life after the fall, chaotic and anarchic. According to Claire Colebrook, Blake dramatizes the chaos, posing big gap between rhetoric and action (56). Moral voice remains unheard due to contradiction of human existence, which is referred to as romantic irony. Since order and long stable relationship is not possible in the chaotic world of complete flux, searching for stability, finitude, certainty, and order has been observed as paradoxical. Blake just maps the

depth of degradation not bothering to bring about order in the chaotic life of the black due to the inhuman institution of slavery.

Blake's "The Chimney Sweeper" from The Songs of Innocence also portrays a black boy as the speaker and raises the issue of slavery and child labor. The child's mother has died and his father sold him to slavery. Once his friend Tom Dacre had a dream, thousands of sweepers were locked up in coffins, angel came with bright key, opened the coffins, and set them free, then they wash in the river and shine in the sun. Tom's dream vision becomes his inspiration thus in the last two quatrains of "The Chimney Sweeper":

> Then naked and white, all their bags left behind,
>
> They rise upon the clouds, and sport in the wind.
>
> And the Angel told them if he'd be a good boy,
>
> He'd have God for his father and never want joy.
>
> And so Tom awoke; and we rose in the dark
>
> And got with our bags and our brushes to work.
>
> Though the morning was cold, Tom was happy and warm.
>
> So if all do their duty, they need not fear harm. (38)

The child is given the knowledge that all sufferings are the gift of God, and all the knowledge about he fractured theology was given to the child by Church and institutions controlled by white people. The chimney sweeper recounts the dream his friend Tom Dacre had. In the dream Angel rescues the boys from coffins and takes them to heaven. The only escape from the painful and

terrible suffering of chimney sweeping was through death, the hope of peace in afterlife. The church and institutions make the children work, suffer, and die. The chimney sweepers are depicted as the innocent victims of the cruelest exploitation associated with industrialization.

"The Chimney Sweeper" under *The Songs of Experience* also portrays naked sweeper in the winter, black thing among the white snow. The child has been portrayed to be happy among the snow, conditioned by the institution that he will be embracing peace in death. His parents have gone to the church, he also waits for the other worldly justice. The sweeper suffers the injustice of white society that put commercial values before moral ones and treats him as an outcast. Religion has remained major theme for Blake. The flawed religious practitioners are the root of most social problems. Blake attacked Anglican churches in the context of evangelical revival, dissenting churches and Methodist religious fervor during 1790s. Established Christian tradition has kept humanity in subjection to its authority. Blake's natural religion inspired by God posed challenge to the authority of the Bible that has corrupted reason.

Blake envisions ideal and radical utopian hopes without doing anything worthy to overcome misery, woe, cry, fear, poverty that he condemns in almost all of his poems. There is nothing like charity, pity, amelioration means, revolutionary instinct or some action along with moralizing rhetoric. This is the contradiction Romantic writers perceive to be irreconcilable in the chaotic life due to known fact of biblical fall that Colebrook has dealt with in detail under English romantic irony. The chaos and anarchy brought by divine judgment cannot be redressed; the Romantics seemed to have believed. During Romantic period, several issues related to the poor, women, slavery, and corruption collided with abolitionist movement. In this situation the delayed response, hesitation, and inaction in concluding the abolitionist movement can be remarked as the result of, using Suzanne Keen's term, "sympathetic over arousal" (19), the

absence of true sympathy to the victim due to confusion created by so many issues at hand. This situation created the leap between perception and action.

Robert Southey's radical abolitionist poems reveal the moral physical aspects of slavery and his commitment for abolitionism. "The Sailor Who Had Served in the Slave-Trade" (1798) is Southey's famous ballad contained in his *Poems Concerning Slave Trade*, which reveals the sailor's guilt ridden confession in the mixture of first person and third person narrative style. The sailor has been portrayed restless due to the inhuman crimes he has committed while dealing with the trade:

> "I have done a cursed thing!" he cried:
>
> "It haunts me night and day;
>
> And I have sought this lonely place
>
> Here undisturbed to pray.
>
> Aboard I have no place for prayer;
>
> So I came here alone . . ." (lines 29-34)

Where ever he would go from day and night the cursed deeds full of horror he had encountered in the slave ship haunt the sailor. The sailor speaks of the images of middle passage atrocities committed against the slaves in the ship, based on the stock spectacles or the common knowledge, like stacking of as many slaves as possible in the small space available on the ship, force feeding the slaves in hunger strike, slaves jumping into the sea alive, diseased and weak slaves thrown into the sea alive and so on:

And we took in our cargo there,

Three hundred negro slaves;

. . . . . .

But some were sulky of the slaves,

And would not touch their meat;

So therefore we were forced by threats

And blows to make them eat.

One woman sulkier than the rest

. . . . . .

The captain made me tie her up

And flog while she stood by (lines 61-74)

The poor woman in the sailor's story was flogged to death and thrown into the sea. The sailor was restless with the heightened level of anxiety due to his involvement in the inhuman act. According to Peter Marchand, positive emotions like love, joy, wonder, calmness, and courage generate affects of positivity, happy and good feeling, and producing positive life force; whereas negative emotions like disgust, fear, sadness, and anger generate affects of negativity producing bad feelings and negative biochemical (2). Negative emotions arousing bad feeling overwhelm British society during the late eighteenth century due to their involvement in inhuman and immoral enterprise. The overpowering negative and less desirable emotions can be pointed out as

the obstacles for their healthy spiritual living. The prevalent emotions evoked in the abolitionist poetry are all emotions related to sadness like disgust, fear, sympathy, compassion, and pity. The sailor's involvement in inhuman activity pushed him to the whirlwind of undesirable emotions. The incessant recurrence of undesirable emotions in English abolitionist discourse suggests the realization of the British self of the wrongs of the past; otherwise the ghost of the slaves would continue to haunt them for generations from archetypal memory.

Southey has portrayed the sailor who does not rationalize or hide his deeds. The only face saving means he applied are rationalization that the captain forced him to do inhuman cruel treatment to slaves on the board. The sailor is low ranking in the ship so the things are not in his control. He cannot do anything for the well being of the slaves and hence suffers from anxiety and restlessness. Southey invites the readers of his time to experience the horrors of slave trade, and for their support to the abolitionist movement. The sailor is portrayed to be ashamed of his inability in his service to humanity, filled with guilt, restlessness, and anxiety for his involvement in inhuman deeds. According to Elspeth Probyn, "writing shame is visceral reminder . . . be[ing] honest about stories of shame" ("Writing" 87). Southey's radical abolitionist ideas appeal the readers with high level of contagion quality in them. By reading the sailor's shame in the ballad the reader also gets ashamed of the inhuman system of slave trade and slavery. The horrified and restless mentality of the sailor can also have contagion affective significance for bringing about transformation in slave trader's attitude. Southey's "The Sailor Who Had Served in the Slave Trade" can be read as affective text, which fulfills Spinoza's definition of affect as "ability to affect and be affected" (as qtd. in Massumi 68), formation of alternative consciousness for bringing about transformation in the existing situation.

The captain's disgust and hatred to the victim on the slave ship and the sailor's restless anxiety at the horror, both types of emotions are used by Southey in order to evoke reader's affect of sympathy to the slaves. The captain's being not ready and the sailor's inability in the poem "The Sailor Who Had served in the Slave Trade" suggest impossibility of justice and compassion. The overpowering of negative and less desirable emotions are obstacles for healthy spiritual living. The perpetrator's negative emotions like disgust, outrage, and hatred directed to the victim can be taken as dangerous situation for the future of compassion and empathy or for justice (Nussbaum, *Anger* 8). The sailor's anxiety directed to the cruelty can be good sign to some extent, since it intensifies reader's disgust and hatred to the captain and his cruelty. The events in the poem further show that the victims are very angry at the oppression, potential source of energy, vital political force causing fear in the victimizer, and for the reason they are using excessive force against the victim. Southey has been successful in generating reader's sympathy to the victim but due to the effect of many emotions, in Keen's term, "overarousal" (19) of emotions, there is "leap between perception and action" (19), the actors could "do nothing to alleviate" (19) the distress of the victim.

Southey's six sonnets in the *Poems Concerning Slave Trade* emphasize on moral physical effects of slave trade on slave ships, crews, slaves, and the British society at large. All sonnets in the group deal with contradictions that the poet very effectively shows with empirical evidences. In the third sonnet, for example, the poet tries to persuade the reader very effectively by bringing bipolar opposites to argument for depicting the existence of physical somatic evidences of cruelties in slave trade, moral degradation, and sterility of British people who were involved in the inhuman trade: "Oh, he is worn with toil! The big drop run/ Down his dark cheek. Hold, hold thy merciless hand,/ Pale tyrant! . . ." (lines 1-3). One figure has been portrayed as "worn with

toil", sweating in hard labor, whereas, another "merciless" and "tyrant". One "o'erwearied" toiling in "the scorching sun", another "pitiless", in prosperity sips "the blood-sweetened beverage". By watching the sights of contradiction the bystanders and readers develop sense of anger and hatred directed to the perpetrator, while the affect of sympathy to the victims. This poem has the sense of sentimental appeal to the contemporary British readership, especially Southey's provocation to radical and dissenting Bristol audience for causing the slave trade to an end.

Gestures and spectacles depicting contradiction continue in Southey's succeeding sonnets concerning slave trade. Sonnet four, in the group, shows the "unrelenting owners" in sleep "undisturbed" but "The o'erwearied slave, as on his native shore,/ Rest on his reedy couch: he wakes to weep" (lines 3-4). The contradictions with high degree of potential make Southey's poems affective. Southey's turn to affect in the abolitionist poems has been observed as an effort to bring about reconciliatory solution. If it is not possible to bring about reconciliation through peaceful means, his radical ideas in the poems suggest, it necessary to inflame the spark of dissent from within. Abolition of slave trade was also necessary for averting potential violence and rebellion in the colonies, and for averting the danger of rival forces using slaves against Britain. It can also heal Britain's moral degeneracy and degradation.

Slave personae are portrayed very passive in Southey too. The radical politics of Bristol and West Country in 1790s has remained much investigated fields, but it is surprising that none of the English Romantic writers enriched from the tradition depict slaves to be aware, active, and dissenting. None of the slave characters enjoy agency. None of the High Romantic male writers are aggressive. They are only worried about degradation of English moral character due to the inhuman institution of slave trade. Southey's sonnets concerning slave trade depict the slaves

weeping, eyes soaked of crying, weeping alone in bitterness. They live on the sweet memories of the past in their native land, waiting for peace of soul in death.

The speaker in the fifth sonnet concerning slave trade gauges the possibility of the bloody deeds of revenge by slaves on their masters, but instantly averts it thus:

> Did, then, the Negro rear at last the sword
>
> Of revenge? Did he plunge its thirsty blade
>
> In the hard heart of his human lord?
>
> Oh! Who shall blame him? In the midnight shade
>
> There came on him the intolerable thought
>
> Of every past delight,- his native grove,
>
> Friendship's best joys, and liberty and love,
>
> For ever lost . . . (lines 1-8)

This instant negation of revenge from the slave by the speaker in the lines can have three interpretations: first, the slaves do think only about their past, they live on the past sweet memories, the belief deep rooted in their psyche is the liberty in death, the surface meaning of the lines slave rebellion in the colonies, convincing the British authority for instant abolition in place of making abolition a slow and gradual process. Second, to ensure the white readership of the slaves' peaceful nature, third, ironical connotation suggesting affirmation of revenge from slaves on their masters, since there had been no harmonious relationship between slaves and masters in the colonies, and the events of rivalries, violence, and revolt had been widespread.

Southey must be evocative of the possible violence and revenge from the slaves against their masters, when their hope and patience “can give no consolation”, hence the impossibility of poet’s suggestion for instant action for the abolition of slave trade can be realized in the poems.

Cowper’s use of stock images related to slave trade portraying inhumanity associated with it; depicting negro persona complaining to nature, God, and the whites, mildly striking on the civilized self of the British; efforts to strengthen negro belief in God by establishing the relationship between abolitionism and God’s grace; and worry for the blemish on moral character of the British, seemingly contribute to the abolitionist agenda. Blake’s establishing of mother’s lesson to the black persona to be the cause for strengthening essentialist ideas in them; rationalization of human life from the point of view of fractured theology of the biblical reference of fall; and his efforts in enforcing the argument of black suffering to be rewarded in afterlife bliss also observed to be the arguments backed up by abolitionist agenda. Southey’s revelation of guilt ridden confession inviting readers of his time to experience the horrors of slave trade, and the portrayal of slave characters living on sweet memories of the past waiting for afterlife justice have also been remained much acclaimed abolitionist arguments. However, there has been no significant difference between the abolitionist ideas argued in Cowper, Blake, Southey, and proslavery argument made by Bellamy. All writers seek to heal and restore the wounded pride of the empire.

The masked shame of the imperialist project has been directed to the circulation of abolitionist propaganda for establishing the relationship between abolitionism and British mercy, in all writers described in this chapter. Cowper, Blake, and Southey all portray the black dramatis personae with submissive passivity, negating the possibility of violation and revenge from them. All these strategies have been observed to be backed up by self beneficiary politics, the affect of

sympathy to the slaves for the benefit of the self, rather than initiated with true humanitarian cause. Moreover, inability to do anything in Cowper's sailor as well as the Negro; acceptance of racist essentialist attribute like black and white color, and biblical ideology of fall in Blake; and Southey's prediction for the negation of vengeance from the blacks could not have accelerated the abolitionist movement during 1780s and 1790s. So it is claimed that Romantic ideas became instrumental in the delayed and gradual slow response to the movement by many decades. Romantic writers reject the principle of non-contradiction. For them contradiction is the heart of human existence; and in the world of in-fixity, uncertainty, and flux, especially after the fall, wishing for stability and finitude seem paradoxical to them. This explanation of romantic irony can better situate the gap between Romantic moralizing rhetoric and action.

Cowper and Southey have been observed more radical than Blake, Coleridge, and Wordsworth, in dealing with the issue of slave trade. All of them have used their emotions of negativity differently in order to develop alternative consciousness of the time, but in careful analysis of their emotions in the discourse it can be derived that poetic justice to the victims has not been achieved. Cowper's use of affect of negativity in the victim against the victimizer, in his ballads; Blake's portrayal of deep rooted stereotypes among the slaves due to the narcotic effect of the perpetrator's religious ideology, their passivity and un-readiness to adapt alternative consciousness; and Southey's evocation and averting the possibility of violent rebellion from the slave suggest no possibility of significant change in the then English society. The blacks in chain pouring negative emotions against the perpetrator suggest that if they were free they would revenge against the cruel masters. Moreover, white characters are not found actively involved in the cause of abolitionism in the poems mentioned, neither has there been efforts of reconciliation. Depiction of excessive amount of hatred, disgust, and outrage could have only

worsened the situation by hitting on the ego of the warring forces. In this way, excessive use of negative emotions have been observed to be instrumental in developing affect of sympathy in the abolitionist discourse investigated in this chapter but with preparing the ground for belatedness and hesitation in bringing about reconciliatory solution to the issue, due to their politics, the over arousal of their interests.

Chapter Seven

Emotions of Negativity for the Elicitation of the Affect of Sympathy in Women Abolitionists

Women performed the activist role by raising voice against prevalent social ills, gender disparity, poverty along with slave trade and slavery. Five representative women authors— Ann Yearsley, Hannah More, Mary Robinson, Anna Laetitia Barbauld, and Mary Shelley— who dealt with anti-slavery issue with their powerfully emotion-laden expressions—have been investigated in this chapter. The critical inquiry is geared towards exploring the politics of the play of emotions in their discourse of support to the anti-slavery movement. Women abolitionists have been found more aggressive to deal with the contentious issue than the mainstream high Romantic male poets broached in earlier chapters.

The Romantic Movement in English literature has been generally identified with the masculine canon. But it is surprising that the afore-said women writers contributed such powerfully stirring writings on burning issues. In contrast to the high Romantics' imaginative plea for the modification of consciousness about racial slavery with ambiguity about the issue of slave trade and imperialism, the women writers, who were themselves the victims of the same exploitative patriarchy, evoke genuine affect of sympathy with the slaves and, conversely, outrage at the white, racist patriarchy's victimization of the hapless blacks.

Theoretical framework for this chapter primarily comes from Sara Ahmed's assertion on racism as the politics of hatred and basis for hate crime due to its deep rooted residing at an unconscious level (*Cultural* 44), and affect of disgust in the cross-cultural encounter aggravating the situation (*Cultural* 88). Ahmed has further postulated that recognition of past injustice and

transferring it into national shame is crucial for national reconciliation, bad feeling for the past or self disgust allows the nation to feel better in the future (*Cultural* 102). Accepting individual crimes and injustices of the past into collective national shame, hence, has been seen as crucial for moral development, restoring national identity and pride. Future glories cannot be celebrated properly without recognizing shameful aspects of the past, so women abolitionists make investment in demanding government "to make shame official", borrowing Ahmed's idea (*Cultural* 112), and when this is not possible, Ahmed's association of anger and feminism match with the conduct of the women abolitionists— "the passion of anger" is necessary to generate "energy to react against the deep rooted social psychic investments in racism as well as sexism" (*Cultural* 175)— the investment of anger loaded with information, knowledge, and energy against injustice. So sympathy for one translates as outrage for other in women's abolitionist discourse. Women abolitionist themselves had been the victim of oppressive patriarchy, and they used "imaginative reconstruction" (*Upheavals* 31), using Nussbaum's phrase, as a method of appealing sympathy to the slaves and antipathy to the victimizer. Since compassion could not easily be established as basics of ethical life, women abolitionist performed outrage as a tool for "consciousness raising" (*Upheavals* 214), Nussbaum's term. So target discourse has been investigated from the perspective of anger model— for energy, knowledge, and consciousness raising— and non-anger model, by making shame performative— for national reconciliation and harmonious conduct. Sometimes excessive sympathy can generate two types of unlikely circumstances— one, excessive sympathy targeted to people can make them weak, vulnerable, and sympathetic ashamed subject, according to Peter Goldie (214), and in the case of sympathy's failure to alleviate victim's suffering it can only be the formation of "emotional regime" (67), using Witherell's phrase; two, when several issues collide, it can be the case of failure of

sympathy due to "sympathetic over arousal" (19), borrowing Suzanne Keen's term. Women's abolitionist discourse has been analyzed from the light of the stated framework in this chapter.

There had been number of social evils like widespread poverty, discrimination against women, property accumulated in the hands of few landlords and merchants, in British society in the eighteenth century, along with the racial slavery. Poor people and women were also in radical politics. Slave rebellion had also been common. Barbara Caine notices women activists trying to establish that they were rational creatures like men. Women's weakness were not inherited in their physical or mental make-up but were the result of dependence, unemployment, lack of education, and their place in hierarchical structure, as pointed out by Caine (45). Women were actively involved in antislavery movement as well. Clare Midgley also shows that women jointly worked with Quakers and Society of Friends, for antislavery cause, against colonial plantation system and mercantile economy. Slavery for Wollstonecraft was the "complete antithesis" (Midgley 26) to the natural rights doctrine. Midgley writes of Helen Maria Williams attempting to "moralize both commerce and politics" (26) through her writing. Williams' famous phrase, "what is morally wrong can never be politically right" (Midgley 26), provoked the abolitionist cause greatly. Midgley writes on the line that position of British women and slaves had been similar, so they jointly forwarded the issue. Ann Yearsley, Hannah more, Anna Laetitia Barbauld focused on the suffering of slaves, family disintegration, pains and sufferings.

Midgley writes of the vibrancy of the movement, with massive amount of sentimental writing in the wake of French Revolution, encouraging and educating people (28). Women's antislavery society took part in activities like funding, organizing, petitioning, abstention, pamphleting, informing and so on. The "black register" (85), like Mary Prince, also actively took part in the demonstration. Midgley observes three tendencies in the movement: philanthropic

campaign, movement for human rights to address the degraded morality, and transform antislavery into mass movement (91). Midgley further relates the campaign with women's question, the question of their discrimination. Their active participation in the movement is seen as the extension of their role for public purpose (154).

According to the myth of Prometheus, Prometheus stole fire to give it to humans. He also made man out of clay. Zeus punished him for this rebellion. The self sacrificing theft has been interpreted in Jared Hickman as "symbolic vehicle of potential liberation of humanity" (2). Hickman notices "Platonic, neo-platonic, Christian every tradition valorize Zeus's act . . ., only Romanticism raised the voice against Zeus's act" (9). Hickman reformulates modern Prometheus in which black titans and white titans performed like Prometheus (18). Hickman cites Baldwin, one of the black Prometheus, "if God cannot make us larger, freer, and more loving, it is time to get rid of him . . . [there should be] reciprocal relationship between humans and divine" (22). White Prometheus is free but he occupies the throne of Zeus, to control over black titans. Prometheus has been praised as liberating agent, making rebellion against subjection. But white Prometheus continues subjection against his fellow, black Prometheus. The supremacy of white Prometheus turns black Prometheus into rebel. Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818) also establishes that the murder of the creator by his creature against subjection is right. Black Prometheus follows the path of white Prometheus against Zeus. Just like white Prometheus made rebellion against cosmic absolutism, that is empire, black Prometheus also follows the same path of rebellion against white supremacy, against slavery. Michael Scrivener evaluates *Frankenstein* challenging "biological determinism" (213), that "physical being determines moral status" (213). It is the racist attitude that the creature's physical being cannot determine moral status in *Frankenstein*. Shelley has depicted the creature to be "benevolent and generous until he is

victimized and rejected (Scrivener 213). Scrivener makes hypothetical remarks "if the creature had been treated humanely . . . he would not have been a murderer" (213). This argument can be extended to slavery question too.

John Beer has also evaluated *Frankenstein* as the gothic fiction following the tradition of *Ancient Mariner*, strongly influenced by French Revolution and "Scientific optimism" (245). Through the story Shelley has explored moral implications of the events in contemporary political history. Frankenstein sees the monster to be the evil due to the "foulness of his appearance and the crimes he commits" (247). Yet the monster's version of the story and the treatments he gets, Beer finds, not less convincing. Beer writes, "instead of a son of God made to suffer by his contemporaries, as promulgation in Christianity, they were drawn to the idea of a man with suffering directly attributable to his creator" (247).

Frankenstein and his creature are monstrous to each other. "But now misery has come home, and men appear to me as monstrous thirsting for each other's blood" (Shelley, as cited in Lee 121). Lee makes notes on the potential hostility in the era of emancipation campaign. Liberating slaves was seen like releasing monster. Slave holders' situation has been seen like that of Frankenstein in the novel. Members in the parliament also believed "immediate emancipation would cause a collapse in British life" (Lee 121). The slaves had been referred to as "beings possessing the form and strength of a man, but the intellect only of a child. To turn him loose in the manhood of physical strength . . . but in the infancy of his uninstructed reason" (122) would be like the novel's plot itself. The entire British economy had been rested on the arms of a "giant", the slave population. Lee brings Wilberforce to the argument to say that "the English were far worse than monsters . . . they were cannibals" (123). Lee also compares *Ancient Mariner* and *Frankenstein* and tries to establish parallel between them, Mariner's "sick soul" and

Frankenstein's "hungry" (125) soul. Frankenstein brings his monster to life due to his hunger for power.

Other women writer also wrote antislavery poems during the abolition campaign. White reads Ann Yearsley and Hannah More "both pitched at the level of natural rights" (177). Both of them wrote of horrors, atrocities, shocking separation of families, and the victim torn from social life: "see the dire victim torn from social life, as either a woman is torn from her children or a man from his family" (More as cited in White 177). Kitson has observed More's "Slavery, A Poem" (1788), to be attacking slavery by portraying "horrors, separation of families, slave suicide" ("Romantic" 370), creating sympathetic situation. Kitson finds More attacking "racist thinking" ("Romantic" 371), inhuman trade, and the widespread views on Africans that they were savage like animals lacking rationality, lacking "the light of civilization", and "Christian semiotics of light and darkness" ("Romantic" 372). The racist attitude of Christians that the "gospel" can transform Africans from superstition and darkness to civilization and light is only "capitalist endeavor" ("Romantic" 372), Kitson has commented. Lee has also observed More's "Slavery, A Poem" to be advocating for the blacks by portraying slavery as "appetite", "thirst", "insatiable", "unquenchable" (148) desire of the whites turn them to cannibal and vampire.

Swaminathan has evaluated Hannah More's "Slavery, A Poem" developing Adam Smith's idea of sympathy by being "impartial spectator" (490) of African slavery. Ann Yearsley, in the same way, in her "A Poem on the Inhumanity of Slave Trade" also takes up the idea of Adam Smith's "moral economy" (Swaminathan 491), to attack the British commerce based on slavery and slave trade. Brycchan Carey, in the same way, has found Yearsley's poetry "radically progressive" (89). Carey has found Hannah More's antislavery poems using "sentimental rhetoric" (*Abolitionism* 84) and mentioning the aspects of slave trade debate like

"human bondage, split families atrocities, unchristian traders, the demeaning of Britain's name, tribute to the parliamentarians, and appeal to philanthropy" (*Abolitionism* 85). Clare Midgley has found "heartfelt sentiment and natural talent" (32), in More's poem. He has also commented that More's poem functioned as "propaganda to aid Wilberforce at his parliamentary campaign against the slave trade" (32). Clare Midgley has made observation on Hannah More's famous poem "Sorrows of Yamba or, A Negro Woman's Lamentation", and commented "the enslaved woman looks back in sorrow at her idyllic family life in Africa, her capture, the death of her child at sea, and her ill treatment as a slave" (28). Paul Goring makes formulation about sentimental genre that contain "heroic bodies", "somatic" evidences with full of "appealing analogy" (144). Antislavery writers followed "Oroonoko tradition" (Midgley 33), set by Aphra Behn in her novel, *Oroonoko*, (1688) "the portrayal of the sufferings of black people under slavery and contrasting this with romantic and idealized view of life of the 'noble savage' in the African Eden" (33).

According to Robert Mitchell, Ann Yearsley's poem "A Poem on Inhumanity of the Slave Trade" (1788) "employed a standard set of abolitionist devices, such as attempts to incur sympathy by asking the reader to imagine the suffering imposed by slavery, destruction of home and family . . . (117). Mitchell continues, Yearsley's poem is structured round an Indian Luco, a youth in chain, raises the issues of family separation, inhuman treatment to slaves, denial of usual reproduction of slave population by Christian traders. By portraying the touching tale of the Indian, Yearsley makes sentimental appeal to the readers. It opposed the system of commerce based on slave trade and slavery. Mitchell comments the system of commerce created "parasitic" (122) social relations, since the relationship between the slaves and slave holders was not based on "exchange" or "reciprocity" (122). Slave trade and slavery has violated black people's natural

rights of living with family and reproduce their children. Peddlers and beggars were called parasite to the economy, since they do not pay tax to the government. Mitchell brings Charles Dibdin's "The Pedlar" and Wordsworth's "The Old Cumberland Beggar" into argument to make further analysis on the parasitic social relations. Mitchell concludes that slavery was the greatest parasitic relation, irony to government strategy calling peddlers and French to be parasites at that time. Moira Ferguson has appreciated Ann Yearsley's writing as "massive condemnation of slavery and slave trade" (248). She has also postulated that Yearsley's poems "challenged Christians to give tone about righteousness while slavery persisted" (257).

Critics have investigated the vibrancy of abolitionist movement with the encouraging participation of women activists. They have been acclaimed for going against racism, challenging biological determinism, criticizing the politics without moral backing and so on. Shelley's threatening English society in gothic actuated model has been observed as powerful poetics in *Frankenstein*. Some critics have observed to have described women abolitionists dealing with human rights, natural rights, and attacking slavery by portraying horror, terror, and cruelties. Some others have also evaluated abolitionism in the light of contemporary discourse like sentimental rhetoric, Smith's philosophy of sentiment and political economy. This chapter, however, going beyond poetics, focuses new light on the abolitionist discourse by women writers, their investment of negative emotions like disgust, anger, and fear, especially for attracting affect of sympathy to the victim, and further investigates on the politics behind the play of the emotions.

Ann Yearsley's "A Poem on Inhumanity of the Slave Trade" (1788) tells the story of a slave called Luco, betrayed into slavery, who strikes on the forehead of the planter with his hoe due to unbearable torture and uncontrolled anger, then attempts suicide by drowning, but is

captured and burned to death. Yearsley's poem seems to be backed up by sentimental emotional appeal strategically framed by addressing Bristol and critiquing its role in slave trade, the possibility being transformation of shame into glory by the action of social love. The poem has been addressed to Bristol, the evocation of its eclipsed glory due to its being colonial trading centre. Yearsley attacks on the dignity of the civilized self of Bristol:

> BRISTOL, thine heart hath throbb'd to glory- slaves,
>
> E'en Christian slaves have shook their chains, and gaz'd
>
> With wonder and amazement on thee. Hence
>
> Ye grov'ling souls, who think the term I give,
>
> Of Christian slave, a paradox! To you (lines 1-5)

Yearsley strikes on the civilized self of the English, their being resident of Bristol, and their being Christian followers function as the striking question a blow on the structural blindness of the Bristol whose basic economy depended on slave trade and slavery. From the beginning of the poem, Yearsley has revealed the paradox and contradictions— on the one hand, the glory and pride associated with "Bristol" and "Christian", and on the other hand, the chains of the slaves, even "Christian slave"— irony on the conduct of the Bristol. Hopes for order and justice in Bristol that has been the slave of avarice, inhuman and ruthless to slaves, for its being the colonial slave trading centre has been pointed out as futile.

The picture of the rending apart of African families, physical suffering, tortures, the affront to Christian conscience, presentation of a rebellious protagonist are the revealing characteristics of Yearsley's radical anti-slavery poem. Indian Luco turns to be rebellious due to

separation and disintegration of slave families, physical degradation, suffering, pain, and severe torture. The protagonist of Yearsley's poem, Luco, left his father, mother, family, and basic human rights of a person to live with one's family have been denied. The persons who robbed the Indian, his freedom, purchased gold and avarice out of human blood have been identified as Britons, Bristols Christians and so on:

> Away, thou seller of mankind! Bring on
>
> Thy daughter to this market! Bring thy wife!
>
> Thine aged mother, though of little worth,
>
> With all thy ruddy boys! Sell them, thou wretch. (Lines 83-86)

The speaker in the poem asks the slave traders and merchants to compare their family with the slave men, women, and children, and calls the trade to be mean and low grade. The speaker has compelled the slave traders and plantation owners to imagine themselves in the state of the slaves, using Martha Nussbaum's term, do "imaginative reconstruction" (*Upheavals* 31) of the experience of the slaves in order to extend compassion and empathy, asks them to imagine their daughter, wife, son, or mother in the slave market for the auction. Speaker's anger, dissatisfaction, and disgust at the plight of the slaves resulted from inhuman activities from the Christian slave traders and plantation owners from Bristol also sets the background for similar level of anger and dissatisfaction in the protest from the victims. The affective arguments Yearsley has made in the poem are full of rhetoric of sentimental appeal.

Indians are compelled to think that God has been prejudiced, favoring only the whites, while neglecting the blacks. Due to God's partial love, Luco is destined to plant sugarcane, his

heart full of agony. He has been rebel against God, not paying attention to his punishment for the sinful act, neither does he have hopes of mercy; his life full of outrage and anger for the violated justice, master's severe punishment, knotted whips. The white Christians are compared with "Gorgon", the devil, serpent and so on. Yearsley appears radical abolitionist in comparison to other contemporary women abolitionists. She portrays Christians to be merciless; violating justice and basic laws, delighted upon other's suffering. The torture is so severe that the victims are resolved to die rather than taking action against injustice. However, Yearsley's Luco takes action against stone hearted Christian, his master, for his inhuman and cruel punishment:

> Gorgon, remorseless Christian, saw the slave
>
> Stand musing, 'Mid the ranks, and, stealing soft
>
> Behind the studious Luco, struck his cheek
>
> With a too heavy whip, that reach'd his eye,
>
> Making it dark forever. Luco turn'd,
>
> In strong agony, and with his hoe
>
> Struck the rude Christian on the forehead. (Lines 253-259)

Luco has been portrayed deep in imagination suffered by the imagination suffered by the memory of his home and parents, inward storm within him caused by fury, grief, and silent woe. Luco strikes on the forehead of the "rude Christian" "with his hoe" in spite of his knowledge of the approaching death, the result of his violent resistance. Yearsley portrays her protagonist to be rebellious and the perpetrators to be cruel, inhuman and devil like. Such portrayal of the victim and perpetrator is quite uncommon representation in abolitionist discourse. None of the

abolitionist writers discussed in previous chapters— Coleridge, Wordsworth, Cowper, Blake, Southey— deal with the issue in such radical way. Striking the "rude Christian on the forehead" "with his hoe" has been portrayed as physical release of anger, the eruption of violence. According to Susi Kaplow, anger is the "first step toward liberation" (as cited in Grasso 3). The victim's performativity of anger is the power symbol of resistance. The perpetrator's use of excessive force against Luco, in the narrative, burning him alive, is the indication that he has smelt potential violent resistance from the victim. The use of excessive force from the perpetrator against the victim is shameful. Readers develop their sympathy for the victim and antipathy for the conduct of the victimizer.

The abrupt change in consciousness of the public regarding slave trade and slavery can be stated due to the structural transformation in the history of ideas, the Enlightenment, the birth of modern political movement, formation of anti-slavery society, the emergence of vibrant new religious society against slavery, giving birth to the concept of freedom and equality applying to all gender and races. Moreover, Wilberforce, Clarkson, Granville Sharp, John Newton, Society of Friends, Quakers, Evangelicals, Methodists all advocated for the abolitionist agenda. Legal judiciary system had also supported abolitionism, Lord Mansfield's ruling in the case of Somerset in 1772, according to the established principles of English law, had set the anti-slavery judiciary precedent. Ann Yearsley, a working class milkmaid, writes her anti-slavery poems in such context, by striking on the basic dignity and pride of the English civilized self. The collective voice against slave trade and injustice- from Quakers, women, poor, religious society Clapham sect, Evangelical, legal society- encouraged the victim to raise their voice against injustice. Yearsley's Luco in "A Poem on Inhumanity of the Slave Trade" must have accumulated courage from the collective voices described above. Yearsley's protagonist is

rebellious also because the writer represents working class woman of her time. Her affective circumstance has also been reflected in the representation of mainstream English society in her poem.

The vivid representation of torture in Yearsley's "A Poem on Inhumanity" posits another typical characteristic of her poem in comparison to the abolitionist discourse discussed in the earlier chapters. In response to Luco's offence to plantation rule and his attempt suicide, "Luco is chain'd/ To a huge tree, his fellow-slaves are ranged/ To share the horrid sight" (lines 273-275), for the torture to spread terror on other slaves. Luco is thrown into the burning flame: "He gages on the growing flame, and calls/ For 'water, water!' the small boo's deny'd" (lines 279-280), the inhumanity of the Christians, the speaker's comment reads in the poem, "Oh, shame, shame/ Upon the followers of Jesus! Shame" (lines 283-284). This scene was performed at the gathering of other slaves, the spread of horror and terror to other slaves, so that they would not follow Luco raise voice against planters: "but still prolonging Luco's torture, threat/ Their trembling slaves around" (lines 290-291), the transmission of horror and terror to other slaves. Excessive torture against the victim in front of other slaves creates a sense of fear among the attendants. Pathetic description of the victim, somatic spectacles to suggest his plight are all meant for revealing shameful state of the victimizer and arousing readers' sense of sympathy for the victim. The picture of the ruthless torture described, "water, water!", "trembling slaves around" and the like are meant for spreading terror and horror among the attendants so that no one ever think of any means of resistance against masters. All these description arouse reader's hatred to the perpetrator, and sympathy to the victim as well as to the "trembling slaves around". Nussbaum asserts "compassion" as one of the "basics of ethical life" (*Upheavals* 47) and "shame, envy,

disgust" as the "impediments to compassion" (*Upheavals* 47), and hence, compassion is lacking in the perpetrators according to the narrative of "Poem on Inhumanity of the Slave Trade".

Yearsley's treatment is radical and severe. Her dissatisfaction for the planters' treatment to slaves has been portrayed with emphasis in the poem:

Where

Is your essence of religion? Where

Your proofs of righteousness, when ye conceal

The knowledge of the Deity from these

Who would adore him fervently? Your God

Ye rob of worshippers, his alters keep

Unhail'd, while driving from the sacred font

The eager slave, lest he should hope in Jesus. (Lines 307-314)

The speaker of the poem blames the planters for transforming Christian slaves to pessimism, not expecting God's mercy. Slaves, the lovers of Jesus, have been transformed into disbelievers by the activities of the planters. The phrase "Christian slaves" suggests massive Christianization of slaves in the colonies, yet morality lacked in the church going planters' conduct: "Must our wants/ Find their supply in murder? Shall the sons/ Of commerce shiv'ring stand, if not employ'd/ Worse than midnight robber" (lines 364-367)? In order to fulfill one's wants somebody's murder in return is "worse than midnight robber". The speaker of the poem curses the system lacking morality. Slavery is the system sustained by stealing, robbery, murder, and all

inhuman means, yet the law protects the thief instead of punishing him. This is great blow on the civilized self of the Christians. At several places in the poem, Yearsley makes mockery of English law, its failure in providing justice to the victim. Slaves' loud call for justice remains a far cry.

The rebellious speaker asks the Britons serious question: "Briton, dost thou/ Act up to this?" (lines 329-330), whether they baptize the convert slaves and grant them freedom. If not Britons are worse than Turks or Spaniards because Turks give freedom to slaves on condition that the slaves embrace Islam, and Spaniards also baptize their slaves as they purchase them. The speaker's serious questions throughout the poem pinch the planters and slave traders badly. In this way, England's law cannot defend the honor of the fallen land. The poem also indicates to the inability of the parliament in defending the honor, the fame, glory, and dignity of the nation, and with all this moral degeneracy of English character. So Yearsley attacks Bristol for their involvement in inhuman act of slave trade and makes sentimental appeal to its people, to be the symbol of love, universal good, appeal for the performance of sympathy for the victims so that the glory of Bristol can be upgraded by touching the souls of man. The speaker's hatred to the trade and prosperity that demands cruelty is further reflected in the lines: "I scorn/ The cry of Av'rice, or the trade that drains/ A fellow creature's blood" (lines 356-358). The system of slavery demands murder to fulfill the demands of avarice. The speaker of Yearsley's poem comments that the activities are worse than the midnight robber. The system of slavery has been sustained by the destructive base support. English law itself protects the thieves and criminals making innocent victims the prey.

Thus Yearsley's "A Poem on Inhumanity" makes dialogue with a range of anti-slavery discourse including contemporary abolitionist poetry, legal precedent supported by Somerset

case, Thomas Clarkson's powerful anti-slavery prose, practical Christianity as popularized by the Quakers, Evangelicals, Clapham Sect, and socio-political economic reality of the time as advocated by Hume, Smith, and Burke. Yearsley makes sentimental appeal to Bristol audience by narrating the life and death of a slave called Luco. Yearsley invites personal emotional response from reader. She appeals directly to the parliament to change the existing law, since English law is cruel to victim, and under the law, victim is hanged while the "wretch who makes another's life his prey" (line 376) is protected. Cowper's ideas can be contrasted here, when he forwarded his argument in *The Task*, mainly focusing on the premises that "slaves cannot breathe in England", Cowper's assertion that enslaved people become free the moment they arrive in England was not quite right. It was just Lord Mansfield's rule that English law did not give slaveholders the right to compel their slaves to leave the country against their will. Through "A Poem on Inhumanity" Yearsley makes poetic affiliation to the broader abolitionist movement, allying herself with abolitionist poets. But the narrative of Indian Luco, his resistance in attempting to murder the planter, his attempted suicide, his capture, and execution by burning are direct challenge to mainstream high Romantic abolitionist tradition.

Luco is brought to the unknown island, kidnapped from his parents. He is compelled to do hard labor in the plantation. He accepts his fate and works without any complaint until a vicious planter, Gorgon, a violent and dishonest fugitive from England strikes him with a heavy whip causing one of his eyes blind. Luco's striking against the planter with his hoe has been taken as an unusual response for the mainstream abolitionist poetry. Luco's response, the strike against the planter, can be put to dialogue with Southey's evocation of vengeance from slave when hope brings no consolation, time brings no cure, and all limitations exceed, Southey's indication of slave rebellion and vengeance in his sonnet five of "Poems Concerning Slave

Trade". Luco's resistance in Yearsley's "A Poem on the Inhumanity", the striking the forehead of the Gorgon with hoe in an attempt to kill him, can be read as the enslaved African's violent action against the planter and inviting the reader to sympathize with the African, a direct challenge to colonial authority. Yearsley's radical abolitionist ideas attempt to maintain poetic difference with other abolitionists and assert direct action necessary for violent social change. However, British anti-slavery poets did not follow her radical lead due to the effect of French Revolution in 1789 and slave uprising in San Domingue and other places against the empire from 1791. That can be the reason why British anti-slavery poets did not follow Yearsley's radical lead, the violent resistance against oppression.

Anti- revolutionary rhetoricians of 1790s include conservative and regressive ideas of Burke targeted to the accumulation of sympathy for the perpetuation of empire, and according to Marcus Wood, by observing the San Domingue slave rebellion in 1791 Coleridge also made his stance against radical and instant abolition of slave trade that the emancipated West Indian slaves would follow the same route (227). Such ideas suggested new direction to the entire abolitionist movement, massive conversion of the slaves to Christianity, their subservience to a God where power lies in his ability to communicate the fallen state of man, and man's consequent and eternal spiritual debt-bondage to God, as a result. They are to establish English slavery as superior to unchristian freedom. According to Eric Metaxas, the parliamentarians had formulated the strategy, "Yes to abolition . . . But not too hastily . . . Yes- but gradually" (152).

Yearsley has made use of affective argument throughout the poem, the prevalence of negative emotions for the representation of whites. Emotions of disgust and fear are associated with the conduct of slave traders and plantation owners upon the slaves. Related emotions like dissatisfaction, depression, terror, anxiety, and nervousness are extracted in the slaves due to the

inhuman and ruthless treatment to them. Further, Luco's resistance can be associated with courage and anger. Through the play of all these emotions Yearsley has generated emotions related to sadness like compassion, pity, and sympathy for the victim. Readers are ashamed at the inhuman conduct of the victimizer but there is no indication of guilt or shame as realized by them. Luco was saved from being drowned in a suicide attempt, " A planter's barge, whose seamen grasp'd his hair,/ Dragging to life a wretch who wish'd to die" (lines 263-264); not out of compassionate humanitarianism and benevolent action but for the vengeance, for he has struck the master with his hoe. Of course, there was activism for abolitionism in the then English society, Yearsley's "A Poem on Inhumanity" also extracts affect of sympathy for the plight of the slaves, but due to the effect of many affects at play affect of sympathy has been observed to be dysfunctional in practice. According to Suzanne Keen, when several issues collide, the case of "sympathetic overarousal" (19), sympathy cannot be performative. The delayed response to abolitionism in spite of the pouring discourse against slave trade at the end of eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries can be referred to as "over arousal" of economic, imperial, colonial, and moral issues leading to the inaction of sympathy due to their collision. There had been massive amount of feeling and perception for the distress of the slaves but without any action for its alleviation.

Yearsley herself is worried about the degeneracy of English character. She only thinks about upgrading the honor, glory, and dignity of Bristol through "A Poem on Inhumanity". But she does not have any plan for the betterment of the victim. She has recognized the problem of the slaves in emotionally laden ways, not shared difficulties and feelings but only having sympathetic thought and feeling towards the problem. Malala Yousafzai in her 2014 Nobel Peace Prize response video speech has emphasized about the action regarding girl's education round the

world, "It is not time to pity and sympathy, it is time to act" (12.5 min). Sara Ahmed, in *Cultural Politics of Emotion*, has sought to explore the relationship between the utterance, feeling, and action to ensure performativity of utterances into action, turning feelings into action, and meet happy performative conditions (114). Responsibility is more significant than feeling. Sympathy cannot solve the problem; rather it makes the victim weak, inferior, and vulnerable, as Peter Goldie has also asserted (214). Goldie has further postulated three kinds of unethical responses associated with sympathy, imagine and sympathize about other's suffering yet disregard it in indifference, exploitation of one's sensitivity only to exacerbate the suffering of the victim, and motivation for action aimed at alleviation of one's own suffering rather than the victim's (215). Sympathy without the efforts for alleviation of the suffering of the victim cannot be true sympathy, in Wetherell's term it is only "emotional refuse" (70), through the formation of the "emotives" as "regulatory glue" for strengthening "emotional regimes" (67).

Hannah More's "Slavery, A Poem" (1788) begins with the abstraction, the speaker's dissatisfaction for the uneven distribution of the light of liberty on the earth, though God planned liberty's light "to shine on all" (line 2). Slavery was not natural; rather it was social creation of stereotypes from the white racist centre. Slavery is the false stabilization and ideological colonization subject to subversion, since it is unnatural. Hannah More furthers her argument in "Slavery, A Poem":

> No obstacles by nature's hand imprest,
>
> Thy subtle and ethereal beams arrest;
>
> Nor motion's laws can speed thy active course,
>
> Nor strong repulsion's pow'rs obstruct thy force,

Since there is no convexity in MIND (lines 7-11)

The repeated use of no, nor in the lines emphasize the impossibility of obstruction of the rays of liberty permanently, rather it is the momentary one. More denies the natural distinction between the races and defends natural order that all men are equal in the eyes of the God. Freedom, equality, and liberty are the most important fruits of justice, yet there are cases of inequality, partial light of liberty to the selected few, and hence, More's persona pours forth her dissatisfaction in a series of questions: "while the chill North with thy bright ray is blest,/ Why should fell darkness half the south invest?" (lines 13-14), "While Britain basks in thy full blaze of light,/ Why lies sad Afric quench'd in total night?" (lines 17-18), it was not that God was unfair, but it was false stabilization from the white capitalist centre. The North Pole blessed with bright rays and the South Pole covered in blackening night is unnatural, paradoxical to the law of nature. North hemisphere is "chill" yet blessed with "light" and South hemisphere is full of "light" yet covered in "darkness". "Light" and "night" are emphasized with the rhyming words in the lines cited above.

It is unfair that loud sound of rationalism so monstrously disturbing natural rule, "rejecting Reason's reign" (line 25), More highlights with rhythmic repetition of the same consonant sound, and philosophy denying equal thought, robbing others, immortal principles changing with the color of skin: "Does then the immortal principle within/ Change with the casual color of a skin?" (lines 63-64), the lines containing abolitionist message that non-white slaves as persons equal to whites and worthy of human dignity. More appears to be strongly opposing racist essentialism. The speaker in "Slavery, A Poem" is worried about the atrocious treatment to the blacks, their being torn from social life, inhuman kidnapping and selling of human beings, and even basic family value denied to them. The speaker pours forth her anger

against passionless slave traders by portraying their inhumanity, their efforts obstructing family bondage and forbidden love of the native soil to them. The speaker is not enraged for Britain's "thirst of empire" or the "desire for fame" (line 125), but for somebody's lust of gold in the cost of somebody's fate. More argues that skin color should not be determinant of personhood. The rhyming words in the above stated lines "within" and "skin" highlight the way in which More wants her readers to view slaves that human essence within, he shares with the white and not skin color. The alliteration in the lines "casual colour of a skin" can mean the color brought about by chance. Casual can also mean not essential, unimportant, something that lies outside of man's essence, the skin. More repeats similar message later in the poem: "What strange offence, what aggravated sin?/ They stand convicted- of darker skin!" (lines 133-134), the poet repeatedly criticize the wrongful measuring of a person's humanity on the basis of skin color.

More brings the reference of Cortez, the Spanish conqueror who enslaved Mexicans by overthrowing Aztec empire, and Columbus, the discoverer, in "Slavery, A Poem" and evaluates their means to be different but the end to be the same, "the lust of conquest" and "lust of gold" of the "white savage" (lines 210-211). Their act accumulated more prosperity and power, but less human blessings. Slavery is another shameful dirty stain on the Christian name. More elaborates Britain's glory and deep rooted Christian conviction for freedom in the lines:

Shall Britain, where the souls of freedom reign,

Forge chains for others she herself disdains?

Forbid it, Heaven! O let the nations know

The liberty she love she will bestow;

Not to herself the glorious gift confin'd,

She spreads the blessing wide as humankind;

And, scoring narrow views of time and place,

Bids all be free in earth's extended space. (Lines 254-261)

Anti-slavery poetry is often criticized for portraying idealistic abstraction about Britain's glory and Christian advocacy of freedom. However, much of the poetry performed educative function by teaching the contemporary audience of the injustices of slavery. They supported Evangelical reform movement, turning Catholic Church to more open institution for solving human problems like inequality and racism. The movement encouraged the reading of the Bible through the eyes of the marginalized. It was rich movement for defending natural order rather than racist stereotypes, educating people to imagine, experiment, and think about different alternative options beyond stereotypes. More also concludes "Slavery, A Poem" is sentimental appeal for the restoration of liberty and equality, and erase the "foulest blot" (line 279) against Christian name.

More's another poem "The Sorrows of Yamba" (1797) portrays a tortured woman named Yamba who was born in Africa and parted from there "never, never to return". She has followed the stereotypes created by abolitionist poetry. A tortured slave woman attempting suicide is one of the common stereotypes sustained among anti-slavery poems. Yamba's wish for eternal peace in death from the beginning of the poem: "Come, kind death! And give me rest;/ Yamba has no friend but thee;/ Thou canst set the prisoner free" (lines 5-7). Slavery has been portrayed such an inhuman institution that separates parents, children, and lovers, an offence to the dignity of family value. The brave Britons kidnapping and trafficking women and children, violating the

family kinship and basic humanity, has been attacked, their being involved in shameful deeds. Yamba is happy at her child's death since life of a slave is far more horrible than death:

> Happy, happy, there she lies,
>
> Thou shalt feel lash no more;
>
> Thus full many a Negro dies,
>
> Ere we reach the destin'd shore (lines 49-52)

Why does death wish become the ultimate solution among the slaves in the abolitionist literature? The depiction of the speaker of the poem as shaming individual suggests injustices of the past live in the present and will keep on haunting in the future. Sara Ahmed is for the recognition of the wrongfulness and injustices of the past, replacing individual guilt with collective national shame, for better reconciliation, good feeling, and nation building (*Cultural* 102). Apology for the misdeed of the past, self disgust for it, and developing intense painful sensation for it, can function as discourse of reconciliation and good feeling. More's abolitionist discourse in her poems can be interpreted from this frame.

The missionary rescues Yamba from the suicide attempt. Conversion to Christianity and teaching the lessons of Bible function as narcotic on the natives. The frequent reference to other worldly betterment and endurance to every form of torture referring to the themes of God's sacrifice for the wellbeing of humanity smell special politics in the preaching. Due to the unbearable torture, inhuman treatment, middle passage atrocity, the slaves attempt suicide but the missionaries try to stop them saying that this worldly suffering paves the way for other worldly bliss after death. The stereotypes of suicide, rescue, conversion of the slaves, missionary

preaching are common among abolitionist literature, and are meant for revealing unfavorable life of the slaves and sentimental appeal to the white readership. The missionary preach the slaves of this worldly suffering to secure other worldly well-being, the politics can also be to protect the property from being damaged, for the accumulation of as much benefit from a slave. But the repeatedly recurring suicide attempt becomes ironical in anti-slavery literature. Yamba laments over her separation from Africa and her husband, even attempt suicide, but Christianity saves her; does not saving here mean lifting from frying pan and throwing into the fire?

Furthermore, the missionary in "Sorrows of Yamba" asks Yamba to forgive the cruel master: "As ye hope for Mercy sweet,/ So forgive your Massaa' sin" (lines 115-116). The missionary teaches Yamba the value of forgiveness for the attainment of God's mercy. The politics behind such preaching may also be to avert the possibility of violence and bloody revenge, also to turn them passive. This poem is the victim's address to the victim, readers don't know the perpetrator's perspective, whether they accept their guilt or not, whether their sin is forgivable or not. According to Christian forgiveness, the sin is forgivable once the perpetrator confesses his guilt. But in this poem readers are disappointed to see the active participation of the missionaries only concerned about developing narcotic effect upon the victim, averting the possibility of revenge from them, without fulfilling necessary and sufficient condition for forgiveness, that is, realization from the perpetrator. The missionary's effort in stabilizing religious truth, the ideological colonization on the victims, the transformation of the victims' perspective through conversion and missionary preaching seems to be hegemonic. The victims are convinced to pursue the single option available to them, since the missionaries have conditioned them against the possibility of alternative options.

British abolitionist writers portray their black characters to have raised their consciousness, enhanced agency and empowerment upon conversion or their baptism. Either it be Yearsley's Luco, More's Yamba, Robinson's Zelma, or the characters described in earlier chapters, all valorize death and other worldly bliss resulted from this worldly suffering. This is the effect of missionary teaching on them. Conversion and Gospels can be compared to British imperial Opium War policy, adopted by East India Company from 1715, in the Chinese port city, according to Kalimtgis et al.:

> It has been official British crown policy to foster mass-scale drug addiction against targeted foreign population in order to impose a state of enforced backwardness and degradation, thereby maintaining British political control. . . The British crown found its treasury rapidly being drained of silver reserves . . . in exchange for silk, tea, and other commodities Britain imported. (12)

Just like addicting Chinese with opium was "mind-destroying", of the colonies, in the word of Kalimtgis et al., conversion had also functioned as narcotic on the blacks. There is sudden realization in the victims of endurance, moral conduct, forgiveness, and hopes of other worldly bliss. But the white characters, perpetrators and the lifelong Christians are never depicted to have realized their guilt and inhuman conduct. Abolitionist narratives give light to torture and cruelties but at the same time pacify the resistance and rebellion potential. Victims do not raise voice against injustice rather wish for death, like Yamba's wish in More's poem, "come, kind death! And give me rest" (line 5), or the missionary asks Yamba, "forgive your massa' sin" (line 116), but never even think of poetic justice to the victim. Relating Metaxas's argument about the strategy of the parliamentarians here again, "yes to abolition . . . but gradually" (152).

Yamba has been treated as an ambassador of peace on earth. She appears a bold character towards the end of the poem; Yamba comments:

Cease, ye British sons of murder!

Cease from forging Afric's chain:

Mock your saviour's name no further,

Cease your savage lust of gain (lines 161-164)

The alternatively rhyming words— murder /further, chain /gain— are significantly matching here. The repeated word, alliteration, and rhyming words emphasize on the same message in the lines. Yamba's bold agency speaks also for the freedom of Africa, "O, that Afric might be free!" (line 160). Furthermore, Yamba speaks of universal peace, against every form of vice, and for the spread of Gospel for all that to happen:

Where ye gave to war its birth,

Where your traders fix'd their den,

There go publish "peace on earth",

Go, proclaim "good will to men".

Where ye once have carried slaughter,

Vice, and slavery, and sin;

Seiz'd on Husband, Wife, and Daughter,

Let the Gospel enter in. (Lines 169-176)

Hannah More lets out the words of missionary call to Africa from the mouth of Yamba, a slave woman in the above lines. The capitalist went to Africa with profit motive. They committed crimes against humanity, ravaged it with bloody war, kidnapping, slavery, and slaughter, only for the lust of gain. In the context of Britain's recent loss of North American slave colonies in American Independence, does not More's call, from the mouth of Yamba, seem to be backed up by the politics of imperial extension to Africa, in the form of the teachings of Gospel?

One of the strands of any of anti-slavery poetry seems to be the white writer's rationalization that Africans in the state of darkness and savagery can be enlightened by the light of the teaching of Gospel. And that rationalization had obvious politics about the changing face of capitalism, the extension of empire and capitalist endeavor to convert slave labor to free labor, that is, capitalist phase shift due to the resultant problems for the continuation of the previous phase. Both More's and Yearsley's anti-slavery poetry follow the stereotypes, rationalization, and sentimental appeal. Yearsley's "inhumanity" and More's "slavery" were published at the same time and similar topic. The reader can notice significant difference between them: in Yearsley, the dominance of sentimentalism, whereas in More, of rationalism; Bristol is present in Yearsley but absent in More; Yearsley writes the narrative of life and death of Luco, whereas More's is miscellaneous, episodic, without central narrative, unidentified locality and community. Yearsley is more radical than More, since the former's protagonist is more rebellious.

Mary Robinson's two of the anti-slavery poems, "The African" (1798) and "The Negro Girl" (1800) are described here. Both of the poems are sentimental tale of the African subjects. "The African" portrays the picture of the African who was born in the riches of the torrid climate, made to wear the chain of subservience, torn away from family, dies prematurely, but no one to shed tears on his death. He is compelled to endure chains, lashes, forced to work hard day

and night in unfavorable conditions, yet enduring lashes. The tyrant master who parted lovers neglects nature's law. In the same way, "the Negro Girl" portrays the picture of transportation of slaves through middle passage, atrocities being committed against them. The two lovers Zelma and Draco are parted in slavery, the former watches her lover swallowed away by the violent sea. Slavery and the violent sea have been portrayed in parallel way. Apart from sentimental outburst, Robinson writes some revolutionary remarks in the "Negro Girl": "Does Heaven's high will decree/ That some should sleep in beds of state,/ Some in roaring sea?" (lines 26-28), she questions about the moral of British people. Through both of the poems, Robinson addresses British readership of her time and elicits pity from them for the Africans by telling their pathetic tales. Robinson emphasizes on the equality of races; color of the skin cannot be the basis of differential standard among people: "Whate'er their TINTS may be, their SOULS are still the same!" (line 54). Like African female characters in Yearsley and More, Robinson's Zelma also contemplates about their freedom in death: "No DRACO!— Thy companion I will be/ To that celestial realm, where Negro shall be free!" (lines 71-72), the deeply rooted conviction among blacks, about their freedom only in death, the result of the missionary teaching.

Anna Laetitia Barbauld writes more radically and intellectually than Robinson, in the manner of Mary Wollstonecraft. Her powerful anti-slavery poem "Epistle to Wilberforce" (1791) was written in response to the defeat of Wilberforce's bill against slave trade in the parliament in 1791. That moment was also recalled by Wordsworth in the tenth book of *The Prelude*. Barbauld was also the strong critic of Britain's involvement in war against France since 1793 until 1814, with a brief pause in 1802 that she wrote in her famous poem "Eighteen Hundred and Eleven". The movement against slave trade began much earlier than Barbauld wrote her "Epistle to Wilberforce". Wilberforce's reasons for the abolition of slavery ranging from inhuman treatment,

moral problem, human problem, to the violent conflict have been investigated in the poem. Wilberforce discredited preconceived proslavery rationalization through his argument against slavery that Barbauld celebrates in her "Epistle".

Slave trade was the main cause of war in Africa and Europe. "Epistle to Wilberforce" begins with Barbauld's support for Wilberforce's activism:

Cease, Wilberforce, to urge thy generous aim—

Thy country knows the sin and stands the shame!

The preacher, poet, senator, in vain

Has rattled in her sight the Negro's chain" (lines 1-4)

The country's involvement in the sin, the Negro in chain, is shameful to preacher, poet, and senator. The country's petty desire for gold has caused conflict at home and abroad. Slave trade has become the cause of war in Africa among the chief of the clans and the kings: "Still Afric bleeds;/ Unchecked, the human traffic still proceeds" (lines 15-16), and further, Barbauld extends, "Contending chiefs and hostile virtues join;/ All from conflicting ranks, of power possessed" (lines 22-23). Slavery is inhuman crime from the "remoter age" (line 36), Barbauld condemns slavery because it violates domestic affections and relationships.

Corruption and immorality caused by war and slavery have become important features to characterize England, for which Barbauld seems to be worried. She calls upon Wilberforce and other abolitionists that it is too late to save England from its fate, "To shed a glory, and to fix a stain" (line 122). If senators are not worried about the "stain" in the history of glorious England, history will keep standing the stain and shame. Here fixing the stain can mean appeal for the

national shame for the healing of wrongs and injustices committed against the blacks in racial slavery, which is crucial for moral development, restoring national pride, bringing about reconciliatory solution through mediation of brutal story of collective shame and sorrow, and according to Sara Ahmed, stories of shame can be "binding ideals" (*Cultural* 109) preparing for "new ground of civility" (*Cultural* 113). Admitting historical guilt in official apology can function as discourse of reconciliation, compensation for injury, and formation of new public morality. In the first two lines, Barbauld urges Wilberforce to give up trying to convince others of the rightness of his cause or the reasons for the abolition of slavery, because "Thy country knows the sin and stands the shame!" (line 2), and hence Wilberforce to make "cease" on his persuasion and generosity. The senators are not ignorant of the sin; they are habituated to stand on the shame. Barbauld writes "Epistle to Wilberforce" in the manner to hit on the civilized self of the senators who were involved in the obstruction of the bill from being passed, not ready to accept the injustices as national shame. The senators' lack of shame for the guilt or injustice is itself shameful to Barbauld, and for her without recognizing the shameful aspect of the past we cannot celebrate present glories. Barbauld's politics of shame, her eagerness to admit historical guilt, seems to be directed to the formation of new public morality, developing the reconciliatory happy performative, applying Ahmed's ideas (*Cultural* 114).

The commerce associated with slavery, the "sin" Britain had been involved in, "Where seasoned tools of avarice prevail, /A nation's eloquence, combined, must fail" (lines 25-26), according to Barbauld. Such a grave sin is unlikely to be forgotten easily by those who are being sinned against, "the account of vengeance yet to come" (line 42), and according to heaven's impartial plan, man cannot "contemn his fellow man" (line 44), Barbauld indicates to the possible threats the sinners may be facing in the future if they did not use their rationality.

Barbauld urges poets not to get caught up in unnecessary rationalization, imagination, and face saving of the country, instead, to follow literary ethics to bring about transformation for the good of their fellow men and for the welfare of their own country. Money can be sweet only when it is extracted from some better source. Money at the cost of the fellow men's tears and blood cannot be sweet and moral. Barbauld's can be assessed as effective contribution to the debate. Her language and ideas are remarkably similar to that of Wollstonecraft's.

The subject of the poems explored so far in this chapter are the other, the Africans, in Yearsley, More, and Robinson, but in Barbauld, it is the exploration of reflection on the English character. The level of self actualization or reflection upon the character of the self is higher in Barbauld. Telling pathetic tales of others and making sentimental appeal to readers, extracting similar sentiment in reader is higher in the former three authors. All writers have been successful in extracting shame on the perpetrators. All have used anger as a tool for "consciousness raising", "a mode of analysis and the basis of an aesthetic" (Grasso 194). Anger may be thought of as essential for revolutionary restructuring of social arrangement" (11), for Grasso, and for that anger must be "resourceful" rather than "corrosive" (11). But according to Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr., anger can be "impediment to the generosity and empathy that help to construct a future justice" (cited in Nussbaum, *Anger* 8). Gandhi has further argued in Nussbaum, "But when I say we should not resent, I do not say that we should acquiesce" (*Anger* 214). Nussbaum has highlighted Gandhi's "non-anger" (*Anger* 212) method working wonderfully to embrace "immediate task", "confrontation with injustice", and for "mass cultivation" (*Anger* 218). Excessive anger can function as corrosive force since it hits on the ego of the person against whom it is generated. For Sara Ahmed, "anger loaded with information and energy" is essential "to react against the deep social and psychic investments in racism as well as sexism" (*Cultural*

175), sympathy for the slaves in abolitionist discourse by women has often been noticed to be backed up by outrage against the perpetrators, supplying necessary knowledge and energy. One turns angry when something is wrong. Anger is a speech act, conventional force, moving people with certain orientation, transforming pain into knowledge and energy. Yearsley, More, and Robinson write from their "affective circumstances" (77), using Julie Reiser's term, worried about the glory of their nation, Christianity, and degeneracy in English character due to their involvement in slave trade. Barbauld is more aware of moral ethical responsibility of a writer.

Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818), sensational gothic novel, based on the story of biblical creation of man, fall from paradise, and the old myth of Prometheus who created man out of clay and while working for the wellbeing of his creation, himself faced torment and confinement from God Jupiter. Shelley called her story the modern Prometheus in which a scientist named Victor Frankenstein reanimates the dead body into life but the creature's grotesque appearance makes him abandon and hate the creature.

The reading of *Frankenstein* without keeping in mind the socio-economic and political reality of British society in 1790s and 1800s could be incomplete. The chronological parallels in the life of Victor Frankenstein and Napoleon Bonaparte can very interestingly be compared; their birth in 1769 and 1770, Victor's scientific study began in the year 1789, the year of the beginning of French Revolution; 1798, Victor was rescued from near death on the voyage to North Pole and Napoleon's expanding expedition to Switzerland, also the year of the publication of Coleridge's *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*. The end of both of the characters is also similar. Shelley's personal life, she lost her mother with her birth in 1797, her arrival as monstrous to her father. Moreover, Victor's creature is tall, heavy, strong, black, and deformed that the description of skin color, hair, eyes, teeth like that of the black slaves. Napoleon was tormented by blacks in

San Domingue and other places, and in the same way, Victor gets troubled by his creature in *Frankenstein*. Victor's creature is no other than the slave who was the great cause of upheaval in the history of Europe during and before the novel's conception. So the novel is rich in combining myth with personal, literary, social history, a multi-layered fable.

The creature's thirst for sympathy, compassion, and Victor's thirst for tranquility have continuously been depicted to be in rivalry, in the novel. The creature was exiled from society about which he reminds his creator intermittently in *Frankenstein*: "Remember that I'm thy creature: I ought to be thy Adam; but I'm rather the fallen Angel, whom thou drivest from joy for no misdeed. Everywhere I see bliss, from which I alone am irrevocably excluded. I was benevolent and good; misery made me a fiend. Make me happy, and I shall again be virtuous" (859). The heathen slaves in 1791 San Domingue slave rebellion were animals in the eyes of the slave holders. The emancipated West Indian slaves will also follow the same path, so it is better to handle them by turning them subservience to God, transplanting the story of fallen state of man in their understanding through religious missionary activities. But the creature finds significant difference between himself and Adam: "Many times I considered Satan as the fitter emblem of my condition; for often like him, when I viewed the bliss of my protectors, the bitter gall of my envy rose within me" (875). It was only after the repeated hatred from human beings that the creature avenged against his creator and demanded for the creation of his companion. Victor's monster's vow "to quit Europe forever" (885) upon the fulfillment of his demand of female counterpart can be associated with the demand of emancipation of slaves. British people also feared that their race would be contaminated in miscegenation with the blacks or they would reproduce and increase black population in Europe.

Victor's creature, the monster, is the black slave. There are many references to justify that. His eyes are yellow, watery; his hair black, ragged, lips black, teeth white. It is the bourgeois fear that political radicals, the poor agitating for better treatment, slaves demanding sympathy and liberty are considered monstrous in modern society. For Sara Ahmed disgusting portrayal of native bodies "into knowledge, property, and commodity" (*Cultural* 82) is crucial for power relations in cross-cultural encounter. The creature has innate desire for knowledge, capacity to learn, but due to hideous appearance, wronged by society. He has brute strength and could stand the heat but could not bear cold, could be seen shivering in the cold. The image of the black as destructive force suggestive of irrational beastiality, echoed from proslavery side. In 1796, Henry Dunda, in the House of Commons, said of the Negros in Jamaica, in Parliamentary Register:"Maroons were accustomed to descend from their fastness at midnight, and commit the most dreadful ravages and cruelties upon the wives, children, and property of the inhabitants, burning and destroying every place which they attacked, and murdering all who unfortunately became the object of their fury (cited in H. L. Malchow 108)." Shelley's monster also murders both woman and child and burns the De Lacey cottage. Shelley must have read horrors of slave rebellion that described death and desolation. Bryan Edward describes the horrors of slave rebellion in the West Indies: "They surrounded the overseer's house about four in the morning, in which eight or ten white people were in bed, everyone of whom they butchered in the most savage manner . . . then set fire to the buildings and canes. In one morning they murdered between thirty to fourty whites, not sparing even infants at the breast . . . (cited in Malchow 110)." Gothic terror in such description during Shelley's time must have influenced her in the creation of monster of her novel which is not other than a black slave. The Jamaican and Haitian slave rebellion and related spectacles generated images of xenophobic and racial fears among

contemporary readers that led Shelley to invent the unnamed monster in the Gothic novel through Romantic imagination.

Shelley's monster is the reflection of contemporary attitude towards non-white and poor. Her fictional creation parallels in many respects the racial stereotypes of the age. Racism begins with physiological appearance— grotesque, large, powerful, dark— description of black man in western literature. Shelley must have read Mungo Park's *Travels* that depicts similar picture of African males- wild, dangerous, unpredictable, and childlike.

Shelley's Frankenstein is also the story of the failure of sympathy. Smith's reciprocity in sympathy, beyond physiological resemblance and direct visual auditory engagement has been depicted as failure in *Frankenstein*. The creature is rejected not only by the creator but also by other human beings. His desire for sympathy and his complaints for the unjust treatment burst out at several places in *Frankenstein*: "God in pity made man beautiful and alluring, after his own image; but my form is a filthy type of yours' more horrid from its very resemblance . . . I am an unfortunate and deserted creature, I look around, and I have no relation or friend upon earth . . . (876-877)." De Lacey family also rejects the creature that intensifies his sympathetic identification with Satan. He looks at his image in water and gets terrified. His loneliness and antipathy had troubled him, and now the knowledge of his deformity becomes serious shock on him: "Oh! What a miserable night I passed! The cold stars shone in mockery, and the bare trees waved their branches above me" (867). None of the characters in the story show their sympathy to the creature only because of his grotesque body. But when the readers read his plight they are sympathetic to him. In spite of the creature's earnest attempt to make friends with people and do good, all perform their violent hatred for his appearance. In vengeance he murders Victor's

brother. He traces down his creator to demand that he create a female for him. And upon his betrayal, the creature kills Victor's friend Henry and then his bride Elizabeth.

The creature's disgusting appearance becomes hateful and unpleasant to all. Racist thinking prevalent among whites in the treatment of blacks also contributed in the formation of "intellectual hatred" (Nussbaum, *Upheavals* 15) against blacks as inferior, savage, uncivilized, dirty, and disgusting, that functioned as "machinery for social control" (*Upheavals* 15), using Nussbaum's term, such machinery can be instrumental in the "development of self loathing" (*Upheavals* 189) in the victim of disgust; furthermore, the victims become the subject of "double mortification— invisible because contemptible, visible because disgusting"(*Upheavals* 189). Yearsley, More, and Robinson make disgusting images against cruelty and hypocrisy in order to develop affect of sympathy to the slaves. Frankenstein's creature in Shelley, on the other hand, endures excessive humiliation and hatred from all others that leads in the development of self-loathing when the creature sees his image on water. The failure of getting sympathy and compassion from others, in spite of his continuous effort for the same, the creature identifies himself with Satan and turns vengeful against its creator, turning his anger into violence. Mary Shelley's experiment in Gothic model is not quite unpractical. Such violent vengeance against the whites in the plantation and in slave colonies had been common phenomena in the form of slave rebellion at that time.

British people's feeling of pride in wretched things like slavery can be associated with Victor's feeling of pride with his creation. The feeling, passion, and "mad enthusiasm", "deceived by no vision" (905), as Victor himself accepts, in *Frankenstein*, because the causing factors behind the deception and disturbance of the tranquility. The whole of Europe was in the whirlwind of problem brought by slavery and colonization at that time, the product of

overpowering passion and enthusiasm for gold. Slaves and natives seem to be the violent potential machination for causing harm to the white race. Victor is upset at the creature's demand of the female counterpart, and his threat, "I will be with you on your wedding night" (907) proved staggering blow for the tranquility and peacefulness of his mind. The whole of Europe was terrified by violence and rebellion in the colonies. The demand for emancipation and freedom can be compared with the monster's demand for the female counterpart: "Could I enter into a festival with this deadly weight yet hanging round my neck, and bowing me to the ground" (888). The creature disturbing tranquility in Victor is like the "weight" of the albatross "hanging round" the Mariner's neck, in Coleridge's *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*. Victor is in shameful and pathetic situation: "William, Justine, and Clerval, had died through my infernal machines and whose death . . . is to finish the tragedy?" (905). Victor's boat had been swept away by the storm to Ireland, where he faces number of miseries. Victor thinks of quitting Ireland, the English colony, the source of misery on him like his monster.

Frankenstein's monster is the white man's imagination about the ghost of the slave haunting Europe, the situation of excessive terror due to the psychological damage caused by the deeds associated with slavery and colonization. Frankenstein's monster is not divine or supernatural power like polar spirit or septre woman in *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, rather the creature is Victor's creation, representing slaves. When he is treated badly, he turns into a monster. The prevalent racism, othering process, turns the creature into monster. Shelley's Gothic style to deal with the theme of abolition has been enriched by the use of scientific optimism. She has made use of sensational terror as the effective method of bringing about transformation in the consciousness of the actors. The creature has been portrayed so as to achieve reader's sympathy. Mary Shelley through her imagination about slaves, her

representation of slaves, in the form of creature, the imaginative reconstruction, has been successful in developing fear of the victimizer in the case of slavery and its victimization. This Gothic model has been successful in bringing about forced transformation of consciousness of the victimizer.

Gothic actuated sympathy in *Frankenstein* has been instrumental in bringing about experiment on forced transformation of consciousness, by the play of the emotions like disgust, fear, and anger ultimately targeted to the development of the affect of sympathy for the victimized people in the case of racial slavery. Women abolitionists' discourse analyzed in this chapter have been investigated to be found worried about depletion of English glory, contamination of Christianity, degeneracy in English moral character due to the cruelty and inhumanity associated with slavery. Their sentimental tales extracting the emotions of disgust, fear, courage, and anger through the portrayal of torture, cruelties, and inhumanity appeal for the affect of sympathy. Among five women authors explored in this chapter, Yearsley, More, and Robinson have been investigated to be violent, invective, and louder; whereas, Barbauld and Shelley have been found artistic, resourceful, and serious. Women took part in abolitionist movement actively in order to increase their power, fighting against injustice prevalent in society related to women, poor, and slaves. The collective voice would strengthen their power fighting against the injustices in society, so they jointly took part in the movement.

Chapter Eight

Slaves' Narratives: Formation of Alternative Consciousness and Empowerment of the Blacks

Previous chapters so far show that mainstream high Romantic writers and women's writing against slave trade and slavery proved to be a significant move, a collective voice for the African slaves fighting against normativity, tradition, and stereotypes towards the end of the eighteenth and in early nineteenth century England. The precedent set by Somerset case in 1772 in Lord Mansfield's decision and the references in ex-slaves' narratives as analyzed below suggest that blacks had been protesting long before 1780s and 1790s, but their voice had remained unheard. Previous chapters in the dissertation have also established that the voice became powerful when mainstream intellectuals, writers, media, religious community contributed to the discourse of change. Abolitionist movement would not have been accelerated without the dissenting voice from the slaves. The voice began to be taken seriously from 1780s onwards. Olaudah Equiano's narrative went to 36 editions between 1789 and 1850. Readers were interested in hearing colored people speak—a swell of enthusiasm to know what the world would look like from the eyes of the slaves. The former slaves wrote about their traumatic memory, haunting experience from the past, in their autobiographies, narrativization of the unspeakable, for the acting out effect of the traumatic experience. The narrator or the autobiographical subject became public figure with the voice of the voiceless, agency with authoritative voice. This chapter examines the role of the slave narratives by Olaudah Equiano, James Albert Gronniosaw, and Mary Prince in bringing about transformation in racial consciousness in relation to the abolition of slavery.

Theoretical justification for this chapter has been derived from the ideas on different emotions like disgust, anger, and non-anger. Native bodies are subject to hatred and disgust. Proximity with disgusting body is considered to be offensive. According to Ahmed in *Cultural Politics of Emotions*, "disgust is crucial for power relations" (88), and hence, "some forms of contact are felt to be disgusting, sickening invasion" (86). National shame to native pain could form promises for reconciliation. Shame performs double responsibility for Ahmed— "a mode of recognition of injustices committed against others" and "a form of nation building" (102)— however, narratives written by ex-slaves to be investigated for whether or not such type of picture portraying bad feeling or self disgust for the past misdeeds has been realized by the perpetrator. Intense painful sensation and bad feeling for the past misdeed can redress the shameful negative affect to some extent. The ex-slaves' experiences, their encounters with white masters can provide some clue by investigating the narratives written at different phases of abolitionist movement. "Anger loaded with information and energy" (*Cultural* 175) is crucial for a movement against racial injustice deep rooted at social and psychic level, according to Ahmed. Massumi's concept of "controlled walking" (17), Witherell's notion of emotives and "emotional regimes" (67), Rai's notion of "bourgeois humanism" (67), and "colonial governmentality" (15) all justify English hypocrisy, not accepting slavery as moral blemish, affront to the British notion of liberty, and against basic premises of Christianity. Nussbaum's notion of "imaginative reconstruction" (*Upheavals* 47) as a method of rejecting biological determinism and developing critical culture for alternative perspective from structural blindness of racism can also be useful framework for investigating target discourse. All the theoretical tenets and premises can focus further light for the exploration of gaps and pinpoint the politics in the discourse.

The narratives by Equiano, Gronniosaw, and Prince were inspired by a massive amount of literature that dealt with slave resistance and rebellion. Michael Craton has noticed slave rebellions in Barbados (1816), Demerara (1823), and Jamaica (1831-32) that generated new idea in European metropolis. The planters feared that the slaves might be infected by ideologies from American, French, and Haitian Revolutions. David Geggus has also viewed slave revolt in French colonies of San Domingue, West Indian wealthiest colony, differently. The planters presented the atrocities of the black rebels as proof of their barbarity, while the abolitionists viewed it as natural sign of humanity. The slave revolt had been welcomed in Britain saying that Europe lost one of the prolific colonies for the good. Coleridge hated slavery and admired Toussaint, the revolutionary hero (Geggus 145). London Gazette stated "every liberal Briton should feel proud of the happy revolution that with British help had brought the blacks to power in nominally French colony" (Geggus 130). Generally, when the resistance was directed to the French, English were happy to support the rebels, and sometimes the rebels hit the English force with the assistance of the French force.

Black contribution to the British abolitionist movement of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries functioned as propaganda and agenda setter. Olaudah Equiano's *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano* (1789) has been investigated by Kitson who place the autobiography to the most appealing writing, depicting the scenes of horrors like kidnapping, selling of the blacks into slavery by Africans from another village, selling on the coast, dangerous middle passage, and the painful plantation life in Virginia ("Romantic" 371). The incidents in the life of Equiano, Kitson finds, generate strong sentiment for the slaves and hatred to the evil trade. Slaves' narratives have been investigated as generating sentimental appeal to the white readers. Carey relates Equiano's autobiography to the antislavery campaigns

and calls this to be "published to coincide with Wilberforce's 1789 parliamentary speech" (*Abolitionism* 84). Whereas Scrivener calls *Interesting Narrative* to be a "cosmopolitan text" (118), "not simply because of its geographical expansiveness and its important role in different literatures—African American, Afro-British, Black Atlantic, and Romantic era British— but because in its argument against the slave trade, an international form of commerce, it brings to surface racist myths upon which slavery and ultimately European empire rest" (118). Ann Wierda Rowland categorizes the *Interesting Narrative* into Christian conversion narrative relying on sentimental structure. According to Rowland, the autobiography has followed sentimental structure of portraying somatic pain targeted to move European readers. This also contributed in sentimental education and the formation of sensibility against inhumanity.

Alan Richardson calls the *Narrative* to be instrumental in spreading horrors of slave trade, since Wilberforce "addressed to Parliament detailing horrors of the trade" ("Slavery" 502) on the basis of the information from the autobiography. Thomas John McCarthy evaluates on the style of the autobiography. He finds *The Interesting Narrative* written with the "assumption that readers would respond sympathetically to the narrator as real person" (258). The narrator separates himself from the character, to oppose slavery; and being aware of emotional barrier, he seeks to blur the distinction between slave and master. He treats everyone as the subject of sympathy by saying that masters and slaves are "merely pawns" of the "evil institution" (261). The narrator speaks to the reader directly as close friend, touching him, and stirring him emotionally. The slave narrative genre highlighting black subjectivity and black agency has become interesting field for the study of British Romanticism. James Walvin has investigated on Olaudah Equiano's autobiography to find out the means of suffering the slaves went through.

The prevalent dangers of attack, raids, kidnapping in the African villages are vividly shown. Walvin has found the “agonies of family separation” ("Propaganda" 10) in Equiano’s narrative.

In her autobiography *History of Mary Prince* (1831) Prince has expressed the purpose of writing her story was to tell the white readers of “the horrors of slavery” (11) so that “they may break our chains, and set us free” (11). Kremena Todorova examined Prince’s purpose in writing her *History* that “the ex-slave speaks not only about and for herself but also for the West Indian slaves in her community, by extension, for all the slaves in British Empire” (289). Todorova has examined the oral history as “more democratic” (289). But Sandra Pouchet Pouquet has evaluated, “Prince’s original language is partially lost in translation from oral to written text, what remains is an authorial voice that focuses the public self consciousness of the slave narrative with the private self consciousness of the slave” (31).

Humanitarian narratives raised the issue of black suffering as well as the discrimination prevalent in society in terms of class, sex or race. Janice Schroeder has observed evidences of bodily pain in nineteenth century humanitarian narratives, including slave narratives like *History of Mary Prince* and *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, in her article. She has presented “evidential information in nineteenth century humanitarian literature, configured as eye witness, testimonies, court reports, statistical tables, character reference or bodily scars” (263), that have been used to appeal contemporary readers, and to expose “casual history of pain and suffering, deliberately inflicted, in order to provoke compassion, indignation, and action” (264). K. Merinda Simmons has evaluated *History of Mary Prince* as agency of ex-slaves (78). She has also investigated the context of the book when it was written, “it was published for the first time only two years before England put its 1833 emancipation bill into effect . . . [it was] laden with antislavery society’s editorial agenda and subjected to legal scrutiny” (81).

When we make observation on antislavery literature from 1780s to 1830s, it seems, there had been multiple alternative narratives in the process of development. The slave narrative genre highlighting black subjectivity and black agency, an interesting field of British Romanticism, revealed an alternative perspective from that of traditional imperial racist mainstream discourse. One can find vast difference in terms of the treatment of slavery and the issues related to slaves between before 1760s and after 1780s. Suffering, torture, horror, and ill treatment to slaves had been common stereotypes portrayed in the slave literature poetics; however, there had not been strong antislavery voice in literature before 1780s. There cannot be the point of disagreement with the reviews under this section either. It has already been clear that antislavery agenda came with such vitality and force assisted by the tools like sentimentality, new sensibility, and sympathy, all targeted to justice. In spite of all this abolition had been very slow and difficult process. The politics of antislavery agenda in Romantic literature seems still the uncharted territory.

English abolitionist literature has been observed as the archive of affect, since the same issue of slave trade and slavery allured various perspectives from differing sources, mainstream Romantics, women abolitionists, and slaves. Women abolitionist activists, described in previous chapter, strengthened the power of the movement fighting against injustice, adding significantly to the collectivity. Women's voice has been examined curiously thinking that they were friends to slaves in suffering, both being victim of the aristocratic patriarchal racist society; they have been found to be pouring anger against perpetrators' cruelties and disgust to the slaves, but in careful examination it was found that they were worried much about depletion of English glory, contaminated Christianity, and degeneracy in English moral character, rather than the future wellbeing of slaves, since they too belonged to the white race. In this way, without investigating

on the black emotion regarding the issue, the study would have been incomplete. Efforts have been made in this chapter in exploring slaves' perspective by examining varying emotions in their narratives.

Olaudah Equiano's *Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself* (1789) was written during the high time of public abolitionist stirring. This is story of Equiano's childhood and life, telling how he was kidnapped and sold into slavery by an African from another village. This is sentimental description of middle passage horror, his working in the plantation in Virginia, his serving different masters, service in Royal Navy during seven years' war against France, his conversion to Christianity and so on. Equiano was ten when he was kidnapped and sold into slavery. His autobiography becomes auto-ethnography as well as reverse ethnography, comparing and contrasting African society, custom, and manners with that of the European, correcting previously established knowledge about Africans that they are barbaric and wild, and at the same time portraying English and their inhumanity as immoral and cannibalistic. According to Equiano, he travelled variety of kingdoms from Senegal to Angola, "six or seven months after I had been kidnapped" (65), observed the society, cultures, manners, and custom. He belonged to beautiful and charming valley named Essaka from Eboe province of Benin. His father was one of the chiefs of the village. The manners, dress, luxury all description in the first chapter of Equiano's *Interesting Narrative* suggest that Africans were not savage or barbaric: "our women of distinction wear golden ornaments . . . when [they] are not employed with men in tillage, their usual occupation in spinning and weaving cotton, which they afterwards dye, and make it into garments. They also manufacture earthen vessels" (53). Equiano's auto-ethnographic detail about Africa is more

interesting and factual to the white readership. So *Interesting Narrative* was translated into Dutch and German, before 1800, with eight editions published in Britain alone.

Equiano has described African slavery as far more human than British slavery. In Africa, slavery was associated with punishment for committing crimes like "kidnapping" or "adultery" (52). Prisoners of war were kept as slaves in Africa, to quote Equiano further: "Those prisoners which were not sold or redeemed, we kept as slaves: but how different was their condition from that of the slaves in the West-Indies! With us they do no more work than other members of the community, even their master. Their food, clothing, and lodging were nearly the same as theirs . . ." (56). Readers can find the comparative picture of slavery in Africa and slavery in the European colonies. There is no buying and selling of slaves in Africa. However, whites buy and sell colored slaves in auction, like cattle. Equiano rejects the notion of inferiority based on the color of skin. "The Spaniards, who have inhabited America, under the torrid zone, for any time, are become as dark colored as our native Indians of Virginia" (59), according to Equiano, but the "mind of the Spaniards did not change with their complexions" (60). In the same way, on the basis of African complexions, inferiority cannot be ascribed to them.

Black subjectivity is the product of the subject's own experience and situation. Indeed, abolitionist literature is the archive of affect; mainstream white writers, women writers, and black writers write from their own subjectivity, their own "affective circumstances" (77), using Julie Reiser's term, because writer is a part of "shared nervous system" (77) of his community that formulates his subjectivity. Equiano makes comparison between African slavery and European one, and tries to convince the reader that African slavery is more humane, his efforts in face saving backed up by rationalization. He responds to the white discourse of hatred against blacks on the basis of slavery and race. Historically, blacks have been represented negatively in

white discourse- different scholarly engagement as cited in Davis and Gates- according to Bacon, blacks "lacked completely the use of reason", "idolaters", "destitute of all arts and sciences" (xxiv), William Bosman refers to the mythology of political order created by Europeans that the blacks "resolved that the white ever be their master, and they obliged to wait on them as their slaves" (xxv), in the same way, Hume has made derogatory images about complexion, character, and intellectual capacity of the blacks (xxv), to mention few representative intellectual instances of hatred causing frustration and disappointment in blacks. In this context, Equiano has additional writerly responsibility, to redress the damage caused by white discourse, the spirit murder caused by continuous hate crime resulted from intellectual hatred, he has to fulfill in his *Interesting Narrative*. So, writing for Equiano is *being*, means of empowerment, and re-visioning of stereotypes.

Equiano appears to be observing custom, language, and manners in African societies as well as societies abroad. He writes his *Interesting Narrative* in reverse ethnographic style, observing critically the people different from African societies he travelled: "I was much struck . . . when I came among people who did not circumcise, and eat without washing their hands . . . their women were not so modest as ours, for they eat, and drank, and slept with their men . . . no sacrifices or offerings among them" (65). Equiano compares theory and practice and reveals the gap prevalent in the western society regarding morality associated with Christianity. References, allusions, and interesting anecdotes are effective and powerful rhetorical strategies used in the autobiography. At one place Equiano shows his observation on a character named Mr Drummond:

> Mr Drummond told me that he had sold 41,000 Negroes, and that he once cut off a negro man's leg for running away. I asked him if the man had died in the operation? How he, as

> a Christian, could answer for the horrid act before god? And he told me, answering was the thing of another world; but what he thought and did were policy. I told him that the Christian doctrine taught us to do unto others as we would that others should do unto us. (94)

On the one hand, there is golden rule of Christianity about the responsibility for others, and on the other hand, the inhumanity and cruelty in practice from the Christian actors. The Christian companion of Equiano's, in this reported conversation, appears the slave of avarice. Slaves are ashamed of his selfish ideas. A non Christian slave teaching Christian conduct to the person distracted from his values proves great blow on the civilized self of the English character. Equiano speaks with confidence and authority. He reveals so many unrepresented sides of slavery in simple and effective manner by providing instances. Negro men did not marry their master's Negro women who worked together as household slaves, "because when the master or mistress choose to punish the women, they make the husbands flog their own wives, and that they could not bear to do" (96).

Equiano visited "no less than fifteen" (98) islands with different masters for different expeditions, and in all of them he found "the treatment of the slaves was nearly the same" (98) without any feeling of humanity in practice. At this point, Equiano reveals in his autobiography, the important truth; his reflection mediation on allusion to Genesis, can be useful to cite here at length:

> When you make men slave, you deprive them of half their virtue, you set them, in your own conduct, for example of fraud, rapine, and cruelty, and compel them to live with you in a state of war; and yet you complain that they are not honest and faithful! You stupefy

> them with stripes, and think it necessary to keep them in a state of ignorance, and yet you assert that they are incapable of learning; that their minds are such a barren soul or moor . . . and that they came from a climate, where nature . . . has left man alone scant and unfinished . . . why do you use those instrument of torture? (99)

Only white people had been representing blacks in their writing before, portraying them to be barren soul, incomplete, unfinished, incapable of learning and so on. Equiano makes analysis of all false representation and discredits them, in reverse ethnographic style. Slave master relationship is not based on love and harmony, as observed by Equiano, rather, it was based on enmity and war. Equiano predicts the possibility of rebellion and rivalry from the slaves. It is not fair that white masters use the instrument of torture in place of love, and expect honesty and faithfulness from them. This is one of the rare responses from the side of the victim. And indeed, the victim's perspective readers would be interested to read.

Autobiographical information related to Olaudah Equiano and the descriptions related to slavery are more convincing to the reader from the authentic source in the *Interesting Narrative*. Equiano was born in 1745 and kidnapped into slavery in 1756. He was taken to Barbados and then to Virginia where he was sold to Captain Pascal, a lieutenant on leave from Royal Navy. Pascal renamed him Gustavus Vassa. He was first brought to England in 1757. Captain Pascal was recalled to military service when Britain declared war against France. Equiano also saw military action and rivalry in the sea during the seven years war that ended in 1762. He was baptized at St. Margaret's Church in 1759. The captain had given Equiano word that he would grant him freedom but he gets disappointed when he was sold to Captain James Doran. Then, again, at Montsorret, he was purchased by a Quaker merchant Robert King. Equiano took part in different expeditions in the sea, sailed to "no less than fifteen islands" (98) with Captain Thomas

Farmer, made his extra earning and saving, and managed to purchase his freedom in 1766. While at Royal Navy, he had acquired some education. Once free Equiano set off to voyages to North America, West Indies, and the North Pole. He was spiritually reborn in 1774 when he embraced Methodism. Equiano writes about the mystery of his strength in *Interesting Narrative*, "My fears were the effect of my ignorance . . . I could now speak English . . . I felt quite easy with these new countrymen . . . I no longer looked upon them as spirits . . . I had stronger desire to resemble them" (79). Equiano's adjustment into new culture, adaptation of language, and religion function not merely as imitative gesture and mimicry of the master but also empowerment, because his "stronger desire to resemble them" has added boldness in his character and authority in his personality that he could now contribute in the formation of discourse for the empowerment of his race.

Equiano is not ready to accept the inferior status of the blacks. He appears to be proud of his custom, manners, skills, social system in his African society. It has already been described in this chapter that he was not ready to accept black color and its association with negative attributes and inferiority. Furthermore, Equiano has observed English people's conduct through his involvement with white characters in the narrative. He was not ready to follow racial stereotypes, rather appears to be bold, authoritative, critical, reflective in the process of formulating alternative consciousness and inventing multiple options to pursue. According to Interesting Narrative, his name Olaudah means "fortunate", "one favored and having a loud voice and well spoken" (57); his master Captain Pascal gave him a new name, "Gustavus Vassa" (71) which was also the name of a Swedish king, and he keeps both names in the title of his autobiography. As a narrator, Equiano does not appear to be the racist, hating the other race, rather, writes the observations objectively. The same character Captain Pascal has been portrayed

positively throughout the narrative from whom Equiano acquired essential empowerment and attributes positively, but when the captain breaks his promise by not making Equiano free and selling him for money instead, the conduct has been criticized and confronted (94). This applies to all character he describes in his *Interesting Narrative*. He differentiates men not on the basis of skin color but upon character and morality, the qualities of individual rather than of groups.

During World War II Gandhi said, "we must love the world in the face with calm and clear eyes even though the eyes of the world are bloodshot today . . . the world has been propelled . . . by rage and retribution . . . let's not be the way the world is right now" (cited in Nussbaum, *Anger* 247). Structural problems cannot be solved by following structural stereotypes. In this way Equiano's alternative narrative could help change the prevalent consciousness. Excessive anger and resentment against structural hatred could hurt the ego of the victimizer affecting generosity and empathy in the process of reconciliation, obstructing the future of justice. Equiano has also applied non-anger method to make confrontation with injustice, as Nussbaum has advocated for making people accountable for their action, not by attacking their "emotional states" but also the efforts to be invested "to modify their inner states (*Anger* 219), the effective method for dealing with serious problems peacefully. Equiano's method of appreciation or criticism on individual characters on the basis of their strengths and weaknesses, rather than hurting the emotion of the group, has been effective in appealing English readership of his time who had been enthusiastic to read something by colored people.

Conversion to Christianity has been understood as a vehicle of stereotyping in anti-slavery literature, the effect of missionary teachings on slaves, for the hope of other worldly betterment, thinking that Christianity liberates blacks from the burden of their color. But Equiano's conversion to Protestant Christianity can be observed as strategic. He accumulates

spiritual strength and authority for the development of his narrative self in his *Interesting Narrative*. From this strategic shelter, an African born ex-slave living among European cultures and societies, Equiano could upgrade himself to central position and speak or write against slavery with bold and authoritative voice. Equiano discovers the difference between true Christianity, the law of Bible, and false Christianity as practiced by slave traders. Principles of moral conduct are universal in all regions of the world. Morals in Africa are highly refined than that of the white Christians dealing with slavery and slave trade. Equiano postulates, "Turks were in safer way of salvation" (100) in comparison to Christians who "eight out of ten" were not honest or so good in their moral as the Turks" (100). In order to criticize moral conduct and honesty of the Christians it was essential for Equiano to take the faith of Protestantism.

Equiano's this polymorphous discursive formation, the self portraiture as the metaphor of double consciousness, his mastery of wide repertory of knowledge makes his voice powerful, confident, and authoritative in his autobiography. According to Equiano, before he had been kidnapped from the African valley of Essaka he had never heard of white men, nor of sea (52). He had only limited knowledge related to his tribe and geography. Equiano's travel to different African nations for "six or seven months" (65), after his kidnapping, extended his knowledge of Africa and its people. "The ship waiting for its cargo" had been a matter of "astonishment" and "terror" (65) to Equiano: "I asked them if we were not to be eaten by those white men with horrible looks, red faces, and long hairs" (66). In this way, a curious child observer extends the repertory of knowledge in the form of sedimentation of different sorts. All these polymorphous diasporic formations develop critical dimension in him. Equiano must have smelt politics in Adam Smith's advocacy about the profitability of free labor in comparison to slave labor that he contends in *Interesting Narrative*: "If slavery be not profitable to the planters, why do planters

and merchants pay such price for slaves? And above all, why do those, who make this assertion, explain the most loudly against the abolition of the slave trade? So much are we blinded, and to such inconsistent argument are driven by mistaken interest (94)!" Smith's idea about unprofitability of slave labor has been critiqued by Equiano as capitalist fantasy. Had Smith written *The Wealth of Nations* in 1776 truly for the abolition of slave trade, slavery would have been ended in 1780s when Smith's economic principles were adapted as foundation for British economic policy. Equiano from his critical understanding argues, if "a Negro cannot earn his master the first cost" then "nine tenth of the mechanics throughout the West Indies" (94) would not have been populated by Negro slaves. So the turn of the western capitalism to abolitionism can be rightly described by using Gayatri Spivak's term, "fantasy of imperial paternalism" (as cited in Andrew McCann 51), just like a wolf promising to save the life of a lamb.

Equiano smells politics in the white discourse on abolitionism. His argument described above can rightly be remarked as "controlled walking" (Massumi 17), balancing and moving act of affect as adopted by capitalism, the shift of capitalism from slave labor to wage labor, strategy for averting the possibility of fall down. Adam Smith's idea of the unprofitability of slave labor was a balancing act, the "emotive", "regulatory glue for emotional regime" (Witherell 67), the capitalist turn to affect, the discourse created during particular historical period for the benefit of the self. Equiano comments on the discourse to be "driven by mistaken argument" (94), and Witherell's phrase "emotional refuse" (70) can rightly be used to describe Equiano's comment on the capitalist discourse initiated by Smith in late 1770s. Equiano has critically analyzed the historical period, sedimentation of affective practices, emotive, and common sense in order to reveal the politics of the discourse created by the whites. The emotive related to unprofitability of slave labor and its transition into free labor were closely linked to particular goal, to embrace

moral character of Britain and to shift the capitalist profits securely to alternative model. Amit S. Rai's term can also be useful to interpret Equiano's critique against white emotive of the unprofitability of slave labor as "bourgeois humanism" (67), where one "looks at the suffering of another and learns to benefit by it" (67), and at the same time, prepares background for "colonial governmentality" (15). Equiano wished to correct Adam Smith's idea of unprofitability of slave labor and call for its shift into free labor. He seemed to point out that English hypocrites were not ready to accept that slavery was highly profitable yet morally problematic, affront to the notion of British liberty and Christianity.

Coming out of the structural mindset of the slave into new mindset of a free man was big adventure. Equiano develops double consciousness and observes things from that position. He tries to demolish racial stereotypes prevalent among the whites he comes to encounter with. Throughout his *Interesting Narrative* readers find Equiano not compromising biological essentialism as deterministic of person's character. When the African slaves were brought among white masters with different language, religion, manners, and custom will they not seem ignorant and uncivilized in the eyes of the Europeans? Equiano furthers his argument: "let the polished and haughty European recollect that his ancestors were once, like the Africans, uncivilized, and even barbarous. Did the nature make them inferior to their sons? And should they too have been made slaves (60)? Slave holders see blacks as the "sons of Ham", believing in polygenetic theory of creation, and using the framework for enslaving others for economic gain. Equiano in the *Interesting Narrative* previously confirms that whites are bad spirit, monsters, cannibals, judging them from the criteria like complexion, hair, language and so on. Both of the extremes are found to be the result of ideological blindness, and later Equiano believes in monogenetic theory that blacks and whites belong to the same species, differing complexions being the matter of

environment in which they were brought up. Equiano's rejection of biological determinism develops from "imaginative reconstruction" (*Upheavals* 47), Nussbaum's notion, sensible critical cultural in bringing about alternative perspective, coming out of the clutches of structural racist stereotypes.

Equiano has used a number of rhetorical strategies to appeal the readership and for the balancing effect of ethos, pathos, and logos, in his autobiography, *Interesting Narrative*. Structural stereotypical representation of the blacks as inferior, unmanly, disfigured appearance, ugly and frightening portrayal has been reversely used in Equiano in order to represent the whites, as if the kidnapped slaves were brought there "to be eaten by those white men with horrible looks, red faces, long hairs" (66), compared to man eating cannibals, monsters, bad spirits and so on. Equiano's efforts have been directed to educate British people about actual experience and horrors of slave trade, and against the idea that Africans were different from other people. Equiano's extensive mobility and wide knowledge of the phenomena enabled him to use the ethos properly with boldness and authority in his writing, "in all the different islands in which I have been (I have visited no less than fifteen) the treatment of the slaves was nearly the same" (98). His autobiography is not confined only to personal experience, but also appears to be observing the entire phenomena objectively, generalizing the plight of slaves in the inhuman institution: "It was common in several of the islands, particularly in St. Kitt's, for the slaves to be branded with initial letters of their master's name, and a load of heavy iron hooks hung about their necks . . . loaded with chains . . . often other instruments of torture . . . the iron muzzle, thumb screws . . . (94)." It was the slave owners' hypocrisy that they call themselves Christians. Only by controlling rage and heightening rhetoric that he could reach to the wider audience.

Interesting Narrative has been viewed as authentic voice of a slave, statement of collective experience of slavery, aimed at transforming public awareness of the readership to support the call for abolition of slavery. The title Equiano gives to his autobiography, the phrases used in the title, "interesting narrative", "written by himself", "Olaudah Equiano", and "Gustavus Vassa" are also the rhetorical highlights to attract the reader. The success story of a slave's struggle, his radical reinvention of himself, and the boldness of his character have added peculiar charisma of agency in Equiano. The actor's white mask and imitative gestures, at surface, seem like practicing collective absence and individual presence of the personality, but at close examination, the white mask of Equiano— "I had stronger desire to resemble them; to imbibe their spirit, and imitate their manners. I therefore embraced every occasion of improvement; and every new thing that I observed . . . (56)— aimed at collective presence of the black subjectivity, as a means of liberation from racial stereotypes. There is not only submissive mimicry in the story but also radical resistance and appropriation. The whites claim ownership and control over the black's body; the slave's refusal to eat and suicide by jumping into the sea are symbolic acts of resistance. Equiano attains full control of his body through freedom. Abolition of slavery will make all slaves the beneficiary, and hence, Equiano's individual presence in his success story can be taken as instrumental signifier of collective presence. Through the mimicry of white stereotypes Equiano appropriates on the convention of representation and he reversely portrays the whites to be cannibals, monsters, and bad spirit (66). Equiano portrays the slave traders' cruel, inhuman and shameful face: "merchants and planters . . . made us jump, and pointed to the land, signifying we were to go there. We thought, by this, we should be eaten by those ugly men . . ." (60). The slave narrative's alternative perspective has been designed in the narrative through authentic voice, constituting the basis for slave historiography. The cited lines can be read as

reverse process to the intellectual hatred the slaves had been enduring through the structural blindness, the age old stereotypes that had conditioned them.

Another important rhetorical strategy used in *Interesting Narrative* obviously can be stated as Equiano's use of allusions and references to support abolitionist agenda, the supporting details for the cause. Quaker anti-slavery thought, the golden rule of scripture— "do unto others . . ." (94)— has been planned by Equiano for its extension to all men regardless of descent or color. Equiano has cited John Bicknell's poem "Dying Negro" (1773), in which a runaway slave shots himself when unable to marry a fellow servant, in Interesting Narrative in order to accumulate reader's pathos for the plight of the slaves (90). He relates the narrative to the bestseller poem at that time. The quotation cited above at length, from Genesis, on "fraud, rapine, and cruelty" the masters' conduct on the slaves generating "a state of war" (99) between slaves and masters, cannot guarantee a relation based on honesty and faith, according to Equiano. All these reference and allusions have been used as further evidence against slavery from various sources, in the *Interesting Narrative*. "Fraud, rapine, and cruelty" (99) eliciting anger and violence, for Equiano, is natural. But slaves could not do this normally; rather, they reserve their anger and remain always in the potential "state of war" (99) against the masters from inside. Peaceful resistance and endurance of cruelties is the weapon adopted by the weak. Mandela, Gandhi, and Luther King also thought that violent anger is not necessary for justice, since that can be "impediment to the generosity and empathy that help to construct a future of justice" (cited in Nussbaum, *Anger* 8). Keeping emotion under control and performing them in healthy sane manner ensures healthy character for the future assessment of the affective literature.

Equiano's narrative contains scholarly details, critical investigation of his native culture as well as the European counter culture in relation to slavery and slave trade, in ethnographic and

reverse ethnographic style; whereas James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw's brief autobiography, *A Narrative of the Most Remarkable Particulars in the Life of James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw* (1770) is not as detailed and as critical as Equiano's narrative. Gronniosaw's *Narrative of the Most Remarkable* paved the model of slave narrative of spiritual awakening, discourse of protest and rebellion that Equiano extensively experimented in his *Interesting Narrative* later, with much more radical and critical contentions. Conversion to Christianity as the strategic shelter, spiritual awakening, and intellectual disguise for the accumulation of authority and power, has been established by Gronniosaw in his narrative that other writers like Equiano and Mary Prince also followed.

In the beginning of his narrative, Gronniosaw has cited a quotation from Old Testament: "I will bring the Blind by a Way that they know not, I will lead them to the Paths that they have not known; I will make the darkness the light before them and crooked things straight" (2). This connotes the author's conversion to Christianity has brought spiritual illumination in him. He has defined himself as the spiritual leader capable of changing the blind people spiritually who have been following the crooked paths and walking into the darkness, the reference to forcing human beings into bondage of slavery. The Christians who are practicing Christianity "know not" the way to salvation. They are in complete darkness, "not known" to the "paths", and hence, in need of illumination and enlightenment, which is possible only through true Christianity. Gronniosaw is seen worried about not only English people who are not leading moral conduct and become the slave of avarice, but also about Africans who are in darkness due to the absence of Christian teachings in their life: "In what manner will God deal with those benighted parts of the world where the gospel of Jesus Christ hath never reach'd?" (3), since without knowledge of the truth, God cannot save the "benighted" people. This must be the effect of the missionary teachings on

Gronniosaw that he attested Christianity's superiority over the belief system held by the Africans. Similar transformation can be noted on Equiano, in his *Interesting Narrative*, he previously held African manners, custom, offerings, cleanliness as superior and based on moral conduct than that of the Europeans, but Equiano thinks that he was spiritually reborn in 1774 when he embraced Methodism, and he wished to go to Africa as missionary, to convert his countrymen into Christians since a native could be more effective than the European clergyman for that purpose due to the language and custom matters (110). Equiano was influenced from Gronniosaw since both of them have similar view on Christianity, and its need for spiritual awakening of Africans through persuading them to embrace Christian religion.

The narrative of the Gronniosaw's autobiography discloses that he was born in the city of Bournou into the native king's family and was willing to go to the Gold Coast with a merchant from another country to "see houses with wings . . . walk upon the water" (5) and to "see the white folks" (5); he was curious to see white men and ship on the sea coast. It was very difficult for Gronniosaw to part with his sister Logwy who was "quite white, and fair, with fine light hair though my father and mother were black" (5). The king of the merchant's country "almost thousand miles away" (6) would not let the narrator return back to his country because he thinks that the grandson of the king of Bournou has come to his kingdom for spying, for the preparation of war against his country. He wanted to behead the narrator and called him in the palace, but when he was ready with his scimitar, seeing the small and innocent boy, his heart melt with affection, and rather than killing him, the king was ready to sell him into slavery. Gronniosaw was sold, but when the slave ship came to the harbor he was not frightened, rather he was requesting the captain to buy him because, otherwise, the king of the rival country would murder him. The narrative shows that there was not any force or kidnapping in the process of his being

purchased by the captain. The captain was not willing to purchase a small boy like him, so he had to make humble request, "father, save me" (7), then only he was ready, "it pleased the almighty to influence him in my behalf, and he bought me for two yards of check" (7). So the first part of the narrative reads like the perspective of a child narrator.

According to the narrative, Gronniosaw was born between 1710 and 1714. The captain sold him for fifty dollars to the new master named Vanhorn, a young gentleman in New England in the city of New-York in the island of Barbados. He worked as a household servant. Then Mr. Freelandhouse , a gracious and good Minister bought him for fifty pounds in the same city (7). Gronniosaw describes the incident about his kind and benevolent master's death in *Narrative of the Most Remarkable*:

> My temporal comforts were all blasted by the death of my dear and worthy Master Mr. Freelandhouse . . . I held his hand in mine when he departed; he told me he had given me my freedom. I was at liberty to go where I would. He added that he had always pray'd for me and hoped I should be kept unto the end. My Master left me by his will ten pounds and my freedom. (10)

Gronniosaw has described "the most remarkable particulars" of his life in the brief narrative; slavery rescued him from being killed by one of the rival kings in Africa. After the benevolent Dutch Minister Mr. Freelandhouse's granting him freedom at his will from the deathbed, the narrator wished to go to England. His freedom and conversion can be dated between 1745 and 1748. During seven years war (1756-1763), the narrator went to privateering expedition with different unnamed captains and merchants to attack the rival French ships and boats (11). They made several of the enemies the prisoners and looted thousands of pounds and goods from them.

There is brief description of rivalry, cruelty, looting in the sea among the English and French shipmen (11). However, in the division of prize money, the unnamed captain and other gentlemen deceived the narrator. One of the unnamed merchants had loaned him ten dollars, but in return he took all his prize money of 135 pounds and some goods he was to receive as prize (12). Through the comment on the incident Gronniosaw contemplates on the value of moral conduct. The evil unnamed merchant encountered automatic punishment, he was bankrupt and the misfortune drowned him. Moral conducts lead us to better fortune whereas evil ones lead us to distress and trouble. Gronniosaw has maintained the balance between good and bad characters in the narrative. The narrative structure develops with a series of narrative events portraying bad characters followed by good ones who are sympathetic and benevolent. It shows that England was not inherently bad. Gronniosaw met the acquaintance to his late master Mr. Freelandhouse while in London. One of the unnamed rich merchant at Amsterdom treated him very well, helped him by convincing his would be wife Betty for their marrying. Then he was baptized by Doctor Gifford, sold his property, paid back Betty's debt and then both of them got married.

At several points in the narrative, the narrator finds himself in distress, but the problems get solved automatically or he finds comfortable shelter in God "and pray'd to Him earnestly" (12). His distress is referred to as caused by "selfish Christians", and as a result, he had been "disappointed", "defrauded" (13) repeatedly. He has mentioned bad characters as well as benevolent and sympathetic Christians. The above cited quotation from the Old Testament "I will bring the Blind by the way that they know not . . . (2) indicate that the narrator of the autobiography will make greater efforts in bringing about spiritual salvation and illumination of light against the darkness of the path the Christians pursuing mistakenly. *Narrative of the Most Remarkable* portrays bad Christians only in the matter of money, property, and avarice. The

characters depicted have been portrayed to be involved in deception, plundering, looting, and so on. However, we do not find the inhuman picture of slavery, slave auction, horror, torture, punishment and things like what is generally expected from an anti-slavery narrative. There is no picture of slavery, no description of other slaves, but only masters and white characters are portrayed. Though the narrator himself had been a slave for more than twenty years, even after his freedom he faced difficulty in marrying Betty, in every cases of the remarkable incidents described in his narrative he was the only person (black) to be cheated, deceived, or disappointed, and he must have worked among slaves, then why did the particulars related to slavery and slave trade not become *remarkable* for his narrative? Equiano wrote his *Interesting Narrative* more than fifteen years later, and Mary Prince wrote her *History* more than sixty years later than Gronniosaw's *Narrative of the Most Remarkable*, and how slavery became such an inhuman and barbaric institution in the later writing and not so in Gronniosaw's?

The narrator is not feeling comfortable with his situation in the narrative. He has been portrayed to have pursued to leave home willingly, there is clear picture that African countries are continuously in rivalry and war, and it is depicted that the narrator willingly chose to be sold into slavery out of his enthusiasm to be with white men and enjoy on ship. After the narrator's getting freedom, and at the heart of England, he faced several misfortunes: "Though the grandson of a king . . . I who, at home, was surrounded and guarded by slaves, so that no indifferent person might approach me, and clothed with gold, have been inhumanly threatened with death, and frequently wanted clothing to defend me from the inclemency of weather; yet I never murmured, nor was I discontented" (14). The narrator has no any regret for the loss of the courtly life in Africa. He has been facing lots of problems, he has scarcity in life, no clothes

sufficient for protecting his body from extreme weather, "yet I never murmured, nor was I discontented" about his situation in England.

Equiano has valorized African manners, custom, cleanliness, social system, and all epistemological system in his *Interesting Narrative*, whereas Gronniosaw has fore grounded his dissatisfaction with African epistemology. Traumatic and bewildering experiences of capture, transportation, and enslavement are reduced or marginalized in Gronniosaw's *Narrative of the Most Remarkable*. We see very little of his experience as a slave and more of the experience of profound sense of disjuncture from his native people prior to his transportation across middle passage. Equiano writes about the details of middle passage horror, torture, and inhuman treatment to slaves; when the slave ship reached to the island of Barbados, white men shouted and come on the board, merchants and planters "put us in separate parcels . . . made us jump, and pointed to the land, signifying we were to go there" (68) in order to examine the slaves and buy, in *Interesting Narrative*. Gronniosaw, on the other hand, does not write about horror situation or any form of torture on the board; when their ship reached at Barbados harbor, his master "thought to speak of me to several gentlemen of his acquaintance, and one of them exprest a particular desire to see me . . . I was sold for fifty dollars" (7), in *Narrative of the Most Remarkable*. Gronniosaw was "always dissatisfied" (4) in his childhood, that is why he developed "antagonism towards or betrayal of" (5) his cultural beliefs and hence he justifies his "yearning to depart from" (5) his country, in order to see "white folks" (5), sea port, and the sea.

Moreover, Gronniosaw hesitates to reveal the "particulars" related to the endurance of humiliation and torture. He discloses of his leaving African home because of his dissatisfaction with childhood, in order to quench the overpowering enthusiasm. African kings are hated for their involvement in war and rivalry. He chose the adventurous life with white people. At home

also he liked his sister because she was fair though his parents were black. He wished to be in the white world and enjoy in the sea. Gronniosaw thinks that he was the "grandson of a king" "surrounded and guarded by slaves" (14) at home. According to the *Narrative of the Most Remarkable*, Gronniosaw "has been inhumanly threatened with death" (14), "disappointed", "defrauded" (13) intermittently in the white world yet he does not think such *particulars* to be *remarkable*, since the events would only humiliate him, worsening the damaged psyche by further spirit murder. Something is missing in the narrative, and this might be caused by Gronniosaw's efforts in balancing the effect of emotions, not spilling negative emotions against whites all over since that would only impede the "generosity and empathy that help to construct a future of justice" (*Anger* 8), Gandhi's non-anger method as described by Nussbaum. Revolutionary leaders fighting against injustice, like Mandela, Gandhi, and Luther King, also dealt with racial things. The investment of negative emotions like disgust, fear, and anger by the victim has limited utility, since only water can extinguish the blazing fire. Gronniosaw's attitude in the *Narrative of the Most Remarkable*, not highlighting the cases of inhumanity and cruelties, might be due to the white writer or the editor's intervention in its origin, since the narrative was transcribed from oral to written form "committed to paper by the elegant pen of a young lady of the town of Leominster" (3), according to the preface remarks.

Gronniosaw and Equiano were born in Africa and sold into West Indian slavery, according to their narratives, but Mary Prince was born into slavery in one of the Caribbean islands named Bermuda in the West Indies; and she shows cruelty and inhumanity in slavery, based on her experience in Bermuda, Turk's Island, Antigua, and London in her narrative *History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave, Related by Herself* (1831). All three narratives have parallel structure, intertextual intersection of narrative subject, similarity in stages of life

portrayed, with slight differences in expression and manner of portrayal. The slave narratives written by ex-slaves were considered authentic slave testimony for anti-slavery campaign. All of the stories are sentimental humanitarian narratives, exposing the story of pain and suffering provoking affect of sympathy from the white readership.

Mary Prince reveals her sentimental tale through her narrative, addressed to defined audience- "I will say the truth to English people who may read this history" (23)— with clear motive, to show how English people deal with slaves in the West Indies "in such a beastly manner . . . forget[ing] God and all feelings of shame" (23), and yet coming home and "make some good people believe, that slaves don't want to get out of slavery" (23). In this context, through the narrative, Mary Prince claims to be the authentic voice of the slaves "all slaves want to be free" (23). She has compared the situation of servants in England with that of the slaves in the West Indies. Planters and merchants argue that "they can't do without slaves" (23), but they are doing well without slaves in the colonies, "if they get a bad master, they give warning and go hire to another. They have their liberty. That's just what we want" (23). Mary Prince here looks like influenced from Adam Smith's revolutionary ideas on political ideas favoring free labor in the West Indian colonies. The victimized narrator gets agency to raise the voice against slavery and appeal "English people" to bring about its abolition in Mary Prince's narrative.

According to the narrative, Mary Prince was born on a farm where her mother was a household slave to Charles Myners and upon the death of the master, Mary Prince, her mother, and other children were sold to Captain Darrel, who hired Prince for looking after his daughter's child, first to Mrs. Williams, and then to Mrs. Pruden's, and again upon Mrs. Williams' death, and she was sold to Captain I, then to Mr. D and finally to Mr. John Wood. The identity of the cruel masters Captain I and Mr. D remains secret in the narrative. Generally, the masters are

described to be very harsh, selfish, and unkindly, whereas the mistresses are generally portrayed as kind hearted, passionate, and treating the slaves well, "Mrs. Williams was a kind hearted good woman, and she treated all her slaves well" (1) and upon her death "all slaves cried" (2). Captain Williams, on the other hand, Mary Prince describes, "was very harsh, selfish man; and we always dreaded his return from the sea" (1). Prince begins her autobiography in conventional manner, the place of her birth, account of her childhood, description of her domestic world where men are largely absent from the picture, her father owned by another master, her master Captain Williams generally away at the sea, women and children left behind at domestic place.

Prince has portrayed the spectacles of torture and inhuman treatment given to slaves in auctions, the buying and selling of slaves like cattle and any other property. Captain Williams sells Prince and two of her siblings in an auction, in order to "raise money for the wedding" (3), Prince has designed the scene very affective and touching the heart of the English, "I as the eldest, stood first, Hannah next to me, then Dinah, and our mother stood beside, crying over us" (3), the mother and her daughters were separated for ever, never to meet again in their life. Prince not only describes the events in her narrative, but she also comments and reflects upon her views about the conduct of the English: "slavery hardens white people' hearts towards the blacks; and many of them were not slow to make their remarks upon us aloud, without regard to our grief . . . those white people have small hearts who can only feel for themselves" (4). Prince has described the auction scene in details, with her comment, focusing on their treatment to slaves as animals or their property:

> At length the vendue master, who was to offer us for sale like sheep or cattle, arrived, and asked my mother who was the eldest. She said nothing but pointed to me. He took me by the hand, and led me out into the middle of the street . . . exposed me to view of those

> who attended the vendue. I was soon surrounded by strange men, who examined and handled in the same manner that a butcher would . . . (4)

Mary has used metaphorical language to compare the inhuman action, the morning her mother took her to the auction as the "black morning" (4) because the mother and children were to be separated for ever that particular morning, her mother's dissatisfaction with her own plight, "going to carry my little chickens to market" (4), and the English men who take part in the auction are like "butcher", all the images and metaphors are meant for affecting English readership, creating the affect of negativity for the inhuman act of slave trade and slavery.

Prince has shown the spectacles of torture, violence, punishment, and ruthless treatment in her History of Mary prince through the testimonies of slaves like Hetty, Prince herself, and Old Daniel. Prince's master, Captain I often went to privateering, the sea voyage, for rivalries in the sea often popular at that time, especially between English and French ships, for capturing the rivals, looting them and making them captive. This was the common trend described in all slave narratives, and Hetty was a French black captured from the enemy vessel by Captain I's ship along with other goods and property. The captain also brought Mary Prince by paying the highest bid in an auction. Prince saw Betty being tortured by the master, who directly from his bed "with a long cow-skin" (6) to Hetty, and Prince often heard the "shrieks of poor Hetty" (6). Prince reflects on her personal experience, inhuman and heartless punishment "was soon transferrd to myself; for I was licked, flogged, and pinched" (7), and she further describes the form of torture, "strip me naked . . . hang me up by the wrists and lay my flesh open with the cow-skin, was an ordinary punishment for even a slight offence" (7). Hetty was beaten severely during her pregnancy. She was brought to bed before her date, gave birth to dead child and herself died, and "all slaves said that death was a good thing for poor Hetty; but I cried very much for her death"

(8). The performativity of the affect of sadness from the slaves, and affect of anger, cruelty leading to inhuman and brutal act create special affect of sympathy of the reader towards the victim and hatred to slavery and slave trade aimed at eliciting the voice for the abolition of slavery. The cases of excessive torture are the result of the perpetrators' emotions of fear and terror to black people. They have deep rooted sense of hatred and disgust for the blacks. Prince wishes to show the prevalence of the affect of negativity in the white masters for the slaves.

One day when Prince was milking the cows, the cruel master struck her a severe blow, even "the cow was frightened at his violence and kicked down the pail and spilt the milk all about" (8). Mary thought that at least Hetty rests peacefully in the grave. Human beings are pushed in a state when they think that death be far better than living. Prince wished to show that life of a slave was far worse than death. Old Daniel, the slave to Mr. D was lame in the hip due to severe punishment and the effect of extreme torture, so he could not keep pace with other slaves in the work. He would be "striped and laid down on the ground . . . beaten with rod . . . till his skin was quite red and raw" (11). Due to the effect of continuous punishment, Prince shows, his "wounds were never healed, and I have often seen them full of maggots" (11). These are all somatic evidence of the inhuman punishment, extracting pity and horror to all slaves, and developing affect of sympathy and compassion of the reader for the slaves. Somatic evidences of torture are most appealing.

History of Mary Prince can be read as the narrative of resistance from slaves. The torture spectacles described above associated with Prince, Hetty, and Daniel can be used for justification. When Hetty died of severe torture and inhuman punishment, other slaves were satisfied at her pathetic situation, "all the slaves said that death was a good thing for poor Hetty" (8). In the same way the severe torture Prince endures in spite of her hard work made her think

death be far better than the bondage, "I could escape from this cruel bondage and be at rest in the grave" (7). The life of poor Daniel with his lame and weak body, his wounds never getting healed with full of "maggots" and getting additional continuous punishment from the cruel master cannot be taken satisfactorily either. The slaves have severe enmity against the master within themselves. Equiano has made similar reflection in his *Interesting Narrative*: "when you make men slave, you deprive them of half their virtue, you set them, in your own conduct . . . of fraud, rapine, and cruelty, and compel them to live with you in a state of war" (99). The silent resistance of torture, humiliation, and punishment must have the limits of forbearance, and this can have violent and active resistance potential from the continuous, collective, and archetypal store of suffering memory.

Some indications of active resistance can also be realized in the *History of Mary Prince*, especially through the character of the narrator herself. Unable to bear the torture of the cruel master Captain I, Prince ran away to her mother but later her father took her back to the master (9). Prince was taken to Turk's Island. The master did not allow her to see her parents and siblings. The master put her to an auction there and was sold to Mr. D who was too very cruel. Then returning to Bermuda with Mr. D, Prince developed new sense of agency. She challenged Mr. D "Sir, this is not Turk's Island" (13), she commented that the master "wanted to treat me the same in Bermuda as he had done in Turk's Island" (13), the voice of resistance suggesting that Prince has been trying to come out of the bondage of the stereotype of slavery to the development of alternative options in her life, the product of her maturity due to changed consciousness. Mr. D sells Prince to the Wood family; she begins to save money in order to purchase her freedom. Her focus on her inability to labor hard due to her rheumatism can be observed as resistance. This is her realization that her body must be in her own control, the

rhetorical manipulation of her body, means of explaining and defending her refusal to work. Controlling one's own body and not letting others control one's body can be effective weapon of the weak for resistance. Prince decides to withhold her work and controls her body in the pretext of her rheumatism.

Mary Prince has hostile relationship with her later masters Mr. D and Wood family due to the transformation in her character. Prince wanted to go to Antigua with Mr. Wood and asked him to purchase her from Mr. D. Mr. D and his son both were cruel and drunkard with "no heart - no fears of God" (11), so Prince "did not wish to be any longer the slave of my indecent master" (14), but Mr. D was not ready to sell her because she "should not be sold to any one that would treat me ill" (14). At this Prince also responded "it was strange he should say this, when he had treated me so ill himself" (14). Prince has developed her personality bold and revolting that she could handle the duet with her cruel master, and finally winning the quarrel. At the Wood family, according to Prince, she earned extra money and saved for purchasing her freedom. A benevolent and generous white man, Captain Abbot also gave her money for her freedom (16). But Mr. Wood was not ready to sell her, though he sold five of his other slaves (18). Prince's would be husband, Daniel, also wished to purchase her freedom for both of them getting married as she attained freedom, but Mr. Wood would not sell her (17). Mary Prince resisted against such indecent behavior of Mr. Wood's. She went to England for the treatment of her rheumatism, went to the office of Anti-slavery Society, met with Quakers and married to Daniel James in the Moravian Church, since English Church would not allow a slave woman marrying a free man (17). Mary Prince's testimony of resistance and struggle against inhumanity of slavery, written by a woman who had herself endured the horrors of Caribbean slavery, makes the *History of Mary Prince* a powerful and symbolic weapon in the struggle to end slavery.

History of Mary Prince has become a resistance narrative of a woman who persuades her master on a visit to England for the treatment of her rheumatism. Since her master had not been ready to sell her freedom, she wishes to take benefit of the precedent established by English legal statute of 1772, with Chief Justice Lord Mansfield about a slave named Somerset, on her behalf. According to the preface note of the narrative, Mary Prince dictated her story to a white woman, Miss S, and her oral story got transformed into written form. Then she went to Anti-slavery Society Office, where she met an activist Thomas Pringle, who edited her story, and in this way, her testimony, experiences of an enslaved woman in the British Caribbean was formulated as a piece of anti-slavery propaganda. The phrases on the title of the autobiography, "West Indian Slave" and "Related by Herself" emphasize that the anti-slavery voice, the denunciation of the evils of slavery come from the enslaved people themselves. Towards the end of her autobiography, Prince has identified the key components of slavery that made the institution inhuman- hard work, abuse, silenced voice, broken bodies- and has made the concluding remarks thus, "we don't mind hard work, if we had proper treatment, and proper wages like English servants, and proper time given in the week to keep us from breaking the subbath" (23). She wished to break the normativity and stereotypes, and incessantly desires for a new order of experience, alternative options in the life of slaves.

All three narratives analyzed in this chapter have common origin story. The preface note in Mary Prince's autobiography discloses that Prince dictated her narrative to a white woman, Miss S, and her story edited by a white man, Thomas Pringle, an activist associated with anti-slavery society, indicative of two different types of collaboration in the formation of her story. Gronniosaw's narrative also came into existence through the process of transformation from oral narrative into written text, "was taken from his own mouth and committed to paper by the

elegant pen of a young lady of the town of Leominster" (3). Equiano's narrative also contains preface note which often confesses that the printed texts are formal revisions of the spoken words, often organized, promoted, and circulated by anti-slavery organizations. Preface to Gronniosaw's narrative also discloses about the profits generated by the sale of the book, "with a view to serve Albert and his distressed family, who have sole profits arising from the sale of it" (3). Equiano's narrative went 36 editions between 1789 and 1850, and from the sale he had been the richest ex-slave when he died. Coming out of the deep rooted normativity and stereotypes, and exploring alternative options for survival and dignified life is however, not so easy. According to English law, Mary Prince was free in England, but she was in confusion, "I knew that I was free in England, but I did not know where to go . . . [I was] like a horse, to be driven out in this way, like a beggar" (20). Equiano wished to take part in abolition campaign with the Quakers that he thought would be in benefit of the nation at large. According to Equiano's narrative he applied to the Bishop of London in 1779 to be sent to Africa as missionary but disappointed; the government appointed him commissary for the black poor to Sierra Leone in 1786, but got fired a few months later, then he published his autobiography in 1789 (109-110). After freedom also Gronniosaw's life had not been favorable. He faced lots of discrimination and poverty, his life full of problems in London. According to his narrative, Gronniosaw lost one of his daughters but the Baptist Minister refused to bury her to the designated spot, and as a result, he buried the body in the garden behind his house (17).

The testimony suggestive of deeply rooted disgust and hatred in British society as described in slave narratives have not been commonly found in the narratives written by the whites. Mary Prince describes Mrs. Wood, "she would not have nigger men about the yard and premises, or allow nigger man's clothes to be washed in the same tub where hers were washed"

(18), suggestive of Mrs. Wood's deep rooted disgust for the people due to racial stigma. Nussbaum's notion of disgust as the "impediment to compassion" (*Upheavals* 47) can better explain the situation. In such cases, Nussbaum has suggested some methods of engendering compassion like, "imaginative reconstruction" or the "critical public culture" (*Upheavals* 47) for the extension of compassion to the cases; "pedagogical process" (*Upheavals* 413) for lessening the effect of "stock images" (*Upheavals* 413) and changing the established mind set can further be practiced. Nussbaum also points out the role of "institution" (*Upheavals* 413) for the extension of compassion. Rousseau has pointed out the distinctions of "religion, race, ethnicity, class, rank, gender" to be the impediments of compassion, and further observation to his generalization can be useful here: "Human beings are by nature neither kings nor nobles nor courtiers nor rich. All are born naked and poor; all are subject to misfortune of life, to difficulties, ills, needs, pains of all sorts. Finally, all are condemned to death" (as cited in Nussbaum, *Upheavals* 47). Because of the distinctions among people white people do not see their own possibilities in the suffering of the slaves. Cultivation of Rousseau's type of thinking could help lessen the effect of disgust and stock images. Abolitionist movement began in England in 1780s or even before that, but the effect of the disgusting stock images about the blacks had still been widespread in the late 1820s at the time of the conception of Prince's autobiography, or much later than that. Even long after the emancipation of slaves in England and America, still today, racism and segregation has been worldwide phenomena; blacks have continued to publish in black periodicals.

Gronniosaw's dissatisfaction with African epistemology, disinterest in somatic torture, kidnapping, middle passage atrocities, enslavement, on the one hand, and Equiano's valorization of African manners, custom, social system, his description of middle passage horror, torture,

inhuman treatment, on the other hand, suggest differing perspective. Gronniosaw through his narrative, written during 1770s, hesitates to portray particulars related to humiliation since he left Africa willingly due to his dissatisfaction in his childhood and to quench his overpowering enthusiasm, quest for adventurous life in the sea with white people. He has chosen non-anger model thinking that anger against whites would only worsen the relationship, disturb the future harmony and reconciliation. However, the intensity of anger increases with the progression of time without any advancement in abolitionist aspirations, in Equiano's narrative, written during late 1780s, and it became even severe during Prince's narrative in early 1830s. All the narratives have been investigated as slave narratives of spiritual awakening and discourse of protest. The authoritative narrative voice in all the narratives is the result of double consciousness, polymorphous discursive formation of their character, their mastery of the wide repertory of knowledge due to diasporic consciousness, and above all, development of alternative consciousness far from the stock images of stereotypes, and from conversion to Christianity.

The violation of moral principles, liberty, and basic Christian premises by the English has been effectively questioned in the narratives. The argument about unprofitability of slave labor and its capitalist shift to free labor has been discredited by Equiano to establish that slave labor was a moral blemish, it was against basic Christian premises and due to rebellion and protest, its continuation had been problematic. In close investigation of abolitionist discourse forwarded by English Romantic male writers, in the previous chapters of this dissertation, it was found that the English were not ready to accept the guilt in the case of West Indian Caribbean slavery. The owners' lack of shame for the injustice caused by the misdeed has itself been shameful to readers. Without recognition of the shameful aspect of the past, present glories cannot properly be celebrated. Had the abolitionist movement been truly backed up by moral humanitarian concern,

slavery would already have ended in 1780s. English had been using abolitionist movement for their own security, capitalist interest, perpetuation of empire, and colonial governmentality. It was their capitalist shift of interest from slave labor to free labor for controlled walking and balancing act of capitalism in the words of Massumi. The protest movement and slave rebellion in colonies, widespread outrage and fury, polymorphous formation of consciousness in slaves became instrumental in the formation of alternative consciousness and empowerment of slaves.

Chapter Nine

Conclusion: Romantic Abolitionism as Epistemological Reconstruction for the Perpetuation of Imperialism

English Romantic abolitionist discourse written by mainstream high Romantic writers, women abolitionists, and ex-slaves from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries have been dealt with in this dissertation. Previous studies have established three lines of argument that abolitionist discourse evoke sensibility, moral sentimentalism, and sympathy as practiced by whites and blacks in the line of Carey; women's radicalism and their active participation in the abolitionist movement with vibrancy and vitality; and postcolonial critics in the line who fail to notice true benevolence in the abolitionist discourse see new economics and shifting of capitalism into alternative safe landing form. Closer to the third line, however, this study has unraveled the politics of the affect of sympathy in abolitionist discourse through the analysis of the selected texts in the light of affect theory, in order to reveal and cross check the gap between the arguments from various affective circumstances of the authors. In spite of the predominance of sympathy element in the abolitionist discourse there is not much thrust on the improvement of the status of the slaves. The objectives of this study has been to scrutinize the socio-economic embeddings of the aesthetics of sympathy and its relationship to the question of slavery and to analyze the politics of sympathy as it circulated through the Romantic era literary domain and into the larger sphere of public debate. This fact lends novelty to this research.

Imperial ideology directed to the benefit of the self must be masked by the construction of alternative truth based on the viewer's epistemology. In order to examine the politics, to notice the ambivalence and gaps, various perspectives must be tested, brought to conversation, and this

dissertation has done so. All the categories of abolitionist writers and their discourse explored in the dissertation frame the issue from their respective affective circumstances, all involved in the process of upgrading their position in the future. Slave narratives fulfill additional responsibility to heal the damaged psyche of the slaves caused by spirit murder or the endurance of hate crime along with the call for liberty and abolition. Slave autobiographies record traumatic memory functioning as therapeutic intervention developing boldness in the autobiographical subject with agency and narrative authority. Autobiographical subject in the slave narrative contributes in the discursivity healing the damage and redressing the wrongs by rejecting biological determinism implanted in the psyche by the racist discourse. The cases of resistance implied in the narratives have been utilized for the formation of alternative perspective, coming out of the structural blindness of the stereotypes.

This study is also an attempt to understand the trend how black subjects reveal the cases of disgust and hatred they endured and develop the sense of shame in white readership. Disgust and anger performed by the victim against the cruelty and inhumanity also become shameful to the perpetrator. The victim's accumulation of boldness and authority through conversion and their revealing of hypocrisy of the Christians also develop good feeling in the reader for the victim, and bad feeling for the victimizer, the use of religion for narcotic effect on the victim also generates affect of sympathy to the victim and antipathy to the Christian missionary teaching. In spite of the victim's non-anger method of reconciliation to ensure healthy future relationship based on reciprocal compassion and empathy, the victimizer's disgust and hatred influences the stock cognitive images and sedimentation of structural blindness by the racist stereotypes. All the negative emotions have been used in the slave narratives to create sense of shame in the victimizer and eliciting affect of sympathy for the victim. Black writers seek to transform white

consciousness, make them realize their mistake, in their argument developing shame as well as fear in the victimizer.

This study presents a novel approach to explore women writers' manner of using negative emotions like disgust, hatred, anger, and fear in abolitionist discourse differently than the black abolitionists. They also fulfilled their responsibility by writing from their own affective circumstances, for upgrading the status of women in British society along with anti-slavery movement. They fought against injustice— racial as well as gender related— strategically accumulating strength by siding with other victim's agenda who would add to collectivity in raising voice against injustice of all sorts. Women abolitionists considered that they were the nearest sisters to the blacks because both of them were victims, one, of aristocratic patriarchal society, and the other, of racial slavery. Abolitionist discourses written by women explore the character of African subject, telling pathetic tales and appealing sympathy for them. They often elicit shame from the perpetrator. Their use of anger and other emotions of negativity have been found to be violent, invective, and direct, less artistic, uncontrolled. Negative emotive in women abolitionists have been found to be poured against the atrocities of the victimizer. Appealing arguments have been planned for developing affect of sympathy to the victim.

Women abolitionists analyzed in the study have not been found to be worried much about improving the status of the slaves. Only sympathy cannot assure justice, their goal has been directed to something else rather than to the alleviation of their suffering. They are worried much about the degeneracy of English character, erosion in Christian moral ethical values. Why do they wish to regain British glory, moral character, and revitalize Christianity intermittently through their abolitionist discourse? What does Yamba's call for missionary teaching and gospel to Africa for spreading the light of Christianity to the dark continent, in Hannah More, mean?

Though women abolitionists hide the imperial ideology and construct alternative abolitionist epistemology in their discourse, the effect of their ideological upsurge can be realized quite often. Sympathy had been considered a virtue during Romantic era. But it has rarely been found instrumental in bringing about transformation in the life of the subject of sympathy. Sympathy has often been utilized as an instrument for the benefit of the self. By developing sympathy for the poor slaves, women abolitionists wished to upgrade their own status.

Coleridge's use of disgust and outrage against the spectacles of torture and atrocious cruelty, and Wordsworth's outrage against Britain's traditional enemy, France, in their abolitionist poems have also been observed to be the rhetorical strategies for the development of sympathy to the slaves. Both of them were the mainstream high Romantic prolific writers, but contributed very little for the abolitionist discourse; and it is amazing that Wordsworth published none of his abolitionist poems before 1807, the year British parliament passed abolition of slave trade bill, and some of them were published much later than the emancipation of slavery in 1833. Coleridge has portrayed the victimizer as the subject of sympathy whose character has been modified through gothic-actuated transformation and empowered with moral strength for the perpetuation of imperialism. Wordsworth's outrage against France was planned for appealing blacks for joining hands with Britain against the traditional rival. Both of them seek to empower and enlighten the British with moral back up. Both of them involve in rationalization, not any redressing or compensating means for the historical wrongs, neither the feeling of guilt ridden shameful realization and transformation in consciousness, rather, formation of alternative ideology for the perpetuation of empire.

Cowper, Blake, and Southey have also been investigated as radical in dealing with abolitionist ideas, more worried about the degeneracy in British moral character. White speaker

has been portrayed as confessing the guilt, vowing never to do it again, white writer's attempt to mitigate the sin, restore the pride, and eradicate the stigma of sin and anxiety. Victim's outrage, disgust, and fear directed against the cruelty becomes instrumental in developing affect of sympathy, and it can also be seen to be extended to the disgusting, filthy, hateful creatures. Here again, efforts to mitigate the suffering of the victim have not been found, rather the victims are found to be releasing their pain and suffering only in death.

Anti-slavery movement was indeed British propaganda for accumulating moral backing for the perpetuation of empire and averting the possibility of bloodshed, the effect of the French Revolution. Famous impeachment trial against Warren Hastings, the governor general of Bengal in East India Company that took place in the late 1780s in British parliament, can also be posited here as an example of a nation throwing off tyrannical ruling elite, to prove moral responsibility of the British establishment, to avert the effect of French Revolution in England, and English ambivalent attitude for the perpetuation of empire. Empire sustains its continuance in foreign land through the construction of epistemology— often with revealing contradiction, juxtaposition, and ambivalence— rhetorical strategies for its justification of activities. This process rather wishes to hide imperial ideology, constructs truth based on viewer's epistemology, not the true representation of reality, but construction of masked truth. In-depth investigation into the abolitionist discourse reveals the propaganda backed up by constructed masked truth, British moral humanitarian move, hiding the real ideology, for the perpetuation of empire or the shift of capitalism into alternative form.

There cannot be serious point of disagreement in the claim that British abolitionism had been one of the earliest and smartest solution backed up by moral humanitarian move in the history of slavery and anti-slavery, since American racial slavery was legally ended in 1865 and

Martin Luther King Jr. had been still fighting for the implementation of emancipation proclamation and for the basic rights of life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness guaranteed by American constitution still in 1963. British abolitionism has been proved moral upgrading, whereas American emancipation has remained moral blemish in the history of humankind, still today. In spite of all this, it cannot still be neglected that the sad emotions of pity, sympathy, and compassion produced for the slaves, in the abolitionist discourse, proved to be benefitting the British rather than the slaves. From the moral humanitarian backing accumulated from the abolitionist idea they justified their being in the colonies. The slaves, on the other hand, faced racial discrimination, continued to be the victim of intense disgust and hatred. The British asserted the possibility of racial contamination, miscegenation, and physical threat by sending blacks to colonies and conducting experiments like so-called Sierra Leone project.

The recommendation can be made for the utilization of the findings of this study for future research on French perspectives on the issue through the analysis of French abolitionist discourse representing the historical time. Further exploration into French version of abolitionism would focus new light into the area. This could reveal the alternative knowledge and politics of sympathy more vividly since mainstream British abolitionists have attacked the expansionist Napoleonic France severely in their discourse. The findings could be applied reliably to the recognition of the injustices of the past, being moved by them, and replacing individual guilt with national shame, bring about promises for future reconciliation. Bad feeling for the past injustices indicates to the projection for feeling better to future reconciliation. Acceptance of guilt for the development of national shame can restore national identity and pride, reproduction of nation as an ideal. Abolitionist literature can be considered successful in uttering the regrets for the brutal history, but do the statements of regret assume any

responsibility? The reader can easily notice the lack of reception and action in the regrets, as uttered in the abolitionist discourse, usually without the acceptance of responsibility for the action— the utterance without reception, responsibility, and action. What type of society did the abolitionists expect in place of slavery? Middle class women raised the issue in order to develop their political muscles fighting against patriarchy, the emerging middle class ideology legitimizing new work ethics would benefit middle class, the imperial Britain would accumulate moral backing for the perpetuation of empire, however, not much thirst could be found for the betterment of the slaves staged in the abolitionist campaign.

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