Identity, Anxiety, and Ambiguity within the Eighteenth-Century Representation of the Slave: Anna Letitia Barbauld, Hannah More, and Phillis Wheatley

by

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Abstract

Eighteenth-century poets, Anna Letitia Barbauld, Hannah More, and Phillis Wheatley represented the slave, contributing to the creation of an African identity that both challenged and affirmed the cultural perception of the African, the Other. I examined the poetry using the New Historical, Feminist, and Post-Colonial perspectives and considered the ways in which social assumptions and historical events influenced the writers in their representations of the African slave. Examining the poets' representations of the African slave allowed me to explore the act of representation and focus upon the contradictory assumptions and images that are involved with representation and its connection to the creation of identity. To understand the poets' representations of the African, it was necessary to consider their work within its historical context, particularly the eighteenth-century perceptions of 'race,' the African, and the abolitionist cause. Abolitionists attempted to create an alternative image of the African that focused upon shared human bonds and produced sympathy for the plight of the African. Barbauld's and More's poetry were written in an effort to create a sympathetic image of the African to convince the politicians to abolish Britain's participation in the slave trade; however, while speaking out against the slave trade, the two British poets created contradictory images and implied that the African belonged to an inferior 'race.' As an African native, Wheatley provides a contrast to Barbauld and More and their representations of the African which indicates that the voice of the Other is susceptible to contradictions, social assumptions, and conflicting images in the representation of the Other. Ultimately, the three women's poetry provides a case study by which to examine the conflicts and contradictions that are a part of the process of literary representation and the ways in which representation contributes to a conflicted identity.

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Chapter One
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The history of British abolition may be divided into two phases that are distinguished by the abolition bill outlawing the slave trade in 1807 and the passing of the Emancipation Act abolishing slavery in 1833. Each phase in the history of abolition involves a variety of organizations and individuals who, in their way, contributed to the anti-slavery campaign. In 1792, William Wilberforce, an influential proponent of abolition, noted that

> great political events are rarely the offspring of cool, deliberate system; they receive their shape, size, and colour, and the data of their existence, from a thousand causes which could hardly have been foreseen, and in the production of which, various unconnected and jarring parties combined and assisted. (qted. in D.Porter x)

The history of abolition involves the union of 'unconnected and jarring parties' that affected the nature and direction of the anti-slavery movement. During the 1790s, for example, abolitionist

supporters could not have foreseen British anti-slave trade[1] support from the planters of the older West Indian colonies (Craton 263). By limiting slave labour in Britain's new acquisitions of Demerara, Surinam, and Trinidad, the established West Indian planters hoped to prevent competition from the newer colonies (P.Richardson 89). The history of the British anti-slavery campaign includes many such examples of unforeseen aid for the abolition of the slave trade and of slavery itself, indicating that each phase of the campaign was the result of, as Wilberforce suggested, 'a thousand causes,' motivations, and individuals.

This thesis will focus upon the first phase of abolition that began in approximately 1787-8 with the first formal proposal against the slave trade and the creation of an anti-slave trade society and that ended with the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 (D.Porter 1, Drescher Capitalism 3). The first phase of British abolition centred around the anti-slave trade debate and Britain's participation in the transportation and trading of human beings, rather than on the issue of ownership of slaves. The abolitionists amassed popular and political support by addressing the morality, legality, and economics of transporting slaves, attacking the slave trade on religious, political, and economic grounds. In a 1677 legal judgment, slaves were defined as "commodities" that could be sold under the terms of the Navigation Acts (Craton 254). By focusing upon the appalling conditions of the Middle Passage and Parliament's power to control trade, many abolitionists indirectly condemned slavery and avoided the controversial issue of government interference in 'property' rights (Hyman 80, Lloyd 128).

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[1] To avoid confusion concerning terminology, I have followed Roger Anstey's, Dale Porter's, and Seymour Drescher's example and used the phrase "anti-slave trade" to define the forces that opposed the slave trade and to differentiate from the over-all anti-slavery campaign which was the primary concern during the second phase of abolitionism. It comes as no surprise that there are as many ways to spell and indicate 'anti-slave trade' as there are theories regarding the reasons for the successful campaign against Britain's participation in the Atlantic slave trade. The historians listed in the Works Consulted of this thesis use, for example, 'anti-slave-trade,' 'antislave-trade,' 'antislave trade,' and 'pro-slave trade,' to differentiate the opposing forces of the slave trade debate.

The abolition campaign united many 'jarring parties' who debated the morality and economics of British participation in the slave trade in Parliament, in clubs, and at public meetings, using pamphlets and literature to foster anti-slavery sentiments. Different segments of society assisted in the abolition campaign, including literary artists such as Wordsworth, Blake, Wollstonecraft, Johnson, and Cowper who responded to the changing climate concerning liberty and sympathized with the plight of the African (A.Richardson 23, P. Richardson 82-83). By publishing anti-slavery essays, poetry, and plays, the poets helped create an anti-slavery climate that challenged the public and the authorities to question the moral, political, and economic justification of the slave trade and, eventually, slavery itself (Anstey The Atlantic 142-53). Literary artists were encouraged to address the anti-slave trade debate and publicize the shocking effects of the slave trade, in part, because abolition organizers recognized the ability of poetry to sway opinion. William Cowper, for example, wrote "The Negro's Complaint" to assist the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade (Cowper "To Lady Hesketh" 880). By representing the interests of Africans, poets and other literary artists participated in the anti-slave trade debate and the campaign to abolish slavery.

As defenders of oppressed Africans, British abolitionists participated in a larger debate concerning individual freedom. During the eighteenth century, which was also known as the Enlightenment or Age of Reason, moral, legal, political, and philosophical arguments contributed to an anti-slavery climate which religious abolitionists developed into action, resulting in the legal abolition of the slave trade and slavery (Anstey The Atlantic 125, 140). Enlightenment philosophers such as Rousseau argued that "the right of slavery is null and void, not only as being illegitimate, but also because it is absurd and meaningless" (Le Contrat Social 1762 qted. in Anstey The Atlantic 120). In general, slavery was condemned upon the grounds that it violated

an individual's "original rights" and was incompatible with "liberty," "happiness," and "benevolence" (110, 119). Religious thinkers also extolled the need for benevolence, but they focused upon God's example rather than the individual right to happiness: "God has implemented in our very frame and make, a compassionate Sense of the Sufferings and Misfortunes of other People, which disposes us to contribute to their relief" (unnamed Preacher 1760 qted. in Anstey The Atlantic 128). The focus upon philanthropy and the belief that slavery was an evil which needed to be abolished to avoid God's judgment provided religious communities, such as the Evangelicals, with the incentive to campaign for the legal abolition of the slave trade (182, 193). On the surface, the two sides -- Enlightenment thinkers and religious abolitionists -- were distinct; however, in Britain, philosophical reasoning was "usually presented as at least compatible with Christian belief" (123). The "English Enlightenment" was not "markedly anticlerical" (Yolton et al 7), allowing for some compatibility between the philosophers and the religious abolitionists on the issue of the slave trade and slavery. Historian Roger Anstey focuses upon the "striking unanimity" in the British philosophical arguments against slavery and the slave trade and suggests that eighteenth-century British philosophy and Christianity helped create an anti-slavery and anti-slave trade climate (The Atlantic 124). Individuals such as Scottish thinker Adam Ferguson, in Institutes of Moral Philosophy (1769), declared that "[n]o one is born a slave; because every one is born with all his original rights. No one can become a slave, because no one, from being a person, can, in the language of the Roman law, become a thing or subject of property" (qted. in Anstey The Atlantic 110). Similarly, in his Elements of Moral Science (1790-1793), British philosopher James Beattie condemned slavery:

> all men upon earth, whatever their colour, are our brethren, and neighbors: and if so, both reason and Scripture declare, that it is

> our duty to love them, and to do unto them as we would that they do unto us. (qted. in Anstey The Atlantic 112)

The two sides of abolitionism "converged in the 1780s, when in the cause of philanthropy religious devotees campaigned alongside ardent freethinkers" (Craton 250). Abolitionists, in general, argued that, as More suggested in The Slave Trade, A Poem, circumstances and origins were irrelevant because slaves "still are men, and men should still be free" (170). The common goal remained the abolition of the slave trade and slavery.

Anti-slave trade poetry reflects the aims and strategies of the abolitionists, responding to current debates and setbacks to the abolition campaign. This thesis will focus upon two British anti-slave trade poets, Anna Letitia Barbauld and Hannah More, examining the ways in which the two poets' works reflect the anti-slave trade debate while representing the interests of African slaves. The third poet in this analysis, Phillis Wheatley, provides a contrast to the two British poets' representations of African slaves because she was an African slave and the voice of the Other, because she was the first "Black" woman to publish in England, and because her poetry was used by abolitionists to promote the anti-slavery cause, establishing it as a part of the anti-slave trade debate (Fryer 91-93). Wheatley's poetry also helps demonstrate the extent to which the poet responds to her external environment, particularly cultural assumptions regarding the African identity and the slave trade.

Anna Letitia Barbauld wrote Epistle to William Wilberforce, Esq. on the Rejection of the Bill for Abolishing the Slave Trade in response to Parliament's defeat of the 1791 abolition bill put forward by William Wilberforce. The abolition bill was defeated in a 163 to 88 vote because slave trade supporters believed that abolition could destroy the British economy, the West Indies, and the British navy (D.Porter 77-78). In response to witnessed accounts of atrocities against the

slaves, individuals such as Thomas Grosvenor, a supporter of the slave trade, argued that dealing in slaves "was not an amiable trade, but neither was the trade of a butcher an amiable trade, and yet a mutton chop was nevertheless a very good thing." (qted. in D.Porter 78). Barbauld's Epistle attacked the slave trade defenders and the nature and content of the parliamentary debate regarding the merits of trading in human beings. As a Dissenter[2], Barbauld understood the desire for freedom and used poems such as "To Dr. Priestley, Dec. 29, 1792" to promote religious freedom. Throughout her poetry, Barbauld expresses independent and "[r]evolutionary rhetoric and ideals" regarding anti-slavery sentiments, religious freedom, and justice (McCarthy and Kraft xxiv-xxv).

Hannah More's The Slave Trade, A Poem (1790) was also written for the anti-slave trade campaign to influence public opinion. At the request of the Abolition Committee, More wrote "Slavery, A Poem" (1788), which she later expanded into The Slave Trade (Ferguson "British Women" 4-5). As a serious and vocal anti-slave trade supporter, More created methods to promote abolition by encouraging the boycott of West Indian sugar, addressing the conditions of slave ships, and composing anti-slave trade poetry (Kowaleski-Wallace 63). The well published More was an Evangelical and acquainted with William Wilberforce and other members of the Clapham Sect and involved in a variety of social societies and endeavours, including the publication of The Cheap Repository Tracts (Todd Dictionary 224-27). The Slave Trade

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[2] After reading Barbauld's poetry and researching her biography in a variety of sources, it is still unclear as to the sort of "Dissenter" Barbauld was. According to McCarthy and Kraft, in William McCarthy and Elizabeth Kraft, eds., The Poems of Anna Letitia Barbauld (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1994) xxxv, many of the manuscript materials pertaining to Barbauld were destroyed in 1940 during the bombing of London. However, as noted in Janet Todd, ed., Dictionary of British and American Women Writers (Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1987) 37-38, Barbauld's poems such as "Epistle to William Wilberforce" (1791), "To Dr. Priestley, Dec. 29, 1792"(1793), "Address to the Opposers of the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts" (1790), "Letter to John Bull" (1792), and "Remarks on Mr. Gilbert Wakefield's Enquiry" (1793) indicate that she was not afraid to join the political fight for religious freedom and freedom for the African slaves. For the scope of this thesis, it is important to focus upon the nature of Barbauld's attack and its effect upon her representation of the African.

therefore reflects many of More's concerns, as well as typical abolitionist arguments and reasoning to promote the anti-slave trade cause.

Abolition organizers also used Phillis Wheatley's poetry to illustrate the artistic abilities of African people and to counter the savage, inferior image promoted by slave trade supporters. In response to this celebration of African achievement, Thomas Jefferson, in Notes on the State of Virginia (1781-82), argued that he had not found an African who had "uttered a thought above the level of plain narration" and thus Wheatley's poetry was "below the dignity of criticism." As Jefferson's assessment indicates, Wheatley's poetry was not an uncomplicated symbol of African achievement. In "On Being Brought from Africa to America," for example, Wheatley appears to outline the benefits of being brought to America, contradicting abolitionist arguments against the slave trade. Wheatley's circumstances are both unique and all too characteristic of the tragedies of slavery, illustrating the contradictions of her life as a slave and a poet. Transported from Africa and sold to the Wheatley family, Phillis Wheatley published her poetry in Britain and America, visited admirers of her poetry in London, was manumitted in 1778, and died in poverty in Boston in 1784 (Richmond Bid 12-14, 31, 34, 42,49). Although abolitionists used Wheatley's poetry to increase anti-slavery support, her representation of the African identity did not always promote the abolitionist cause.

Wheatley's poetry demonstrates that the representation of self as African slave or, as in Barbauld's and More's poetry, the act of representing the Other, is a complicated and controversial issue, in part because representing self or Other involves the creation of an identity. It is one of the ironies of Wheatley's poetry that the self that Wheatley creates is in fact an "Other." Immersed in European culture and literature, Wheatley experiences an estrangement from self, a self which is made Other in poetic culture. The representation of Other and literary

representations in general create identities and influence the way in which we judge and define ourselves and individuals and cultures other than our own. By defining individuals or cultures as other than or different from a perceived ideal model, we designate the Other as inferior (Said Orientalism ad passim) and in need of financial, spiritual, or physical aid and/or "civilizing." This condescending attitude is made more complex when a dominant culture or group takes on the role of defender to provide help for oppressed or persecuted individuals or groups. However, in speaking out against inequity, we necessarily speak for the oppressed, as in Barbauld's and More's poetry, and thus take on the Other's voice.

By taking on the Other's voice, an author creates a new image of the Other. This newly created literary identity includes both the author's interests and the oppressed individual's interests and concerns as the author understands them. Representing an individual or group in literature thus results in the representation of both the self (the author) and the Other (the represented) because an author cannot separate her or his personal biases, motivations, or cultural assumptions from the needs and interests of the represented individual or group. Consequently, Barbauld's and More's representations of the Other involve an amalgamation of their personal interpretations, cultural responses, and their perceptions of the interests of African slaves, although, certainly, the understanding that slavery was inherently wrong was not an ill-conceived notion and within the best interests of all enslaved African peoples. Within their poetry, the two British women demonstrate that speaking for the Other does not mean the authors are not speaking for the self. In representing the Other, Barbauld and More also represent the self, expressing their own interests and concerns which conflict and often contradict the interests and concerns of African slaves and a positive perception of an African identity.

Phillis Wheatley exemplifies the contradictions of one who is caught between the need to represent self and the cultural demand to see herself as Other. In an analysis of Wheatley's poetry, Alice Walker argues that Wheatley's external world of enslavement is at odds with her internal creative imagination, producing "contrary instincts" that affect the nature and content of her poetry (235). Wheatley's contrary instincts are the result of conflicting needs to appear submissive before her 'masters' on the one hand and to address the subject of freedom within her poetry on the other. Contradictions and ambiguities are therefore inevitable because the author responds to internal and external influences which necessarily conflict.

Virginia Woolf originally used the concept of 'contrary instincts' to predict the fate of a sixteenth-century female poet in A Room of One's Own:

> a highly gifted girl who had tried to use her gift for poetry would have been so thwarted and hindered by other people, so tortured and pulled asunder by her own contrary instincts, that she must have lost her health and sanity to a certainty. (48)

Woolf maintains that the patriarchal sixteenth century world was not receptive to female creativity, establishing a hostile external environment which created conflict between the female poet's struggle to reconcile cultural and gender expectations with her inner creative gift. The example is extreme; however, Woolf illustrates the ways in which the external world affects the form and content of the female poet's work, arguing that the poet cannot separate her work from her external environment. Contary instincts affect not only Wheatley, but also Barbauld and More because the women are influenced by eighteenth-century cultural and gender expectations. The two British poets contend with their culture's perception of the African identity, their desire to reform Britain in regard to the country's moral behavior, their abolitionist goals, personal

interests, and, for Barbauld, an external environment that is not completely receptive to a woman's artistic comment upon political concerns. These contending interests result in contrary instincts that cause the poets both to affirm and challenge cultural expectations in an attempt to reconcile their inner artistic gifts with their external environment.

Contrary instincts affect each of the poets' literary representation of the Other because the author, whether European or African, is influenced by personal concerns, the interests of the represented-Other, and cultural assumptions and expectations. Consequently, literary works must be examined within their historical and cultural contexts because the contrary instincts can only be understood by considering the tensions affecting the author. What are the internal and external influences affecting Barbauld's, More's, and Wheatley's literary representations of African slaves? For Barbauld and More, abolition goals contend with artistic concerns, social expectations, personal and religious motivations and beliefs, and the interests of African slaves. As abolitionists, the two British poets attempted to reconcile their attack upon British participation in the slave trade with their presentation of an ideal Britain that was the model of Christianity, justice, and freedom. Wheatley also experienced contrary influences, but the restrictions of her enslavement further challenged her poetic voice. In examining the external and internal influences affecting the poets, we gain a clearer understanding of the process of representation and the ways in which an author, the external environment, and the perception of the represented Other all affect a literary representation.

Because representation takes its shape from the concerns of the author, the external environment, or culture, and, to some extent, the interests of the Other, the constructed literary identity is experienced as incomplete and ambiguous. In "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," Stuart Hall maintains that identity is a "production which is never complete [; it is] always in process,

and always constituted within, not outside, representation" (392). The process of representation is hightlighted by the author's attempts to reconcile self interests, social concerns, and the needs of the Other; an author's representation necessarily embodies the concerns, assumptions, and ambiguities of the author and her or his culture, in this case, British culture and identity, emphasizing the problematical nature of identity in general. Representation creates identity and thus the inevitable contradictions that are a part of the process of representing the self and another individual in literature are mirrored in the created identity. To understand the inherent contradictions within representation and each poet's creation of an African identity, it is necessary to examine the process of representation within the context of historical forces and debates, focusing upon the internal and external influences that affect Barbauld's, More's, and Wheatley's perceptions and representations of African slaves.

The abolition period is an appropriate setting to study the relation of history to the representation of the Other because anti-slave trade proponents Barbauld and More publicly represented the interests of the hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children who were sold into slavery during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the 1808 The History of the Rise, Progress and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade by the British Parliament, abolitionist Thomas Clarkson claimed the "administration of lord Grenville ... which, on account of its virtuous exertions in [sic] behalf of the oppressed African race, will pass to posterity, living through successive generations, in the love and gratitude of the most virtuous of mankind" (78). Clarkson's assertion of "exertions on behalf of" slaves illustrates that the abolitionists campaigned from the premise that they represented the silently 'oppressed' African slaves who lacked the power to voice their own concerns. In a letter to David Wooster dated 1773, Wheatley reinforces the image of the British defenders of freedom: "Since my return to

America my Master, has at the desire of my friends in England given me my freedom" (Shields Collected 170). Wheatley implies that her English 'friends' spoke to her master on her behalf, defending her right to freedom. It was by speaking for the oppressed African slaves that abolitionists publicly condemned the slave trade and defined themselves as the defenders of African slaves.

The affect of speaking for Africans was that British defenders represented thousands of individual slaves without regard for their geographical, national, religious, or slave experience differences. In an 1807 letter entitled A Letter on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, Wilberforce acknowledges the impossibility of describing the history and suffering of each slave:

> Could I but separate this immense aggregate into all its component parts, and present them one by one to your view ... you would then have a more just impression of the immensity of the misery which we wish to terminate. This cannot be done; but let us, in concluding our melancholy course, employ a few moments in taking some family, or some individual Negro, and [follow] him through all the successive stages of his suffering. (72)

In an effort to promote sympathy, Wilberforce creates the story of 'some' slave, focusing upon the suffering he might encounter from the time of his transportation to his death on a plantation. Certainly, it was impossible to describe every slave history; however, in representing 'some family' or 'some individual Negro,' the differences between the slave experiences and the distinctions between the Africans were lost. Without differences, African slaves remained a homogenous group defined by generalized terms befitting 'some family' or 'some individual Negro' but not necessarily a specific African family or individual.

One of the primary problems of representing any group in literature involves the assumption that everyone within the group shares common characteristics, goals, or beliefs. For example, in a discussion of the inability of feminist theory to represent the concerns of all women, Chandra Talpade Mohanty argues that "[i]t is time to move beyond the ideological framework in which even Marx found it possible to say: They cannot represent themselves; they must be represented" (216). Mohanty argues that western feminists' work concerning third world women assumes that women are united in their oppression, resulting in the loss of differences between women and the perpetuation of western superiority (213-14). In an examination of the belief that Middle Eastern veiled women are segregated and oppressed, Mohanty points out that a number of Iranian women wore the veil during the 1979 revolution as a public political statement (209). Mohanty's analysis illustrates that speaking for an entire nation, culture, or gender often involves generalizations and therefore misrepresentations, particularly if the speaker does not understand the represented and yields to cultural assumptions.

Mohanty's concerns apply to Barbauld's and More's representations of African slaves and perpetuation of specific cultural assumptions regarding the African identity. In representing the silenced and oppressed African slaves, the two British poets omitted the possibility of distinctions and presented the Africans as a homogeneous group united in their enslavement. Certainly, each slave shared the experience of oppression; however, Barbauld and More went on to present an image of 'some' African, using generalizations and their own cultural assumptions of the African identity. Consequently, the image of the inferior and powerless slave is a part of Barbauld's, More's, and, to some extent, Wheatley's poetry, contributing to the construction of an "uncivilized" African identity and the perception of the inferior Other. The poets used their

literary representations of the slave to promote human rights and support the abolition campaign, but their poetry also reinforced a racial hierarchy in which the Other held a subordinate position.

It is impossible to envision a time when we may move beyond the need for the representation of the silently oppressed because it is one of the mechanisms we use to bring to light the oppression of others, to voice our concerns and the needs of others, and to influence change. British abolitionists represented the interests of the oppressed Africans and campaigned to change Britain's policies regarding the slave trade and, eventually, slavery. At the same time, racist views, imperialist agendas, and colonial assumptions also dominated the literature. Mohanty and others wish the Other to represent her or himself and thus move away from damaging and prejudicial descriptions that promote hierarchies and oppression. However, Wheatley's poetry demonstrates the complexities of the speaking Other, and Barbauld's, More's poetry demonstrates that creating identities and representing oppressed individuals also has the power to promote change. How do we reconcile the beneficial results of representation with the detrimental consequences? Can we?

If we cannot move away from the need for the representation of the silenced Other and his or her interests, it is necessary to understand the process of representation and the forces which influence this process. This thesis will examine three poets, Barbauld, More, and Wheatley, and focus upon their poetry within the context of eighteenth-century British abolition and social history, as well as the poets' lives, and their other works in order to investigate the process of representation of the Other and the creation of an African identity. By examining the literary representations within their historical contexts, as well as the gender and social assumptions affecting each poet, we may come to understand how it is that speaking out against oppressors becomes speaking for the Other and how representation too often becomes definition.

Chapter Two

Beast or Human: Eighteenth-Century Conceptions and Representations of the African

In representing the silenced and oppressed African slaves, the abolitionists and poets needed to alter society's perception of the "bestial" African identity (Hurwitz 26). During the eighteenth century, it was not uncommon to present the African as an uncivilized savage individual who was morally and intellectually inferior to the European (Miles 28-29). English readers found many sources detailing African inferiority including the twenty-three volume Universal History (1736-65) which devoted two volumes to an itemized description of the African character:

> proud, lazy, treacherous, thievish, hot, and addicted to all kinds of lusts, and most ready to promote them in others, as pimps, panders, incestuous, brutish, and savage, cruel and revengeful,... inconstant, base, treacherous, and cowardly. (qted in Fryer 153)

The description creates the image of a bestial, immoral African character, implying that an African is both uncivilized and inferior and therefore that the slave trade and the slave system are permissible. To promote public sympathy for the plight of the slave, anti-slave trade supporters

Barbauld and More attempted to present an alternative image of African slaves that challenged the savage descriptions such as those found in the Universal History. This was and is an ongoing process as African's and African-American's "escape from bestial status into a recognized humanity has been a source of both ethics and politics since the slave system was first instituted" (Gilroy 407). The abolitionists and poets understood the power and persuasiveness of public opinion on political change (Drescher Capitalism ad passim) and used their representation of the African to help alter the traditional prejudices.

The scientific community contributed to the traditional understanding of the African identity, forcing abolitionists to debate the classification of humankind. In 1758, Swedish botanist Carl Linne (Linnaeus) first used the term Homo sapiens in the tenth edition of Systema naturae, dividing the human "species" into distinct categories (Hudson 253). Linne's work defined and differentiated Homo sapiens into racial stereotypes that implied a natural typology of 'races'[3]:

> a. Wild Man. Four-Footed, mute, hairy.
>
> b. American. Copper-colored, choleric, erect. Hair black, straight, thick; Nostrils wide;...obstinate, content, free.... Regulated by customs.
>
> c. European. Fair, sanguine, brawny, hair yellow, brown, flowing; Eyes blue; gentle, acute, inventive.... Governed by laws.
>
> d. Asiatic. Sooty, melancholy, rigid. Hair black; Eyes dark; severe, haughty, covetous.... Governed by opinions.
>
> e. African. Black, phlegmatic, relaxed. Hair black, frizzled; skin silky;...crafty, indolent, negligent.... Governed by caprice. (Pratt 32)

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[3] The word "race' is problematic because it assumes biologically determined categories rather than a socially constructed hierarchy. For the purposes of this thesis, "race" is used to indicate the eighteenth-century understanding of difference. The following authors examine the categorization of "races" and its impact upon our understanding and delineation of the Other. Robert Miles, Racism (London: Routledge, 1989) 32-38, 46, 76. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. ed. "Race," Writing, and Difference (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986).

The above categorization of 'races' is one example of scientific support for the colonial mentality that dominated eighteenth-century society's comprehension of the Other. Linne's description of an African identity -- 'crafty, indolent, negligent' -- implies an African darkness of character that has little to do with skin colour. Moreover, the suggestion that the European (the category under which one many find the British) is governed by laws and the African is governed by caprice implies that the European is superior to the African because 'law' invokes images of the Western ideals of intelligence, civilization, and maturity whether a Christian "moral law" or an Enlightenment "natural law," whereas 'caprice' creates images of child-like, fanciful, erratic behavior. Linne's work suggests that there are biological differences to be found between the European and the African, as well as the other Homo sapiens, contributing to the notion that one 'race' may be superior to another: "humanity's most dangerous myth" (Hudson 259). The "scientific evidence" for an inferior 'race' naturally deserving of enslavement supported the oppression and enslavement of African peoples.

The categorization of 'races' justified the enslavement of African peoples by suggesting that Africans were inferior to Europeans and, as a whole, incapable of civilized behavior. Linne's 'scientific' categorization of the human species entitled individuals such as British MP and Board of Trade official Soame Jenyns to place the "brutal Hottentot" at the bottom of his hierarchy in his 1782 treatise "On the Chain of Universal Being" (qted. in Fryer 166). Jenyns is adding a scientific bent to an idea of hierarchy embodied in the Christian theory of the "great chain of being" in which all life forms a "hierarchical continuum, extending from God (infinity) at the top, down through the nine orders of angels, through man,...through the lower orders of animals, to the lowest forms of existence" (Greene 114). The concept of a 'hierarchical continuum,' like Linne's work, implies that there is a natural hierarchy in which one form of existence, or 'race,'

holds a higher position than a lower order, creating the notion that each level of existence is, to some degree, different and that some beings are more perfect than others. Many individuals today view 'race' as a social construct; however, in the eighteenth century, the biological definition of 'race' gained popularity in the scientific and literary communities, establishing clearly defined differences and a distinct identity for each 'race' (Hudson 259, 247-48).

It is unclear whether the two British poets read scientific treatises[4] such as Linne's work; however, the Swedish botanist's ideas were influential, prompting responses from 'scientists' and non-scientists throughout Europe (Hudson 253). As abolitionist poets, Barbauld and More attempted to refute the conventional image of a depraved, bestial African that continued to direct scientific and literary writings from Carl Linne to Thomas Jefferson. At the same time, the poets endorsed the classification of distinct 'races' that established British superiority over the African peoples. Barbauld's and More's emphasis upon both British superiority and the contradictory need for British reform emphasizes the ambiguities inherent in a fixed identity.

Barbauld, More, and Wheatley differ in the degree to which they delineate the perceived differences between the African and the British identities and the extent to which they affirm and deny the eighteenth-century definition of an African 'race.' The three poets contributed to a new understanding of the Other, but they also maintained British superiority. Barbauld and More argue that the native African is a part of humankind and it is the British who behave savagely by enslaving their fellow human beings; however, the poets carefully portray an African identity that can only be understood as different or Other. Wheatley also describes the differences between the 'races,' suggesting that, on some level, the African 'race' is inferior. By representing the native

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[4] Barbauld and More, between them, spoke English, French, Latin, Greek, Italian, and Spanish and thus they were not limited to English translations or accounts such as those found in the Universal History . Todd, Dictionary , 37, 224.

African as a part of a distinct, definable 'race,' each poet contributes to the separate delineations within the human species and shapes the perception of an African identity.

Barbauld's representation of the African peoples (she never uses the word "race") implies that 'they' are different. However, on some levels, at least, Barbauld's representation of African slaves challenges the perception of Africans as inherently capricious, negligent, or lazy. Reflecting typical abolitionist reasoning, Barbauld argues that it is slavery which corrupts the character of the African slave not that the African individual is inherently depraved: "Each vice, to minds deprav'd by bondage known, / With sure contagion fastens on his own" (Epistle 47-48). In A Letter on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, Wilberforce asserted that "the Slave Trade was the greatest practical evil that ever had afflicted the human race" (72). Barbauld reflects similar sentiments, depicting slavery as a disease that is "fermenting" (Epistle 51) within the slave's body, causing "sickly langours" (49) and "damp[ening] learning's fire" (53). Barbauld's abolitionist argument condemns the British for degrading and corrupting the African character, disputing the notion that the African character and collective identity are inherently immoral.

In The Slave Trade, More also blames slavery for its effect upon the native African, implying that, as a whole, Africans are not simply immoral or indolent. Slavery is responsible for the corruption of Africans, altering their character and behavior: "Degraded man himself, truck'd, barter'd, sold: / Of ev'ry native privilege bereft" (178-79). The African people "stand convicted -- of a darker skin" (164) and are degraded and left without hope and consequently they become "sullen" (222). More ridicules character judgments based upon skin colour and argues that it is Britain's participation in the slave trade that has damaged and debased the African character, insinuating that the negative characteristics associated with the African slave identity are not a natural development as the descriptions in the Universal History suggest.

At the same time, however, More's representation of the native African is not meant to suggest that the African and the British are equal. The racial hierarchy is well established in More's poem: "Though dark and savage, ignorant and blind, / They claim the common privilege of kind" (The Slave Trade 167-68). While contending that the British are responsible for the corruption and depravity of their fellow human beings, More also maintains that ignorance and blindness are natural elements of the African identity. More reflects the traditional assumptions set forth by individuals such as Jefferson who argue, "as a suspicion only, that the blacks are inferior to the whites in endowments both of body and mind. It is not against experience to suppose, that different Species of the same genus...may possess different qualifications" (Notes). Although the African is of the same 'genus' as the European, More and Jefferson suggest that the two 'races' are distinct, and the European is inherently superior. Abolitionist concerns and cultural assumptions regarding the African identity contradict each other; consequently, More's representation of Africans describes positive and negative characteristics that defy the simplistic bestial identity while affirming British superiority.

In "On Being Brought from Africa to America," Wheatley distinguishes between the African and the British by using the same language as More. Wheatley refers to the individuals brought across from Africa as the "sable race" (5). In and of itself, the terminology is understandable given the time; however, Wheatley goes on to suggest that an African slave "[m]ay be refined and join the angelic strain" (8). Wheatley indicates her belief that salvation is possible and that Africans will join all the other human beings, including the British, in the spiritual realm of the choir of angels. Clearly, Wheatley's Puritan faith, with the emphasis upon the spiritual rather than the physical, is an important part of her life. However, whether intended or not, the reference to the 'angelic strain' sets up a contrast between the spiritual and the

physical, forcing the reader to acknowledge both aspects of an African's existence: the understanding that upon refinement an African may join the 'angelic strain' and, on earth, the reality of society's scorn for the 'sable race' that is distinct from the European 'race.'

The differences between the African and the British are further magnified by the focus upon the African savage-like identity. The term "savage" implies that African society is at a lower intellectual and moral level than Western societies, particularly British society. The construction of the savage identity for Africans "denied [the Africans] complete human status, easing plunder of their lands and allowing human bodies to be treated as commodities" (Azim 41). The animalistic descriptions of Africans created a bestial identity that was too often used to excuse oppression, enslavement, and cruelty. The abolitionists competed with descriptions of an African character such as those found in Philip Thicknesse's A Year's Journey through France and Part of Spain (1778). Published in Britain, Thicknesse's accounts drew on his experiences in Georgia and fighting African rebels in Jamaica which clearly had a negative impact upon his perception of the African identity: "Their face is scarce what we call human.... As to their intellects, not one was ever born with solid sense; yet all have a degree of monkey cunning, and even monkey mischief, which often stands them in better stead than sense" (qted. in Fryer 162). Descriptions such as Thicknesse's are as negative as Linne's notion that the African is capricious, creating an unsympathetic image that reinforces the separation and differences between the Africans and the British.

In an attempt to promote sympathy and counter the unsympathetic image of the Africans, Barbauld illustrates the horror of slavery. Ironically, she contradicts, possibly even negates, her positive representation by describing a native African in pessimistic terms: "Dumb sullen looks of woe announce despair, / And angry eyes thro' dusky features glare" (Epistle 82-83). Although

Barbauld never refers to an African slave as a "savage," she describes the slave as 'dumb,' 'sullen,' and 'angry,' creating a debased, degenerate identity for the enslaved individual. Barbauld does not refer to or create the image of the 'noble savage,' the natural being who lives outside of and is therefore uncorrupted by the so-called civilized world; consequently, the term 'savage' conjures up negative images of a bestial, not-quite-human identity. At times, it is difficult to identify with the unsympathetic image that Barbauld creates unless we recognize that the "angry eyes" suggest the image of an animal beaten to the extent that he or she no longer trusts the master. Barbauld's representation of the slave, then, implies that slavery turns Africans into animals.

Similarly, More describes the slave in bestial terms, referring to the African slave as a "savage" throughout The Slave Trade (92,153, 226). By referring to an African as a savage and describing the African slave as a "sullen" (222) individual with "rude energy" (89), More creates an image of a primitive, uncivilized being that, like Barbauld's representation, is unrelated to the concept of the 'noble savage.' We are encouraged to sympathize with the enslaved Africans, but we are not led to believe that the Africans are the model of nobility to which the British could in any way aspire. More argues that the slaves are human, but she goes on to characterize African slaves as individuals who require guidance and instruction on appropriate behavior: "No: they have heads to think, and hearts to feel, / And souls to act, with firm, though erring zeal" (85-86). According to More's representation, Africans have intellectual, emotional, and religious capabilities, but they are prone to error without proper direction. More refutes Thicknesse's assertion that the African character is "in nature cruel" (qted. in Fryer 162), but she does imply that the Africans require the guidance of the civilized and God-fearing British. More's assumption that the African is inferior and in need of British direction is an example of the way in

which identity reflects social assumptions and is not fixed but a continuous process that is "constituted within...representation" (Hall 392). Consequently, although More's representation of Africans reinforces a human identity, it denies the Africans the status of civilized human beings.

In contrast to Barbauld and More, Wheatley does not represent the African slave as a "savage." However, in "On Being Brought from Africa to America," Wheatley alludes to a Biblical origin for Africans that associates the African people with betrayal and murder. The reference in line seven, "Negroes black as Cain," identifies Africans with the malignant brother in story of Cain and Abel. The traditional interpretation of the story of Cain and Abel is that God's marking of Cain resulted in the creation of the first African ("On Being Brought" ref.3). The reference to the Biblical story thus associates the African people with a despicable act and denigrates the African character and identity. Although Wheatley does not refer to African slaves as a savages, her reference to Cain's act as the origins of all Africans creates an African identity that is as discouraging as Barbauld's and More's inferior and sullen descriptions.

The degraded image of the African character was at odds with the abolition movement's objectives to promote sympathy and demonstrate that an African slave was a "victim" with little or no power to alter her or his circumstances. By 1787, Wilberforce requested evidence of cruelty inflicted upon African slaves to promote sympathy for the plight of the Africans and to garner anti-slave trade votes in Parliament: "such facts or observations as may be useful to me in the important task I have undertaken of bringing forward into Parliamentary discussion the situation of that much injured part of the species, the poor negroes" (qted. in Pollack 76). Focusing upon the image of an African victim may encourage sympathy; however, it also implies (perhaps realistically) that it is only the "white" Western world who may, or even can, improve

the Africans' lives, establishing Africans as a powerless victim of British control. British power and African powerlessness are firmly established, reinforcing the image of British superiority.

Referring to these political debates, the opening lines of Barbauld's Epistle set the condition of the African character and identity, representing the slave as a powerless, helpless victim:

> The Preacher, Poet, Senator in vain
> Has rattled in her [the Country's] sight the Negro's chain;
> With his deep groans assail'd her startled ear,
> And rent the veil that hid his constant tear;
> Forc'd her averted eyes his stripes to scan,
> Beneath the bloody scourge laid bare the man. (3-8)

Barbauld represents an individual who is completely powerless and at the mercy of the brutal slave traders and owners. The African individual is passive and pitiful and has little or no control over his fate. At the same time, the pitiful image also establishes a nonthreatening African character that is resigned to British action. The image of a submissive African character helped counteract the fear of a violent African nature that the abolitionists were forced to contend with after 1789 when French-African individuals living in Paris encouraged rebellion on the island of St. Dominique (D. Porter 66-67). For a year and a half, between 1789 and 1790, several rebellions occurred on St. Dominique, causing fear of further revolt to spread from the Caribbean to Britian where it almost destroyed Wilberforce's legislative program (67). In Barbauld's attempt to evoke pity rather than fear of African slaves, she creates an African image completely lacking in agency, overstating the power of the authorities and understating the power of the

African character. The subsequent representation of the slave establishes a submissive, passive African identity.

The dilemma between representing the power or powerlessness of the oppressor in contrast with the power or powerlessness of the oppressed affects the construction of the oppressed individual's identity. Barbauld and More represent African slaves as objects of British action, implying that Africans are nothing more than a commodities that are controlled by the owners or freed by government action. At the same time, if the African slaves have the ability to gain their own freedom, the abolitionists would not have to work for almost one hundred years to abolish the slave trade and slavery. In "Fanonism," Henry Louis Gates Jr. discusses the predicament regarding the power of the colonizer and the colonized:

> You can empower discursively the native, and open yourself to charges of downplaying the epistemic (and literal) violence of colonialism; or play up the absolute nature of colonial domination, and be open to charges of negating the subjectivity and agency of the colonized, thus textually replicating the repressive operations of colonialism. In agency, so it seems, begins responsibility. (136)

Agency in literature, therefore, has a pressing affect upon the real efforts -- which were literary efforts -- of abolitionists like Barbauld and More. The abolitionist concern to present the image of a sympathetic African who is the victim of British inhumanity denied the Africans any 'agency' and textually reproduced the physical oppression experienced by the slaves. The African slaves remained an object of British control.

More, like Barbauld, represents Africans as passive victims and objects of British subjugation. In an effort to evoke sympathy for the slave, More's description of the African slave

creates an image of an individual who is dominated to the extent that sustenance, freedom, and nationhood have been taken away: "To him whose food is groans, whose drink is tears; / Think on the wretch whose aggravated pains / To exile misery adds, to misery chains" (The Slave Trade 138-40). The loss of country, which includes community, emphasizes the slave's status as an outsider and an alien in a foreign land. In this way, British superiority is affirmed, in part, by negating the possibility that the Other can be anything more than a subdued, powerless object.

On the surface, Wheatley's initial gratitude for her relocation to America and her introduction to Christianity ("On Being Bought" 1-3) confirm Barbauld's and More's descriptions of the passive African slave identity. The fact that Wheatley is "brought" (1) from Africa, although she argues that it is "mercy" (1) that brings her to America, is significant because there is never any doubt that another force is responsible for Wheatley's departure from her homeland, indicating powerlessness. However, Wheatley's firt-person account -- "me" ("On Being Brought" 1), "my" (2), and "I" (4) -- indicates that she has a voice and the power to speak. The last half of the poem then shifts to the impersonal, "sable race" (5), "Their colour" (6), and "Negroes" (7), to indicate Africans. Is Wheatley starting from the singular and moving toward the larger culture, or is she disassociating herself from a collective identity to present a less threatening image? The evidence of an authoritative voice, 'I,' suggests that Wheatley is subtly distancing herself from the hint of rebellion evident in the last half of the poem. At the same time, Wheatley is arguably moving toward a collective 'they' and identifying herself with a larger 'like' community. The African identity shifts between Wheatley's submission and her assertiveness, demonstrating the contrary instincts affecting Wheatley's voice -- submission and assertion. Wheatley's poetic voice also indicates that one must be careful to assert that the African character

is only an object-victim of British control as abolitionist reasoning and Barbauld's and More's poetry suggest.

The abolitionists focused upon the brutalities of slavery and the victimization of Africans to amass popular and political support for the anti-slave trade campaign. The anti-slave trade campaign would not be successful until the public regarded the African slave as an oppressed (if inferior) human being who deserved freedom. Abolitionists asserted that it was the so-called civilized British who were acting like savages by kidnapping Africans from their homeland and transporting them to the colonies. Thomas Clarkson referred to an individual who captured native Africans for transportation as a "savage man-stealer," establishing the African individual as the human being and the kidnapper as the true beast (The History 75). Barbauld and More use similar abolitionist strategies and contrast British slave trading and oppression with the experiences and actions of African slaves to the detriment of the British. In this way, the poets redefine the traditional definitions of civilized human behavior and the criteria by which an individual is judged a savage.

Barbauld argues that an African slave is not a savage beast but a human being: "Beneath the bloody scourge laid bare the man" (Epistle 8). Consequently, an African's enslavement is an immoral act that is compounded by the fact that the British claim to be a civilized, enlightened country. By asking the question, "Shall man, proud worm, contemn his fellow-man?" (44), Barbauld challenges the justification and participation in selling and enslaving human beings and asserts that each African is a fellow human being. Evidently, the status of human being does not indicate equality and can, as the hierarchy of 'races' indicates, contain gradations from the most 'primitive' to the most 'civilized.' For the abolitionists, the first step in altering the Africans'

primitive identity, began with the accepting and promoting the idea that each African was a fellow human being.

Similarly, More maintains that everyone is a part of the human 'race' and thus everyone deserves freedom "in earth's extended space" (The Slave Trade 305). More goes beyond Barbauld's arguments and condemns the slave traders in a manner that has serious implications: "Perish the proud philosophy, which sought / To rob them of the pow'rs of equal thought" (79-80). Given the other descriptions of the African in The Slave Trade, it is difficult to believe that More is suggesting that the Africans are an intellectual equal to the British. Evidently, More is implying that an African slave, unlike the animal, is capable of human thought processes and decision making but slavery treats human beings like animals and thus deprives individuals of the ability to think or make decisions for themselves. The act of robbing the African individual of freedom transforms the British slave trader into a "White Savage" (252) or beast lacking in Christian and civilized behavior. More complicates the image of the savage by expanding it to contain the image of the British slave trader, suggesting that the term 'savage' describes human beings who are capable of the "pow'rs of equal thought" (80); however, their barbaric actions and/or lack of Christian faith and morality transforms them into savages. Expanding the image of the savage to include the British slave trader alters the traditional perception of the African identity to suggest that savage does not equal beast but rather uncivilized and unchristian. At the same time, the reference to 'White Savage' reveals More's anxieties over her country's actions and her desire to reform a savage-like British identity.

Wheatley, on the other hand, is not concerned with reforming a savage identity or establishing a human identity for herself or the other African slaves. In contrast to Barbauld's and More's lengthy assertions, Wheatley assumes and therefore represents Africans as simply a part of

humanity. During the abolitionist campaign, the poem, "On Being Brought from Africa to America," provided evidence that a native African woman was capable of creativity and therefore not a beast. The ability to create literature was an important measure of one's humanity because "the sheer literacy of writing was the very commodity that separated animal from human being, slave from citizen, object from subject" (Gates Figures 24-25). Jefferson argued that an African was incapable of intellectual or imaginative endeavours and was therefore inferior, possibly, less than human: "Comparing them by their faculties of memory, reason, and imagination, it appears to me that in memory they are equal to whites; in reason much inferior,...and that in imagination they are dull, tasteless, and anomalous" (Notes). During the eighteenth century, a proficiency or command of the "arts" symbolized the boundary between "human being and thing," leading to the conclusion that a written literature was the most important indication of a 'race's' intrinsic humanity (Gates Figures 25). Wheatley's poetry challenges Jefferson's claim and contradicts the assumption that an African is not quite human by demonstrating that an African woman is not only capable of literacy, she is also capable of creating written literature.

The representation of African slaves is complicated by contradictions as the poets alternate between abolitionist concerns and cultural assumptions regarding the character of Africans. Wheatley is similarly affected by the conflict between her position as a slave and the power to assert her voice in her poetry. In presenting an image of an unrefined or degraded African character, Barbauld, More, and Wheatley endorse a 'racial' hierarchy that defines Africans as Other -- other than civilized, other than Christian, and other than enlightened. Each poet's creation of an African identity is caught in the ambiguities and contradictions of her responses to her culture, the represented African slave, and her abolition goals. The inability to present a

consistent African identity is inevitable because the poets are influenced by personal interests and the external environment.

Chapter Three

The Problem of Freedom: Eighteenth-Century Historical Events and Representation of the African

At the end of the eighteenth century, revolution, rebellion, and reform dominated the poets' external environments. Political, social, religious, and economic changes occurred throughout society, affecting individual abolitionists and the momentum of the abolition campaign. Individuals need only look to the effects of the American Revolution as proof of the changes occurring within the colonies and to understand the significance of the desire for 'liberty.' America's struggle and ultimate 'independence' from Britain in 1776 demonstrated the need for British reform to counteract dissatisfaction and the possibility of further rebellion (Blackburn 133). Furthering complicating the issue of 'liberty,' the passage of the 1807 abolition bill outlawing the slave trade was delayed because abolitionists and the anti-slave trade campaign were associated with the beliefs and consequences of the French Revolution (D.Porter 68). The events at the beginning of the French Revolution in 1789, including the storming of the Bastille, the uprising of the "Fishwives," and the confiscation of property, indicated the impact 'liberty' could have on social order and the entire social structure (Willis 113-19). The connection

between abolition and revolution prompted pro-slave trade responses such as the Earl of Abingdon's questions:

> what does the abolition of the slave trade mean more or less in effect ...
>
> than liberty and equality? What more or less than the rights of man? And
>
> what is liberty and equality; and what are the rights of man, but the foolish fundamental
>
> principles of this new philosophy? (qted. in D.Porter 68)

The effects of the American Revolution, the social changes in France, and the possibility of the spread of further rebellion forced the abolition movement to contend with anxieties concerning African uprisings and British control. Barbauld and More reflect their society's anxiety over possible violence and alternate between establishing Africans as human beings deserving of freedom and asserting the legitimacy of British control.

To alter society's perception of Africans and promote the anti-slave trade movement, abolitionists had launched a public campaign to educate the populace on the realities of the slave trade. By the time Barbauld and More wrote their anti-slave trade poetry, a group of individuals involved in the anti-slave trade movement had already officially established themselves in 1787 as the Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade (Oldfield 331). The Abolition Committee established concrete goals, demonstrating the knowledge that change could only occur by educating and uniting support from all sectors of society: "Our immediate aim is, by diffusing a knowledge of the subject ... to interest men of every description in the Abolition of the Traffic; but especially those from whom any alteration must proceed - the Members of Legislature" (qted. in Anstey The Atlantic 255). Barbauld and More employed strategic methods similar to the Committee's goals to disseminate knowledge and alter political opinion, indicating that their poetry adhered to common anti-slavery tactics. The two poets' works are political statements

that are intended to influence public and political thoughts regarding the moral, economic, and political advantages to ending Britain's connection to the slave trade.

Abolitionists employed anti-slave trade poetry to publicize the shocking treatment the Africans experienced at the hands of their 'masters.' In Epistle, Barbauld details the effects of slavery upon African slaves, but, in the process, she creates a dubious image of the African identity prior to enslavement:

> In sickly langours melts his nerveless frame,
> And blows to rage impetuous Passion's flame:
> Fermenting swift, the fiery venom gains
> The milky innocence of infant veins: (49-52)

The above passage forces the reader to question the cruel consequences of slavery in an effort to influence the country to abolish the slave trade. At the same time, however, Barbauld's description of the African's 'nerveless frame' establishes an image of a feeble, sickly individual prone to 'impetuous' and rage-like behavior. The possibility of rage contradicts Barbauld's earlier portrayal of a submissive, passive African character (3-8), demonstrating the contradictory perceptions that affects the poet's representation and the way in which it subsequently affects the creation of an identity. In her description of African slaves, Barbauld cannot disassociate the human African from the degraded slave; consequently, her representation is fraught with conflicting perceptions. In attempting to depict the tragedies of slavery, Barbauld creates an image of a nerveless but impetuous African identity, oddly countering rather than reinforcing the abolitionist attempt to create a sympathetic, positive image of Africans.

Similarly, More's efforts to reveal the vicious results of slavery create a negative image of African slaves. More argues that a slave feels pain, but, due to a lack of refinement, an African's pain is not as severe as the pain suffered by 'nicer' individuals in comparable circumstances:

> Their sense of feeling callous and obtuse:
> From heads to hearts lies Nature's plain appeal
> Though few can reason, all mankind can feel.
> Though wit may boast a livelier dread of shame
> A loftier sense of long refinement claim;
> Though polish'd manners may fresh wants invent,
> And nice distinctions nicer souls torment;
> Though these on finer spirits heavier fall,
> Yet natural evils are the same to all. (184-93)

There is little doubt that a native African may feel pain, but the 'nicer souls' and 'finer spirits' feel more than the brutish slave. More's abolitionist attempts to argue that an African is a human being who feels pain and the effects of 'evil' are inflected by her preoccupation with distinguishing the 'civilized' British from the 'primitive' African. In the end, More implies that an African slave is not as refined, civilized, or polished as the British, affirming many of the cultural assumptions concerning the African identity.

Wheatley also implies that Africans are inferior to the new 'white' culture into which they are sold. By associating Africans with possible refinement, Wheatley insinuates that there is a need for African improvement, at least on some level: "Negroes black as Cain / May be refined" (8). Admittedly, the line also suggests that an African is capable of civilization, but Wheatley's reference to refinement assumes that each African lacks a fundamental quality that predetermines

not only status but also identity. Ironically, the abolitionists frequently implied otherwise. In 1788, abolitionist Thomas Clarkson argued that if Phillis Wheatley "was designed for slavery ... the greater part of the inhabitants of Britain must lose their claim to freedom" (qted. in Richmond Bid 54). Wheatley the poet and Wheatley the slave provided evidence that an African was not 'designed' for slavery, was not merely capable of refinement, and thus was far more complex than 'racial' definitions indicated. Although the abolitionists may not have completely understood the impact of Wheatley's enslavement upon her poetry, they recognized the sympathetic effect of her position and achievement upon some of her audience.

Wheatley's degree of refinement was in part assessed by the aesthetic strength of her poetry. A 1773 review, in a response similar to Jefferson's assessments, argued against refinement in Wheatley's poetry by claiming that the "poems written by this young negro bear no endemial marks of solar fire or spirit. They are merely imitative; and, indeed, most of those people have a turn for imitation, though they have little or no invention" (qted. in Shields Collected 267). On the other hand, Wheatley's discussion of her work with individuals such as Benjamin Franklin, abolitionist Grenville Sharp, and Lord Dartmouth and the publication of her work on two continents seemed to prove her aesthetic merit (Shields Collected 169-70). The abolitionists employed eighteenth-century standards of achievement and refinement to prove that her poetry was evidence which could refute the savage, uncivilized image of the African identity.

Establishing African humanity by publicizing Wheatley's poetic abilities and encouraging sympathy for the slave helped abolitionists alter public opinion, but they also focused upon influencing the political opinion necessary for legally abolishing the slave trade. Barbauld was a vocal supporter of abolition, and the title of her poem, Epistle to William Wilberforce, Esq. on the Rejection of the Bill for Abolishing the Slave Trade, attests to her intended purpose to sway

political opinion regarding the 1791 anti-slave trade debate (Todd Dictionary 37). Publicly criticizing the politicians for failing to understand the importance of the Abolition Bill, Barbauld argues that the political process is corrupt: "In Britain's senate, Misery's pangs give birth / To jests unseemly, and to horrid mirth" (39-40). By attacking Britain's Parliament, Barbauld contrives to shame the pro-slave trade faction into reconsidering its actions. The political intent of the poem shifts the focus away from the realities of the slave experience to national considerations regarding abolition. With this change of focus, Barbauld depersonalizes the repercussions of slavery, suggesting that "Afric bleeds" (15) and "injur'd Afric" (45) is the victim. The individual African identity is overshadowed by a collective geographical identity that does not allow for religious, cultural, or personal differences. The political intent and focus of Barbauld's work seems to entail a lack of recognition of the individual African identity.

Similarly, the focus of More's work overshadows the representation of the individual African identity. As a friend of Wilberforce and a member of the Clapham Sect[5], More was a strong supporter and campaigner in the abolition movement (Hall 76). As Evangelicals, the Clapham Sect, including More, believed that all children of God deserved liberty. God's love for all humanity was a model that each individual must imitate for his or her fellow human being. Equality under God was stressed since all human beings require Christ for their salvation, and because all true Christians must reveal their faith by assisting other individuals, Evangelicals promoted many social causes, including the anti-slave trade and anti-slavery movement (Anstey The Atlantic 198, Landow). The Evangelicals thus regarded the abolition movement as a means by which to respond to God's mercy, as a way in which to repay the debt for being redeemed, and

[5] The Claphman Sect derived its name from the area outside of London where many of the influential leaders of the Evangelicals resided, including Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson, Henry Thornton, M.P., Granville Sharp, James Stephen, M.P., and Zachary Macauley, M.P.. Reginald Coupland, The British Anti-Slavery Movement (London: Thronton Butterworth, 1993) 74-79.

as a necessary reform measure to save the nation from "providential judgment" for its participation in the immoral practice of slave trading (Anstey The Atlantic 198-199). More's Evangelical beliefs and her connections to the politically influential Clapham Sect provided her with motivation, information, the opportunity to play an important role in the abolition campaign, and social connections.

In the opening lines of The Slave Trade, More uses a subtle manner and indirect language to hint at the poem's political intent. In contrast to Barbauld who advises Wilberforce directly, More obscurely addresses the anti-slave trade movement and the nature of her work: "O great design! Ye sons of mercy! O complete your work; Wrench from Oppression's hand the iron / rod" (1-2). The poem, then, is More's contribution to the anti-slave trade campaign, and, as such, it reflects the abolition movement's national concerns. More's representation of African slaves, like Barbauld's, is influenced by her national concerns. In other words, More's contrary instincts regarding British abolition and the needs of the African slaves ensure that one concern is given precedence over the other (Other) to the detriment of the African identity.

By 1789, national concerns and fears of civil unrest contended with abolition goals, inspiring a variety of responses that ranged from demands for African freedom to dire predictions of the results of rebellion. The violent outcome of mass uprisings, the effects of the French Revolution, and slave revolts inspired fear, compromising the abolition movement's credibility and their demands for the abolition of the slave trade and slavery (Coupland 95-96). The rebellions on the island of St. Dominigue, which began in 1789, demonstrated that the repercussions of the French Revolution were widespread and violent (D.Porter 66-67). In 1791, Wilberforce wrote: "People here are all panic-struck with the transaction in St. Domingo [Dominique], and the apprehension or pretended apprehension of the like in Jamaica and other of

our islands" (qted. in D.Porter 67). The tension between the plea for African freedom and the fear of what freedom could mean also affected the poets, resulting in contradictory images throughout the poetry. More participates in the campaign to free African slaves from the power of the slave owner while simultaneously instructing the British poorer classes to accept the "legitimate" power of landlords, church, and state. Barbauld and More, in the wake of revolution and rebellion, struggle to reconcile the desire for significant social change with the fear of violence and mass disorder.

At the same time, Wilberforce indicated that the pro-slave trade supporters and politicians 'pretended apprehension' to further their cause. Ironically, it appears that the poets also used the threat of violence to sway opinion by inciting fear and suggesting that abolition was the only rational solution to imminent violence. Barbauld warns the country that violence is imminent as long as the British continue to participate in the slave trade. According to Barbauld, an oppressed African does not remain an unresisting victim of tyranny: "And injur'd Afric, by herself redrest, / Darts her own serpents at her Tyrant's breast" (Epistle 45-46). Violence is inevitable and thus Barbauld cautions the public that an oppressed African slave is a threat with the ability to inflict serpents, the symbol of evil, at the oppressor. Barbauld reinforces the warnings expressed by Ottobah Cugoano four years earlier. Cugoano, a free African working with Granville Sharpe for the abolition of slavery, warned the British populace that the oppressed will be avenged: "I must yet say, although it is not for me to determine the manner, that the voice of our complaint implies a vengeance, because of the cruel injustice done unto us Africans" (Thoughts and Sentiments 61). Consequently, when the slaves on St. Dominique revolted, the abolitionists insisted that it was not in the country's best interests to increase the number of hostile, and possibly violent, slaves in the colonies (Blackburn 145). Barbauld hints at the possibility of violence to further the abolitionists'

cause, and, in the process, she creates a threatening, vengeful African identity. The potential brutalities, or 'serpents,' of rebellion become a part of the African identity that expands to include the promise of violence.

Barbauld and More also arguably reflect their society's anxieties over the threat of slave uprisings that were evident well before the slave rebellions in St. Dominique or the French Revolution. Individuals publicly demanded radical changes to British policies regarding slavery, attempting to incite civil unrest and violence. In a "pseudonymous" London pamphlet published in 1760, "J. Philmore" demanded that all citizens unite in destroying the oppressive slave owners:

> And so all the black men in our plantations, who are by unjust force deprived of their liberty, and held in slavery, as they have none upon earth to appeal to, may lawfully repel that force with force, and to recover their liberty, destroy their oppressors; and not only so but it is the duty of others, white as well as blacks, to assist those miserable creatures, if they can, in their attempts to deliver them out of slavery, and to rescue them out of the hands of cruel tyrants. (qted. in Blackburn 94)

Barbauld's and More's emphasis upon the possibility of rebellion and civil unrest corresponds to the nature and direction of the debate surrounding the abolition of the slave trade and slavery. The abolition movement campaigned for legal political change; however, literature such as the above pamphlet advocated violent immediate change. Barbauld and More struggled to represent African slaves and the need for change without inciting mass violence and disorder. Reconciling anti-slavery rhetoric, condemnation of violent change, and descriptions of Britain as the model of

true faith and freedom resulted in contradictions in the representation of the both the Africans and the British.

In The Slave Trade (1790), More cautions against the possibility of rebellion and violence to imply that legal abolition is the only peaceful, logical solution. More warns the country that the oppressed peoples may be overcome by "that mad liberty" (27),which had afflicted France a year earlier, a liberty which overpowers reason and leads to violence and chaos. According to More, 'mad liberty' is a monster with the capacity to incite uprisings: "Not that unlicens'd monster of the crowd, / Whose roar terrific bursts in peals so loud, / Deaf'ning the ear of Peace" (29-31). More advises against mob violence, advocating peaceful solutions that oppose the advice of individuals such as 'Philmore' who call for the use of force against oppression. The legal abolition of the slave trade is presented as the only peaceful solution that will prevent the slave from turning to 'mad liberty' and violence.

Even as early as the 1770s, anxieties over the possibility of rebellion prompted individuals to fear the numbers of Africans in England and the results of the freeing the vast number of Africans. In 1773, the London Chronicle published an article in which the writer predicted that abolitionists were dangerous to public peace, demonstrating that the fear of slave rebellions was apparent long before the revolts on St. Dominique in 1789: "[abolitionists] may inspire our Colony Negroes with endeavours to steal away from thence, in order to come into this land of liberty....[T]hey may instil such enthusiastic notions of liberty, as may occasion revolutions in our colonies" (qted. in Fryer 156). More's representation of African slaves typifies her society's fear of uncontrolled liberty,which have expanded exponentially by 1790, resulting in her threatening image of the African identity and her emphasis upon a rational, Christian British identity. Focusing upon ideal principles demonstrates More's anxieties over the temptation of 'mad

liberty'; her insistence that Britain is "Freedom's genuine coast" (47) is a clear ideological ploy that allows her to condemn demands for liberty at home. Further, according to More's representation, legitimate British authority in the colonies is necessary because African slaves are susceptible to madness and monstrous behavior and thus a threat to peace and, it seems, the entire social structure.

More's poetry also implies that legitimate British authority is necessary to control and guide the actions of the discontented classes in Britain. Eighteenth-century Britain experienced over four hundred labour disputes, the stoning of minorities, the destruction of Dissenter's property, and mob violence against a variety of individuals for a number of reasons that included everything from unpopular political decisions to an increase in the price of beer (R. Porter 101). Serious rioting broke out, for example, in 1753, against the naturalization of Jews (101). Mobs targets were diverse, including violence against the Irish labouring classes in the Rag Fair Riots of 1736, against Swiss actors in the Noverre riots of 1755, and against farmers and their properties in 1755 (Langford 44, 320, 443-44). In 1780, the Gordon Riots in London spread from violence against Catholic property and churches to include the violent destruction of breweries and the release of inmates from prisons (550-1). Mass uprisings were sudden and could not be simply defined as the work of criminals because the violence and destruction were often carried out by "Englishmen at large" (R.Porter 102). Clearly, More did not have to look far for evidence of civil unrest or attacks upon social order.

The perceived threat to societal order and peace reflects the concern of the time, necessitating More's attempt to balance the demand for a rational liberty with the fear of 'mad liberty.' In seven lines, More assaults the reader with contrasting images of order and chaos, illustrating the consequences of a mass uprising of the oppressed: "Peace" (31), "Sedition" (32),

"mad misrule" (32), "Reason's reign" (33), "frantic vulgar draw" (35), "law" (36), "grave Authority and Pow'r" (37). Ironically, More implies that the oppressed individual's liberty must be directed and controlled to ensure that 'Authority' and 'Reason' continue to reign. The concern for social order creates an image of Africans and 'vulgar' British who are incapable of understanding rational liberty without the guiding force of Britain's "enlighten'd few" (316), of whom we are to assume More is one.

Although Britain is plagued by problems, More maintains that her country shall remain the model of Christianity, freedom, and civilization and thus the guiding force of other nations. Britain shall maintain control, ensuring order and authority throughout mass uprisings and social change. More devotes the beginning of The Slave Trade to a discussion of freedom and its unequal distribution over the earth: "While Britain basks in thy [freedom's] full blaze of light, / Why lies sad Afric quench'd in total night?" (21-22). In the process, More establishes a contrast between the light British identity and the dark African identity, implying that Britain remains in the light of freedom, regardless of the country's current problems. Maintaining British superiority enables More to assert that Britain is capable of reestablishing authority and order: "And beauteous ORDER reassumes his power: / Lord of the bright ascendant may he reign, / Till perfect Peace eternal sway maintain!" (50-52). Abolition remains the answer to both the threat of violence and the return to order with Britain guiding the changes and controlling the disbursement of liberty because, according to More, "Faith and Freedom spring from Britain's hands" (352).

Each poet's discussion of "freedom" affects her arguments against British participation in the slave trade and her representation of African slaves. Barbauld, More, and Wheatley examine and consider the subject of freedom from different perspectives, but it is the extent to which they affirm that freedom that affects their constructions of an African identity. Influenced by social and

cultural traditions, the poets challenge and affirm eighteenth-century assumptions regarding Africans, creating an alternative image of the Other. Revolutionary events involving political, social, and religious changes that focus upon the principles of liberty and independence also influenced each poet's perception of Africans and response to the concept of freedom. With trepidation, subtlety, or authority, the three women explore the effects of oppression and the implications of liberty. Ultimately, Barbauld's, More's, and Wheatley's poems are about freedom.

Barbauld's discussion of freedom is a political position from which she condemns her country's failure to abolish the slave trade. According to Barbauld, the slave trade is a "stain" (Epistle 122) that blots Britain's reputation and corrupts the country's principles, including liberty. In his influential Commentaries on the Laws of England (1765-69), William Blackstone claimed that the British were guided by the principle of liberty: "the spirit of liberty is so deeply implanted in our constitution ... that a slave or a negro, the moment he lands in England, falls under the protection of the laws, and so far becomes a freeman" (qted. in Michals 205). Barbauld focuses upon the 'spirit of liberty' and the corruption of her country's principles, transforming the African slaves into a secondary consideration. The notion of freedom for each individual African slave is forgotten in the attention given to political considerations and national concerns.

In The Slave Trade, More also indicates that each African's rights are secondary to her country's interests. Much of More's poem is a theoretical and religious examination of freedom with questions regarding its dissemination: "Was it decreed, fair Freedom! at thy birth, / That thou should'd ne'er irradiate all the earth?" (19-20). The discussion of freedom depersonalizes the plight of the slaves and suggests that the individual African's interests are secondary to a grander vision of liberty for all human beings. More is not a radical or revolutionary and consequently her

views on liberty are misleading (Brown 109). Although More discusses freedom for all of humanity, her anxieties regarding 'mad liberty' indicate that, for More, liberty must be governed by an authority -- Britain. More's concept of freedom endorses the racial hierarchy (Midgley 29), establishing the African people in a lower position.

The ambiguities in Wheatley's poetry suggest that she also endorses the racial hierarchy that defines her as inferior. However, in a 1774 letter to Reverend Samson Occom, Wheatley clearly establishes her views on freedom and oppression: "in every human Breast, God has implanted a Principle, which we call Love of Freedom; it is impatient of Oppression, and pants for Deliverance" (Shields Collected 177). It is therefore impossible to read "On Being Brought from Africa to America" and suggest that Wheatley is truly grateful for her status as a slave. Circumstances restrict Wheatley's actions and her language, but her poetic voice and example that defy the eighteenth-century descriptions of an inferior "race" and, instead, represent an alternative human image of the African identity with all the human complexities and contradictions.

Categorizing humanity into a hierarchy of 'races' established Africans as an inferior, subordinate caste in contrast to the ideal of achievement in Western, specifically British, civilization, morality, and social structure. More's assertion that Britain controls the dispersal of faith and freedom suggests that Britain is the only civilized nation, reinforcing the racial hierarchy that defines the European as governed by laws rather than caprice (Pratt 32). The belief that Africans are too uncivilized to promote freedom or liberty on their own reflects the sentiments expressed earlier by David Hume in the 1753 reprint of his influential work, "Of National Characters": "I am apt to suspect the negroes ... to be naturally inferior to the whites. There never was a civilized nation of any other complexion than white, nor even any individual eminent either in action or speculation" (qted. in Gates Figures 18). More asserts that African slaves are

human beings, but she reveals opinions similar to Hume's concerning the relative abilities of the Africans and the British.

By asserting superiority, More claims that it is only the British who have the power or ability to alter the slave's circumstances: "Faith and Freedom spring from Britain's hands" (The Slave Trade 351). 'Scientific' theories regarding non-Europeans reinforced More's conviction in her country's inherent right and ability to control the direction of other nations. Writing at the same time as Linne, French naturalist Buffon argued that "any nation where there is neither rule, nor law, nor master, nor regular society is less a nation than a tumultuous assembly of independent barbarians, each obeying only their own particular passions" (from Histoire Naturelle qted. in Hudson 257). Buffon's description establishes the African people as inferior to Europeans and therefore requiring direction and guidance. By asking, "Shall Britain, where the soul of freedom reigns, / Forge chains for others she herself disdains?" (The Slave Trade 298-99), More reinforces the conviction that her country directs the freedom of other individuals and has the power to grant liberty or withhold it, particularly if one believes that the African populace is not a 'nation' according to Western standards. More's declaration of Britain's dominance maintains British control and authority and affirms 'scientific' definitions of the inferior African identity.

The repercussions of the American and French Revolutions and civil unrest emphasized the need for control and guidance throughout Europe, in many of the British slave colonies and in Britain. Works such as Thomas Paine's that called for equality or liberty could be interpreted as seditious or, worse, as inspiration for the lower, oppressed peoples to overthrow the social order (Kirkpatrick 217). Barbauld and More carefully detail the moral responsibilities between human beings while maintaining British power and authority. According to Barbauld and More, God is

the only power who imparts retribution against the slave traders or provides justice for the slaves. The poets outline the potential for violence and provide abolition as the solution without ever suggesting that the oppressed individuals could or ought to seek justice or liberty on their own. Justice and liberty are best handled by higher powers -- God and Britain.

The pessimistic tone of Epistle leads the reader to believe that ultimate justice will only be meted out by God. Barbauld warns the country that the oppression cannot continue without violent repercussions and retribution: however, in keeping with Christian beliefs, vengeance will not come from the slave: "And swell th' account of vengeance yet to come; / For, not unmarked in Heaven's impartial plan, / Shall man, proud worm, contemn his fellow-man?" (42-44). By aligning the "proud worm[s]" of slave owners with the "serpents" of African resistance, Barbauld debases each, insinuating that divine justice is the only proper method of vengeance. Mass uprisings and violent resistance are evidence of oppression, but they are not solutions to the problems of oppression. By associating African resistance with the problems of oppression, Barbauld reinforces a negative image of Africans whose violent responses are inappropriate and incapable of providing freedom or justice. British abolition remains the only rational course of action.

Barbauld and More suggest that it is Britain's duty, as a civilized nation, to avoid further violence and follow the rational course of action -- the legal abolition of the slave trade. Focusing upon Britain's duty and contrasting British abolition with violent rebellion emphasizes British superiority and action and establishes African passivity as the ideal, distancing abolition from any connection to rebellion. The concept of divine justice reinforces the rationale that abolitionism does not promote or incite slave revolts. More, however, approaches the possibility of divine justice from a different perspective. Rather than focusing upon the possibility of divine vengeance,

More confines herself to benevolent concepts such as mercy and salvation. On behalf of African slaves, More ends the poem with a plea to God: "with thy wide salvation make them free!" (The Slave Trade 359). The oppressed individual will, ultimately, find freedom with God but only upon death. According to More, death is merciful because it provides release from human oppression and cruelty:

> O thou sad spirit, whose preposterous yoke
> The great deliverer Death, at length has broke,
> Releas'd from misery, and escap'd from care,
> Go, meet that mercy man deny'd thee here.
>
> (228-231)

More's ultimate advice to the enslaved individual is to accept death as a merciful end to misery. Clearly, More does not expect an African slave to read and accept her counsel; therefore, she is revealing her disapproval of violent resistance, assuring her readership that she does not advocate violence against authority, and ensuring that her work does not incite revolt among the British discontented. More maintains that active resistance is not the answer to oppression, reinforcing the image of the passive African slave identity by condemning active resistance.

Fears of active or violent rebellion affected the poets and their concerns, which, in turn, affected their poetry and their own understanding of Africans and oppression. Specific themes dominate each woman's poetry, indicating that personal considerations and assumptions are a part of the representations of African slaves. Abolitionist and political concerns play an important role in Barbauld's poetry; consequently, the political focus of Barbauld's abolitionist argument reflects a personal interest. More's anti-slavery sentiments are similarly affected by her personal preoccupation with maintaining the present social order. In contrast, Wheatley's discussion of

slavery is not affected by a dominant concern so much as it is limited by her status as a slave. Each poet's personal concerns, interests, or limitations suggests a predisposition toward the African slave trade and highlights possible influences which affect each woman's representation of African slaves. It is a mistake to over emphasize the importance of other works in relation to the individual poems of this study; however, a recurring interest in political issues, social order, or or slavery provides insight into each of the poets and points to possible reasons for the contradictions in their representations of African slaves.

As a Dissenter and a vocal advocate of legislative changes regarding civil rights for Dissenters, Barbauld's recurring interest in political issues provide possible explanations for her contradictory representation of African slaves in Epistle by indicating that her interest in the slave trade involved more than a simple desire to end the trade (McCarthy and Kraft xxv). Horace Walpole criticized Barbauld for letting her Dissenting ideals and concerns influence her poetry, claiming that Epistle was compromised by a "measure of faction" (qted. in Ferguson Subject 164). Discussing abolition or related political bills allowed individuals to address the contentious issue of human and civil rights (Ferguson 164). Barbauld wrote poems such as "To Dr. Priestley, Dec. 29, 1792," establishing her allegiance with vocal Dissenter Joseph Priestly who gained the reputation as the "most polemical of Dissenters" (Butler 14). It would be unfair to accuse Barbauld of simply addressing abolition in order to condemn her country's actions regarding Dissenters for, surely, Barbauld's interest in religious freedom would not preclude an interest in the end of the slave trade and the emancipation of African slaves. At the same time, the focus upon Dissenters' civil rights and freedom accounts for the political nature of Epistle and the emphasis upon her country's behavior rather than African slaves.

Barbauld's poetry focuses upon politics, freedom, and her country's inability to uphold the principles it espouses. In "The Apology of Bishops, in Answer to 'Bonner's Ghost, '" Barbauld argues that the "State, in spite of all our pains, / Has left us in the lurch" (13-14), associating herself with the individuals whom the nation has failed and condemning the 'State's' practices. In a separate poem, "To a Great Nation," Barbauld provides the solution to her country's failures by advising the nation to adhere to its principles: "Obey the laws thyself has made, / And rise - the model of the world!" (34-35). Along with a national model, Barbauld indicates that the individual also plays a role in larger issues such a freedom, because the "philosophic" (25) mind is sympathetic to all humanity: "Casts round the world an equal eye, / And feels for all that lives" ("The Mouse's Petition" 27-28). In Eighteen Hundred and Eleven, A Poem, Barbauld brings together condemnation, warning, and the subject of freedom to counsel her country on the repercussions of its actions and the progress of a rising power -- America:

> Ardent, the Genius fans the noble strife,
> And pours through feeble souls a higher life,
> Shouts to the mingled tribes from sea to sea,
> And swears - Thy world, Columbus, shall be free.
>
> (331-34)

Barbauld's Epistle corresponds to her concern for individual freedom and her country's inability to guarantee its principles of freedom. Political interests influence the tone and content of Barbauld's poetry and thus her discussion of Africans. Contradictions in both the African and the British identities are inevitable because Barbauld attempts to incorporate national interests, concerns for the improvement of the British identity, and individual considerations. In the process, Barbauld demeans the African identity and relegates the slave to a secondary role.

In a similar manner, More's personal concerns for civil order, her anxieties over the British identity, and her desire to preserve the status quo negatively affect her representation of the African. More's writings prove that she was not a radical and was dismayed by revolutionary attempts to alter the government, church, social order, or dispersal of wealth (Todd Dictionary 226). It was acceptable to question the country's morality; however, More carefully upholds the present social, political, and economic status quo. In an attempt to counteract the influx of revolutionary literature devoted to social change, More devotes much of her poetry to defending and maintaining the status quo by recommending obedience and resignation (Kirkpatrick 218-19). More wrote responses against suggestions of anti-religious public schools, warnings against the dangers of Thomas Paine's ideas, and tracts admonishing aspirations in the poor (226). In the Cheap Repository Tracts, a collection of moralistic tales and poetry, More provides careful instructions on religion, morality, politics, education, and social responsibility in an effort to deter social unrest and the possibility of mass uprising. An excerpt from one of the tales from the Tracts, "The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain," illustrates More's goal:

> 'You are exposed to great cold and heat,' said the gentleman: 'True sir,' said the shepherd; 'but then I am not exposed to great temptations; and so throwing one things against another, God is pleased to contrive to make things more equal than we poor, ignorant, short-sighted creatures are apt to think....' (qted. in Kirkpatrick 219)

The moral of the story is all too obvious. While instructing the poor on the benefits of poverty, More creates the ideally passive, nonpolitical commoner who is encouraged not to think (Philp 61). The Slave Trade and More's representation of African slaves reflect similar sentiments regarding Africans, establishing the ideal African as one who remains passive toward British

action and control. Regardless of the oppression or the oppressed, More's concern for social order and for British authority took precedence over individual needs.

In Wheatley's case, her identity as an African slave influenced the public perception of her poetry to the extent that it, at times, took precedence over her poetry. Initially, in 1773, the publishers questioned the authenticity of Wheatley's poetry, believing that writing was beyond the capabilities of an African woman (Gates Introduction 8-9). To counter accusations of fraud, John Wheatley, Phillis Wheatley's master, added an "[a]ttestation, from the most respectable Characters in Boston, that none might have the least Ground for disputing" the authenticity of Phillis Wheatley's collection of poetry, Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral (1773). The men who signed the affidavit for Poems, including the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and seven clergymen, verified a slave-poet's ability to create art:

> we verily believe [the poems were] written by Phillis, a young Negro girl, who was but a few years since, brought an uncultivated Barbarian from Africa, and has ever since been, and now is, under the Disadvantage of serving as a Slave in a Family in this Town. She has been examined by some of the Judges, and is thought qualifies to write them.(qted. in Poems)

The need for an affidavit illustrates the extent to which Wheatley's poetry encountered disbelief and resistance. The ambiguities and contradictions in Wheatley's work and representation of African slaves reflect the social pressures and circumstances of her life.

Wheatley's brief life reveals the incongruities between slavery and publication, accounting for the ambiguities in her poetry. Is the opening line, "Twas Mercy brought me from my pagan Land," ("On Being Brought" 1), a sign of Wheatley's cultural assimilation, evidence that she is a

traitor to her people, or bitterly ironic? Furthermore, how do we come to understand the poems praising the American struggle for independence? Wheatley's poetry dedicated to the American Revolution records the beginning of armed rebellion in 1770 in "On the Death of Mr. Snider Murder'd by Richardson," the Boston Massacre of 1770 in "On the Affray in King Street, on the Evening of the 5th of March," General Washington's efforts in "To His Excellency General Washington,"and the eventual victory over Britain in "Liberty and Peace," which was written in 1784 (Shields Collected 233, 237, 239). The African slave, Wheatley, composed her poetry during a time when many individuals fighting for personal freedom were slave-owners (Willard 236). Contradictions were inevitable. Wheatley's master allowed her to write and publish her poetry; therefore, her representation of African slaves was defined by her external environment, her owners, her readership, and herself. Submission, gratitude, and a subtle desire for change reflect Wheatley's contradictory instincts between her status as an African slave and her creativity.

The external world affects each poet and influences the way she thinks about herself, her society, and, in this case, African slaves. The process of representation is a complicated blending of the author-self, the author's perception of the represented-Other, and social and cultural assumptions that the author both reacts against and affirms. Contrary concerns and contradictions are therefore inevitable and result in the creation of contradictory images of Africans. Barbauld maintains that an African slave is a fellow human being; however, the focus upon national concerns overshadows African interests and establishes Africans as secondary considerations. More's comparable attempts to emphasize African humanity are diminished by her determination to defend the status quo, resulting in the creation of a passive, submissive African identity. Similar contradictions in Wheatley's representation are the result of her attempts to reconcile her

position as a poet with her status as a slave. An examination of each woman's poetry in relation to its historical context illustrates the way in which the literary representation of African slaves is also dependent upon the poet's connections and responses to the world around her.

Chapter Four

Women's Sphere: Eighteenth-Century Social and Gender Perceptions and Representation of the African

In a similar manner, the poets' gender and socially defined roles also affect the nature of their anti-slave trade discussions and thus their representations of African slaves. Social expectations regarding each poet's actions are an important component of the poetry because the woman poet is also responding to eighteenth-century gender and social assumptions regarding a woman abolitionist or an African slave. Eighteenth-century women were understood to be incapable of logical, active lives and consequently they were taught domestic duties and instructed to be quiet and subservient to their fathers and, later, to their husbands (R.Porter 164-65, 23). Conduct books, sermons, and novels expounded upon the need for a woman to be virtuous, meek, obedient, and silent. An eighteenth-century treatise maintains that women's "bodies as well as minds are less strong and energetic than men; but to compensate for their defects, nature has bestowed on them ... an economy which renders them at once the ornament and comfort of home" (Methe-Fenelon 102). The ideal woman was an object with decorative and comforting abilities who remained in the privacy of the home, seeing to the needs of the family. Society

accepted women's participation in charitable activities, but instructed a woman to focus primarily upon the private sphere of husband, family, and home (Baker-Benfield 228-29).

For the most part, women did not violate gender traditions by participating in the abolition movement because the movement's goals and justifications were grounded in morality and thus associated with female characteristics and pursuits (Midgley 20). Moreover, the abolition movement was a politically respectable cause that attracted individuals from all levels of society and united the civil and the religious (Walvin "The Public" 65). Barbauld's and More's abolitionist interests did not violate social codes because society viewed a woman's participation in the abolition movement as a continuation of her role as moral guide and guardian of Christian and family values (Halbersleben 64). In 1787, a letter in the Manchester Mercury directly appealed to women, requesting charitable aid in the male political campaign against the slave trade:

> If any public Interference will at any TIME become the Fair Sex; if Their Names are ever to be mentioned with Honour beyond the Boundaries of their Family,...it can only be, when a public Opportunity is given for the Exertion of those Qualities which are peculiarly expected in, and particularly possessed by the most amiable Part of the Creation - the Qualities of Humanity, Benevolence, and Compassion. (qted. in Midgley 20)

The qualities of humanity, benevolence, and compassion, closely associated with the 'fair sex,' were also the qualities that the abolitionists expounded upon to encourage sympathy for the plight of African slaves. To create sympathy for the slave, abolitionists focused upon an African's familial connections that, along with compassion, fell under the domain of women and provided a

measure of authority for female abolitionist voices. Examining the poets and poetry within their social contexts reveals both the poets' reinforcement of and challenge to social conventions and illustrates the degree to which the poets opposed eighteenth-century social roles (Newton 772). The degree to which the poets affirmed or opposed eighteenth-century expectations affected their poetry and thus their representations of African slaves.

In direct contrast to gender expectations, Barbauld does not address the suffering experienced by an African family. The title, Epistle to William Wilberforce, Esq. on the Rejection of the Bill for Abolishing the Slave Trade, attests to the poem's political character and to Barbauld's political objective. Barbauld's poetry shifts the focus from the private anguish of an African woman to public and national considerations. In "Hymn VIII," Barbauld appears to mix political and familial interests in her discussion of God's family, including a common labourer, a slave, and the monarch: "Negro woman, who sittest pining in captivity, and weepest over thy sick child; though no one seeth thee, God seeth thee." Barbauld's focus upon the woman's distress would have been perceived as an indication of her inherent compassion for her own gender and the proper subject of her abolitionist poetry (Midgley 95). Barbauld, however, asserts her own political interests and moves from the emotional portrayal of the slave woman to a political discussion of the Monarch's conduct: "God is above thee, his powerful arm is always over thee; and if thou doest ill, assuredly he will punish thee" ("Hymn VIII"). Political and religious motivations thus take precedence over family sentiment. The effects of Barbauld's political interests, as previously discussed, separate the individual slave story from the abolition campaign, while maintaining the presentation of an African deserving of human status and freedom.

The abolition campaign's goal focused upon presenting a positive image of an African deserving of freedom that the public could understand and accept as part of humanity and God's

plan (Hurwitz 26-27). Consequently, presentations like Wilberforce's 1807 account emphasized the destruction of African families: "Conceive, if you can, the agony with which, as he is hurried away by his unfeeling captors, he looks back upon the native village which contains his wife and children who are left behind" (A Letter 72). Wilberforce's description disputed arguments like those put forth by Hume's 1753 assertion that anyone "may obtain any thing of the NEGROES by offering them strong drink; and may easily prevail with them to sell, not only their children, but their wives and mistresses, for a cask of brandy" (214). The argument implies that the African people were complicit in their own enslavement, creating an image that provokes condemnation rather than understanding or sympathy.

In keeping with abolitionist goals, More challenges Hume's unsympathetic description of the capture and transportation of native Africans. In The Slave Trade, More, unlike Barbauld, describes the emotional and physical effects of the Atlantic slave trade, and, in the process, she emphasizes native Africans' familial connections as evidence of their humanity:

> See the dire victim torn from social life,
>
> The shrieking babe, the agonizing wife!
>
> She, wretch forlorn! is dragg'd by hostile hands
>
> To distant tyrants sold, in distant lands! (117-20)

Describing the bonds between a mother and child presents the image of an African woman that British society is capable of understanding and, more importantly, accepting. More's focus upon the plight of women, wives, and mothers conforms to abolitionist goals and reaffirms gender and social expectations regarding the nature of her abolitionist argument. Descriptions of the impact of slavery upon male slaves in The Slave Trade are not as emotional or as personal as More's account of the 'agonizing wife.' Critics suggest that women focused upon the plight of female

slaves because it justified their involvement in a public campaign and did not violate social codes (Midgley 95). More's concern for maintaining the status quo reinforces the notion that she, unlike Barbauld, took pains not to threaten social expectations regarding women or African slave.

Such threats appeared to involve a radical, political stance, whereas a moral position which maintained the present social and political order was not associated with revolutionary rhetoric (Todd The Sign 227). With a few exceptions, eighteenth-century society accepted the three women poets, enabling them to publish extensively and disseminate their ideas. Reverend Richard Polwhele, however, took exception to Barbauld's focus upon human rights and likened her to Mary Wollstonecraft: "She [Wollstonecraft] spoke: and veteran BARBAULD caught the strain" (The Unsex'd Female 91). In her Vindications (1790 and 1792), Wollstonecraft condemns the enslavement of men and women, expressing politically radical views. Polwhele condemns Barbauld's political focus, claiming that Barbauld's political tracts, "if not discreditable to her talents and virtues, can by no means add to her reputation" (The Unsex'd Female). In "The Rights of Woman," Barbauld distinguished herself from Wollstonecraft by mocking Wollstonecraft's revolutionary rhetoric; however, Barbauld ends the poem with the assertion that, in love, both man and woman lose their "separate rights" (32), insinuating that the husband does not maintain rights over his wife. Still, for individuals such as Polwhele, Barbauld's aggressive political stance threatened traditional gender roles and spheres of knowledge.

Polwhele's concerns, and Walpole's criticism of Barbauld discussed earlier, indicate that individuals recognized that women's participation in the abolition movement provided opportunities for female commentary on political issues. In 1792, the York Courant went so far as to publish an article that suggested women should play a political role in the abolition campaign:

> It has been said that a *Petition from the Ladies* to Parliament, for an Abolition of the Slave-Trade, would have a good effect. The idea is certainly a proper one - for, as *Female Misery* is included in the wretched Allotment of the Africans, an Appeal in their Behalf from the same Sex must carry great Weight with it. (qted. in Midgley 24)

The article implies that women naturally sympathize with African 'female misery,' legitimizing female involvement in the abolition campaign. Although the article's proposal was never put into effect, it insinuates that a petition signed by women on behalf of women would have a greater impact upon Parliament than the petitions signed by men (Midgley 24). Abolitionist activities such as boycotting sugar or focusing upon the African family unit did not necessarily threaten traditional social roles, but they could provide opportunities for change.

Although More discusses political issues, she, unlike Barbauld, defends the status quo and therefore she is not perceived a threat to traditional roles. For Polwhele, Hannah More and her sisters represent ideal submissive, innocent women: "Soft on each tongue repentant murmurs died; / And sweetly scatter'd (as they glanc'd away) / Their conscious 'blushes spoke a brighter day'" (The Unsex'd Female 204-6). More is not perceived as a Wollstonecraft because she concentrates on moral reform and African freedom while maintaining British superiority and the status quo. Although More was an influential and popular writer, she was not a perceived threat because, for the most part, she addressed the issue of abolition from the domestic sphere, adhering to social expectations.

Wheatley, like More, was never considered a threat to the social order. In fact, until recently, her critics condemned her passive acceptance of slavery (Johnson 206-7). The perception of a threat is an important factor in Wheatley's work because, as a slave, she could not

overtly condemn the practice of slavery without alienating her 'masters' -- the Wheatley family. Wheatley's poetry crosses boundaries and defies her image as an inferior, savage African, but the ambiguities in her poetry allow for a variety of interpretations and provide a measure of protection. In her letters, Wheatley also avoids overt criticism, but her opinions are unmistakable. In a letter to the Reverend Samual Hopkins (1774), Wheatley comments upon missionary activities in Africa and subtly criticizes "Philip," the missionary: "if Philip would introduce himself properly to them [Africans], ... he might be more Successful, and in setting a good example which is more powerfully winning than Instruction" (qted. in Shields Collected 182). Wheatley's contrast between 'good example' and instruction could refer to the contradictions between Christian practice and Christian doctrine or the American glorification of freedom and American enslavement of Africans. Wheatley's subtle criticism and resistance to oppression represents Africans as more than passive victims of British control without overtly threatening social expectations; consequently, Wheatley's representation of African slaves vacillates between affirming and denying eighteenth-century cultural assumptions.

Contrary instincts and considerations influence each poet's desire or need to conform or challenge social expectations that, in turn, affect her representation of Africans. Challenging social or gender conventions alter the tone and content of the poem and complicates the representation of African slaves. In contrast to More's emotional depiction of the African woman, Barbauld devotes fourteen lines of Epistle to the portrayal of a slave owner's wife, suggesting that the wife is responsible for the atrocities of slavery:

> See her, with indolence to fierceness join'd,
>
> Of body delicate, infirm of mind,
>
> With languid tone imperious mandates urge;

With arm recumbent wield the household scourge;

And with unruffled mien, and placid sounds,

Contriving torture, and inflicting wounds. (65-70)

Barbauld avoids the sentimental portrayal of an agonizing female slave and concentrates on a startling image of female abuse of power. Focusing upon the cruelty of a female slave owner and describing the female slave owner in masculine terms -- "monstrous fellowship" (Barbauld Epistle 61) -- confirms the need for philanthropic women to fight against corruption and suggests that it is male participation in the slave trade that encourages the monstrosity to continue (Ferguson Subject 161). Barbauld's description of the female slave owner challenges the reader to question the male authorities and their continued acceptance of the slave trade because, clearly, women had little power over the legalities and organization of the slave trade (161). Similarly, Barbauld's description of the cruel slave owner's wife presents an alternative savage depiction of womanhood that contrasts with the perception of African slaves and challenges the traditional image of the so-called savage African. The contrast between the perceived "savage" African and the slave owner's wife indicates that the criteria by which one is defined "savage" is deceptive. Barbauld challenges traditional assumptions and asks the reader to consider an alternative representation of an African slave and of a European or American "white woman."

More also challenges the traditional assumptions and practices of her society, although her criticism is subtler and, in many ways, rather conventional. In a discussion of the consequences of exploration and discoveries, More condemns the explorers: "All Cortez murder'd, all Columbus found; / O'er plunder'd realms to reign, detested lord, / Make millions wretched, and thyself abhorr'd" (261-63). Whether one is a Caesar or a Columbus, the "means may differ, but the ends the same, / Conquest is pillage with a nobler name" (265, 261, 268-69). In condemning the

enslavement of other peoples, More also condemns a long history of exploration and expansion. More, however, concentrates on the millions who are made 'wretched' due to the explorers' immoral practices which is a conventional argument and adheres to the socially defined woman's sphere -- morality. Nevertheless, More's detailing of the explorers' conquests challenges the definition of savagery and the standards by which one is judged a barbaric being.

Wheatley's references to slavery and the individual African slave experience also challenge the image of a 'savage' African. By referring to her position as a slave and to Africa in a number of her works, Wheatley announces her status as a slave, as an African, and as a poet. Who else is Wheatley? The presentation of her native land in negative images suggests that Wheatley's new 'family' has assimilated her into the "white" culture: "The land of errors, and Egyptian gloom: / Father of mercy, 'twas thy gracious hand / Brought me in safety from those dark abodes" ("To the University" Poems 4-6). In the same manner as "On Being Brought from Africa to America," considering "To the University" in its social context suggests an ironic subtext and indicates that Wheatley composed under physical and creative constraints. If there are any doubts as to Wheatley's feelings regarding slavery and her position in her new culture, the following quotation from "To the Right Honourable William, Earl of Dartmouth" illustrates that Wheatley was not assimilated or deceived into believing that mercy, not oppression, was responsible for her position:

> Should you, my lord while you peruse my song,
> Wonder from whence my love of Freedom sprung,
> Whence flow these wishes for the common good,
> By feeling hearts alone best understood,
> I, young in life, by seeming cruel fate

Was snatch'd from Afric's fancy'd happy seat:

What pangs excruciating must molest,

What sorrows labour in my parent's breast?

Steel'd was that soul by no misery mov'd

That from a father seiz'd his babe belov'd:

Such, such my case. And can I then but pray

Others may never feel tyrannic sway? (20-31)

Ostensibly, the entire poem glorifies the American struggle for independence; however, Wheatley's prayer that others may not experience her fate is an indictment of her oppressors and the slave system (Richmond Bid 29). By arguing that she is 'snatch'd' from her home, Wheatley emphasizes her physical bondage and contradicts the image of a merciful transportation from her pagan country. Clearly, Wheatley is subtly rebelling against her masters, the legalities of slavery, and her position as a slave. In the process, Wheatley represents an African voice against African enslavement.

Each woman represents an active voice against African enslavement; however, social expectations and personal interests influence the manner in which they speak and the nature of their attack. Barbauld and More were influenced by abolition practices and social conventions which assumed women to be emotional, intuitive, and well suited to the role of defenders of morality (Turner 43-45). Wilberforce reinforced the notion that women were the protectors of social morality, arguing that women were "the faithful repositories of the religious principles, for the benefit both of the present and rising generation" (qted. in Hall 86). Women's participation in the abolition campaign further emphasized their roles as their country's moral instructors. By 1787, Wilberforce's connections between moral reform and abolition committed himself and

others to the successful completion of two tasks: "God Almighty has set before me two great objects, the suppression of the Slave Trade and the Reformation of Manners" (qted. in Pollack 69). Barbauld's and More's anti-slave trade poems reflect Wilberforce's goals, focusing upon the ways in which the abolition of the slave trade would assist in reforming their country's manners and Britain's identity.

Abolitionists concentrated upon the country's reformation of manners, depicting African slaves as object examples of the nation's corruption. Clarkson argued that corruption of Britain was worse than the suffering of African slaves: "The misery of the oppressed is, in the first place, not contagious like the crime of the oppressor....The body, though under affliction, may retain its shape; and, if it even perish, what is the loss of it but of worthless dust?" (The History 79). In comparing the sins of the oppressor with the suffering of the oppressed, Clarkson defines individual torments as inferior to the corruption of the oppressor:

> Nor are the two evils of similar duration. By a decree of Providence, for which we cannot be too thankful, we are made mortal. Hence the torments of the oppressor are but temporary; whereas the immortal part of us, when once corrupted, may carry its pollution with it into another world. (79)

Emphasizing the 'crime of the oppressor' defines the individual suffering of each African slave as inferior to the impact of the slave trade upon British society. Barbauld and More display similar concerns, focusing upon the corrupting influence of Britain's participation in the transporting and selling of human beings. By using the African slave experience as evidence of their principal concern, the reformation of their country's actions, Barbauld and More objectify the African and belittle each slave's experiences.

The first two lines of Epistle establish Barbauld's interests and, in the process, dehumanize African slaves. Barbauld begins her poem by advising Wilberforce to halt his noble efforts: "Cease, Wilberforce, to urge thy generous aim! / Thy Country knows the sin, and stands the shame" (1-2). Slavery is a sin that shames Britain and her people. Advising the abolitionists to end their campaign emphasizes Barbauld's preoccupation with the country's moral decline: "But seek no more to break a Nation's fall, / For ye have sav'd yourselves--and that is all" (116-17). Barbauld's advice attacks the individuals who voted against the abolition bill, but it also implies that abolition is an effort to save the country not the native Africans who are sold into slavery. If, according to Barbauld, slavery is merely "a stain" (122), what, then, are the Africans? If the slave trade is, as Wilberforce suggested, "the foulest blot that ever stained [the] National character" (from A Letter 72), the African experience is simply a 'blot' upon Britain's honourable history, and the African human identity is lost in the concern for the British identity.

Barbauld maintains that the country's honour is lost because individuals are willing to accept and participate in the selling of human beings for economic gain. As long as the "seasoned tools of Avarice prevail" (Epistle 25), Wilberforce and the abolitionists will fail in their efforts to halt the "human traffic" (16). In the same manner that Barbauld's concern for her country's honour belittles the slave experience, the emphasis upon greed and the corruption of Britain's principles denigrates the individual African slave experience. In both examples, Africans become object lessons of British greed or the country's 'fall' from ideal principles and past glories. By implying that abolition is the answer to the problem of greed and corruption, Barbauld insinuates that the reformation of Britain's identity is more important than African liberty.

More also expresses concern for the corruption of Britain's principles, but she focuses upon the misrepresentation of the Christian rather than the political process, implying that the

slave's experience is secondary to the corruption of British faith and ideals. In standard abolitionist fashion, More maintains that halting the slave trade is the answer to saving Britain, arguing that abolition has the ability to restore the country: "Redeem OUR fame, and consecrate OUR age" (The Slave Trade 309), "To curb False Freedom and the True Restore" (311), and "Restores the lustre of the Christian name" (326). Once again, each African slave and his or her emancipation becomes an object and the means to restoring British fame and the Christian example. Ironically, More insinuates that African enslavement or freedom is the most powerful cause of Britain's problem and solution, yet she represents Africans as powerless objects whose fate rests entirely within British control. The contradictions are further complicated by the fact that it is never entirely clear if abolition is necessary for the African slaves or for Britain, revealing More's primary concern for the British identity.

Abolitionists and pro-slave trade supporters debated the necessity of continued participation in the Atlantic slave trade, addressing economic concerns and the issue of legal commodities. In a 1788 report to the Privy Council Committee for Trade, a committee of the Jamaica House of Assembly attempted to disassociate themselves from the actual transporting of Africans and discuss the legalities of the slave trade: "The Connection and Intercourse between the Planters of these islands, and the Merchants of Great Britain trading to Africa, extend no further than the mere Purchase of what British Acts of Parliament have declared to be legal objects of Purchase" (qted. in D.Porter 58). Proponents of slavery and the slave trade generally provided economic evidence and legal arguments to counter the abolition campaign's statements (Drescher Capitalism 19). West Indies planters, merchants, slave traders, and creditors advocated slavery using the rationale that slavery had always existed; slaves were legal property; slaves were necessary for the labour and the continued prosperity of the West Indies; the slave trade was

necessary to ensure the availability of said labour; the slave trade supported manufacturing, shipbuilding, and education for sailors; and Britain must participate in the slave trade or rival countries would benefit (D.Porter 54-67). The pro-slave trade campaign maintained that Britain's involvement in the trade, ultimately, benefited the country.

In 1789, the West Indian Planters and Merchants, slave trade supporters, compiled the above arguments and officially transformed them into nineteen resolutions that were published in the morning and evening newspapers (D.Porter 54). Both sides of the slave trade debate publicized their arguments, enabling individuals like Barbauld and More to respond to the differing viewpoints. By responding to the economic debate regarding the slave trade, the poets illustrate their knowledge of the political pro and anti-slave trade reasoning and demonstrate their willingness to step outside of the domestic sphere. Barbauld and, to some extent, More challenge women's roles and social limitations and expand the narrow scope of women's defined domestic concerns. The attempt to reconcile their personal interests with social limitations contributes to the contradictory nature of the poets' representations African slaves. Barbauld and More address the slave traders' justification for selling and enslaving human beings, joining the public and political debate surrounding the economic benefits of the slave trade.

Barbauld rejects the pro-slave trade arguments and claims that the country's involvement in the slave trade is corrupting the nation. The country's focus upon economic concerns indicates that greed is responsible for the nation's participation in the slave trade and the subsequent corruption of its principles: "By foreign wealth are British morals chang'd, / And Afric's sons, and India's, smile aveng'd" (Epistle 104-5). Along with the warning, Barbauld employs the conventional 'feminine' associated moral argument to counter pro-slave trade supporters. Barbauld's assertions are also significant because they are specifically about economics rather

than souls, and they are political. The reference to India brings to mind Britain's problems with the Indian population, the actions of the East India Company, and the impeachment and trial of Warren Hastings[6] (1788-1795), reinforcing Barbauld's political concerns and the nature of her attack on slave trade supporters. Uniting Africa and India also emphasizes Britain's "shame" (2) and increases the number of individuals who 'smile avenged' at Britain's fall.

Further countering slave trade justifications, Barbauld suggests that slave labour is not "cheerful labour" (76) and thus it is more detrimental than beneficial. Barbauld contrasts plantation life with the British rural landscape, illustrating the true costs of slave labour:

> No blooming maids, and frolic swains are seen
> To pay gay homage to their harvest queen:
> No heart-expanding scenes their eyes must prove
> Of thriving industry, and faithful love:
> But shrieks and yells disturb the balmy air (77-81)

In The Wealth of Nations (1776), Adam Smith argued that "the work done by slaves, though it appears to cost only their maintenance, is in the end the dearest of any....Whatever work [the slave] does beyond what is sufficient to purchase his own maintenance can be squeezed out of him by violence only" (qted. in Anstey The Atlantic 117). Barbauld demonstrates similar sentiments, hinting that the economic advantages to slave labour are not beneficial to the country because greed and violence are destroying the principles associated with 'thriving industry' and 'faithful love.'

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[6] In an undated letter to a friend, Barbauld demonstrated her interest and awareness of Hastings' trial: "I expect to be highly gratified in hearing Mr. Hastings' trial, for which we are to have tickets some day." Moira Ferguson. "British Women Writers and an Emerging Abolitionist Discourse" The Eighteenth Century Theory and Interpretation 33.1 (Spring 1992): 7.

In contrast to Barbauld, More's references to British greed and corruption focus upon the buying and selling of souls rather than foreign wealth or industry. More condemns Britain's commercial activities in the slave trade because it is immoral: "Sees MAN the traffic, SOULS the merchandise" (The Slave Trade 174). Falling back upon the moral argument to counter economic considerations, More moves away from the economic and the political and concentrates on the corruption of Christian principles. An African individual who is sold into slavery has a soul that Britain has turned into a commodity, violating God's laws and rational thought: "Insulted Reason loathes the inverted trade" (171). More applies moral ethics, Christian principles, and 'reason' to denounce the slave trade, maintaining that each African is a fellow human being rather than a commodity.

To strengthen her argument, More also addresses the slave traders. In a manner similar to Barbauld's attempt to shame the politicians, More illustrates the similarities between the native Africans and the British in an effort to appeal to the slave traders: "Respect the passions you yourself possess, / Ev'n you of ruffian heart, and ruthless hand, / Love your own offspring, love your native land" (The Slave Trade 130-32). Unfortunately, More's appeal insinuates that one need not be 'civilized' or moral to feel attached to one's children or country. An African, like a slave trader, experiences human emotions, but this is not an indication of a 'nicer' individual, only a human one.

In attacking the slave traders and the politicians, Barbauld and More imply that their opinions and efforts are appropriate and beneficial to the abolition campaign. In contrast, critics suggest that eighteenth-century women, including Barbauld and More, projected their own enslavement concerns and subordinate status onto their representations of African slaves, reinforcing a negative image of the African identity (Ferguson Subject 3, Coleman 341). The two

women's poetry, however, suggests that their concerns derived from political and religious considerations rather than from gender anxieties or inferiority concerns. The tone and content of each woman's poem display confidence in thought and action.

Through the entire poem, Barbauld uses an authoritative, confident voice that never becomes submissive or sentimental. In the first word of Epistle, Barbauld addresses Wilberforce and the nation very firmly, giving the impression that we are to take her work as seriously as any man's: "Cease" (1). Moreover, Barbauld does not appear at all anxious or concerned about alienating the male politicians who are responsible for refusing to legislate against the slave trade. In Epistle to William Wilberforce, Barbauld defines the ideal model: "In vain, to thy white standard gathering round / Wit, Worth, and Parts and Eloquence are found" (19-20). The term 'white standard' evokes images of the crusading spirit who fights against evils of which the slave trade is one. Wilberforce symbolizes the proper political leader who places Christian behavior above national or personal greed. Barbauld is unafraid to condemn the country's politicians or counsel them on their proper Christian roles as leaders of the country. Certainly, as an eighteenth-century woman, Barbauld was limited in her power and constrained by social codes, but Barbauld projects authority into her poem and indicates that she is entitled to discuss her country's political affairs.

In contrast, More subtly voices her feelings, indirectly presenting her views on the political debate regarding abolition. Barbauld speaks directly to Wilberforce, an abolitionist and a politician, whereas More concentrates on the moral cause and directs her poem to the abolitionists who are the "sons of mercy" (The Slave Trade 1). Regardless of the subtlety, More's voice is neither passive nor presented from an inferior position. More accepts responsibility for her country's actions: "Whene'er to Afric's shores I turn my eyes, / Horrors of deepest, deadliest

guilt arise" (113-14). The connection between Africa and guilt suggests that the entire British population bears the responsibility for British participation in the slave trade. More's comments insinuate that she also bears some responsibility for Britain's behavior and therefore holds some measure of power over the authorities and events. As a woman, More is legally and socially restricted; however, it would be unfair to suggest that More projects her own feelings of enslavement onto African slavery when, in fact, More does not demonstrate feelings of inferiority or subjugation.

The tone of each poem also has an impact upon the representation of African slaves. The poet's choice of language creates a mood or suggests a dominant sentiment regarding the literary representation. Barbauld's poem is a direct attack upon the political authorities that moves beyond criticism into pessimism. In contrast, More creates a benevolent, even paternal, voice that suggests a hopeful resolution to the slave trade problem, if individuals adhere to her advice. In Wheatley's poem, however, the dominant sentiment is difficult to identify. The choice between submission and confidence has confounded critics since "On Being Brought from Africa to America" and her other poems were written (Johnson 209). In each case, the tone has a significant effect upon the presentation of the slave and the representation of African slaves, promoting sympathy, fear, discouragement, or change.

Clearly, Barbauld sets out to promote change, specifically a change in the political world and sentiments regarding the slave trade. In attempting to shame the politicians into voting for abolition, Barbauld creates a pessimistic tone that affects more than her attack on Wilberforce's opponents. Throughout the poem, the reader is bombarded with images of futility, plague, and cynicism until the only emotion left is discouragement. Between lines 94 and 101, the words "undistinguished" (Epistle 94), "O'erwhelms" (95) , "Corruption" (96), "shameless" (97),

"leprosy" (98), "taints" (98), "Infects" (99), "sickens" (99), "Weeping" (101), and "violated" (101) suggest that it is already too late to heal the country or save Britain's honour. Barbauld's cynical tone condemns the politicians, but it also confines the slave, the beneficiary of abolition, to a secondary role.

Healing the country is also More's primary concern, although, unlike Barbauld, More establishes an altruistic, benevolent tone to promote abolition. To avoid misrepresenting her concerns or confusing the worthiness of her efforts, More candidly informs her readership that her goals are pure: "The cause I plead shall sanctify my song" (66). In this one line that sets the tone for the entire work, More insinuates that her work is blessed because it serves a greater purpose. Claiming that her work is sanctified also insinuates that More is blessed with greater knowledge and understanding, and it is this wisdom that she is presenting in her work. In contrast to Barbauld's combatant tone, More claims to 'plead' her cause, creating the image of meekness in keeping with the sanctity of the work and her gender.

In comparison, Wheatley's tone is difficult to assess because her poetry is truly ambiguous. It is uncertain whether Wheatley is presenting a humble, submissive self and therefore creating a humble, submissive African identity, or if the poem is a subtle indictment of her forced transportation and enslavement in America. In order to appreciate Wheatley's ambiguous tone, "On Being Brought from Africa to America" is quoted here in its entirety:

> Twas mercy brought me from my pagan land,
> Taught my benighted soul to understand
> That there's a God, that there's a Saviour too:
> Once I redemption neither sought nor knew.
> Some view that sable race with scornful eye:

'Their colour is a diabolic dye.'

Remember, Christians, Negroes black as Cain

May be refined and join the angelic strain.(1-8)

The movement from submissive gratitude in lines one and two to the strong assertion in lines seven and eight suggests that Wheatley is indirectly denouncing her oppressors. The tone starts softly, submissively, but it builds and ends with a bold idea and strong emotion, indicating that Wheatley's tone cannot be dismissed as simply submissive. Critics who condemn Wheatley's passive acceptance of her enslavement fail to recognize the confidence required to assert that the slave's identity may one day change, suggesting that Wheatley uses a "mask of harmlessness" in her work to enable her to voice her feelings on slavery and freedom (Shields "Phillis" 647). Wheatley establishes an active, somewhat rebellious African voice against slavery, but it is concealed and therefore softened by her 'mask' and the implication that the slave requires refinement.

Barbauld and More openly challenge the British participation in the slave trade and slavery in an assertive manner that Wheatley, as a slave, could not adopt. As abolitionists, Barbauld and More were a part of an enormous and respectable movement which united religious and political interests and provided an opportunity for women to participate in a public debate. Due to women's confinement to the private sphere, individuals believed that women were naturally inclined toward religion as they were not corrupted by public affairs (Hall 86). Consequently, religious concerns were accepted and, even, expected in women's reform efforts, providing a measure of authority for women and the justification to speak out on behalf of the slave.

Nevertheless, in direct opposition to the authority granted women, Barbauld contradicts her society's gender expectations and concentrates on political interests. Ironically, Wilberforce's

objections to granting Dissenters civil rights may have contributed to the nature and tone of Barbauld's political attack, providing personal motivation for her criticism against the rejection of a bill (Ferguson "British Women" 17). Moreover, the few references to heaven in Epistle reinforce the threat of retribution rather than providing an altruistic motivation for abolition (The Epistle 43, 111). In 1789, Barbauld stated that "the purest love of history and justice" motivated individuals to join the abolition campaign, and that the "voice of the Negroes could not have made itself heard but for the ear of pity; they might have been oppressed for ages more with impunity, if we [Britain] had so pleased" (qted. in Ferguson "British Women" 3). One is never quite sure where Africans fit into Barbauld's abolition goals, but the concern for history and justice suggest that African enslavement is secondary to Britain's interests.

More's emphasis upon the impact of the slave trade on Christianity results in a similar diminishing of the interests of African slaves. As an Evangelical, More concentrated on the moral reform of society and the salvation of all souls regardless of their origins; consequently, she condemned slavery because it prevented reform and salvation (Anstey "Religion" 40). More illustrates the bonds between Africa and Britain, arguing that they share the same blood and a common creator. The connection to God enables More to counter the image of the unworthy African pagan: "He [Jesus Christ] died for those who never heard his name" (The Slave Trade 245). Granted, More inflicts her Western Christianity upon Africans; however, at the same time, she suggests that the African religious state is not a justification for enslavement. The end of the poem emphasizes More's principal concern for religious matters:

> Look down with mercy in thy chosen time,
> With equal eye on Afric's suff'ring clime:
> Disperse her shades of intellectual night,

Repeat thy high behest -- Let there be Light

Bring each benighted soul, great God, to Thee,

And with thy wide salvation make them free!

(354-59)

Unfortunately, More contradicts her earlier, moderately positive representation of Africans by implying that Africa is under 'intellectual night' and 'benighted,' thereby insinuating that Africans are intellectually and religiously inferior to the West. The Evangelical goals promoted the end of slavery and salvation, but they did not promote equality.

Wheatley's poem, "On Being Brought from Africa to America," also addresses salvation and the possibility of a reward in heaven without referring to earthly equality. The Wheatley family was Puritan, and Phillis Wheatley became a devout Christian and a baptized member of the Old South Meeting House (Richmond Phillis 33, 53). Wheatley's assertion that Africans may "join the angelic strain" ("On Being Brought" 8) suggests that Wheatley is looking to heaven rather than change in the physical world. Death becomes a celebration because there is a new order in the next world that enables Africans to move above that status of slave and become apart of next life (Shields The Collected 231, 247). Wheatley's belief in an improved afterlife indicates her religious beliefs, but it also emphasizes her resistance to her enslavement and justifies her right to resist her masters, announcing the potential for a new order in which African slaves will be raised up to the 'angelic.'

During the eighteenth century, the ideal model of Western humanity remained the civilized, refined, Christian (or Deist), whereas the 'pagan' symbolized the 'dark' and uncivilized. Surprisingly, More does not blame African slaves for not being Christians, but, she publicly censures British Christian society for accepting and participating in the slave trade. Britain should

be presenting the ideal model of Christian behavior for the rest of the world to freely adopt. More reflects Clarkson's assertions that a freed Africa would "be in a better state to comprehend and receive the sublime truths of the Christian religion" (The History 80). Strangely, it is only Wheatley who appears to disparage the pagan Africans.

More neglects the possibility of the 'pagan' Africans, focusing upon the British who are ignoring Christian ideals and their responsibility to provide a moral example for the rest of the world. The British are teaching Africans to fear Christianity because the slave traders are misrepresenting Christian practices: "Savage! thy venial error I deplore, / They are not Christians who infest thy shore" (The Slave Trade 226-27). Consequently, Africans are conditioned to fear individuals who espouse Christian doctrines: "For he had learn'd to dread the Christian's trust; / To him what mercy can that GOD display, / Whose servants murder, and whose sons betray?" (223-25). More is concerned with both African and British Christian faith; however, her appeal to the Africans indicates that she does not condemn an African slave's fear of Christianity because she blames the so-called Christian slave traders and owners for causing the Africans to distrust Christianity. While African slaves are not blamed for being pagans, the ideal remains the true Christian.

In contrast, Wheatley presents an alternative assessment of African paganism that is more disturbing than More's judgments. As the African, the Other, Wheatley complicates the representation of African slaves by crediting the slave traders for bringing her to Christian America: "Twas mercy brought me from my pagan land" (1). Ironically, it is Wheatley, not Barbauld or More, who declares that her life is better in America than it would have been had she been allowed to remain in her 'pagan land.' Apparently, 'mercy' is also responsible for teaching Wheatley's "benighted soul to understand / That there's a God, that there's a Saviour too" (2-3).

If Wheatley the African slave, the Other, is considered along with her poetry, the poem complicates representation and the voice of the Other because Wheatley portrays both submission and rebellion. Individuals who represent are subject to contrary instincts and thus the representations and the subsequent literary identities are also subject to contradictions.

The contradictions found within the representation of African slaves and the African identity are further complicated by religious arguments against slavery. The three poets argue or imply that in God's eyes, at least, human beings are equal and will, eventually, be forced to live according to His laws. Religious concerns dominate More and Wheatley's poems, whereas Barbauld devotes only one line to the possibility that justice will prevail, even if it is only in heaven. In 1789, Wilberforce emphasized the connection between abolition and God's laws in a speech promoting abolition before the Members of Parliament: "when we think of eternity, and the future consequences of all human conduct, what is there in this life which should make any man contradict the principles of his own conscience, the principles of justice, the laws of religion, and of God?" (qted. in Pollack 90). Implying that individuals who do not support abolition risk eternal damnation creates a powerful argument for abolition.

Barbauld utilizes a similar argument, claiming that her country's participation in the slave trade and its unwillingness to abolish slavery violates God's laws. The country's actions are not going unnoticed: "not unmarked in Heaven's impartial plan" (Epistle 43). Heaven's plan is impartial, suggesting that colour is irrelevant and judgments are made according to deeds. Much of this argument is based upon the fact that Barbauld is writing about the Abolition Bill and consequently her language is intended to sway political opinion and publicize standard abolitionist views. The line implies that God's plans are impartial whereas, in contrast, the country has lost its unbiased and tolerant principles. The reference to 'impartial' also indicates that the Africans are

not being treated fairly on earth which is an indictment of the British slave traders and owners for ignoring their responsibilities towards their fellow human beings.

Using similar language, More also asserts that each African is a part of God's creations and humanity, but her arguments are more forceful and overt than Barbauld's discussion of African and British fellowship. More maintains that the Africans and the British have the same origins: "And Thou! great source of Nature and of Grace, / Who of one blood didst form the human race" (The Slave Trade 352-53). The belief that the Africans and the British were created from the same blood not only implies that Africans are humans and not savage beasts, it also insinuates that there are fewer differences between the Africans and the British than scientists, philosophers, and pro-slavery individuals claim. More also states that each African has a soul, a "Pagan soul" (94), but a soul nevertheless and therefore each African is a part of the 'human race' and deserving of human status and freedom. Contradictions are inevitable because More is burdened with maintaining the political status quo while challenging the political position on the slave trade, maintaining British superiority while challenging the traditional definitions of the Other, and maintaining the traditional social order while challenging the enslaved status of the African people. With the argument that the Africans and the British share the same blood, More represents a sympathetic human African identity that is, to some extent, negated by her anxiety to ensure British superiority on all levels, including souls.

Wheatley, unlike Barbauld and More, is not concerned with the African's identity as much as the possibility that African slaves may "join the angelic strain" ("On Being Brought" 8). It appears that only in heaven is there the prospect of justice for the Other because, on earth, "Some view that sable race with scornful eye" (5). In a very subtle indictment of slavery, Wheatley also rebukes the individuals who scorn Africans and fail to recognize that the Other is not savage but

may, in fact, become a part of the angelic strain. The poem implies that there will be an ultimate reward and Africans will become something greater, something angelic. Until then, Wheatley implies that African slaves will remain victims of scorn.

To different extents, each woman's representation of African slaves as individuals to be pitied or scorned challenged eighteenth-century society's understanding of gender and the abilities of African slaves. Barbauld, More, and Wheatley confronted eighteenth-century assumptions and, to some degree, overcame the limitations placed upon them as women or, for Wheatley, as an African slave. Political debates, personal interests, external pressures, and social conventions affected the nature and content of the poets' representations of African slaves, impelling them to question and, at times, affirm eighteenth-century perceptions of the African 'race.' The representation of African slaves was complicated by the pressures and constraints placed upon Barbauld, More, and Wheatley, resulting in contraditions in their understanding and literary representation of African slaves.

Chapter Five
Conclusion

The three eighteenth century poets' works illustrate the positive and the negative aspects of literary representations and demonstrate the forces or contrary instincts which act upon the creation of identity, specifically an African slave identity. Barbauld, More, and Wheatley attempted to reconcile traditional religious assumptions, moral and political concerns, and cultural and gender barriers with their own personal concerns and motivations and thus contradictions were inevitable. At the same time, the very act of speaking out against slavery and creating a different perception of an African native and slave aided in creating an anti-slavery climate that eventually convinced the politicians to abolish the slave trade and slavery (Anstey The Atlantic ad passim, P.Richardson 82, Midgley 70).

Barbauld, More, and Wheatley contributed to the image of the passive, submissive African. The three poets' representations insinuated that African slaves were inferior to the British people, reinforcing the notion that British reform was more important than African freedom. An African remained an uncivilized individual who represented a potential threat to the peace and harmony of society. At the same time, the three women also created a positive African

identity that concentrated on African humanity. Wheatley, in her poetry and her voice, provided the image of an assertive African with intellectual and creative capabilities. In contradiction to their own objectification of African slaves, Barbauld and More emphasized the African human identity. The three women poets' works demonstrate that literary representations cannot be separated from their historical or cultural contexts. An unsigned 1789 article in the Critical Review suggested that women were not influenced by politicall motivations:

> By the ladies this subject [slave trade] has been contemplated through the pure medium of virtuous pity, unmixed with those political, commercial and selfish considerations which operated in steeling the hearts of some men against the pleadings of humanity: to find them, therefore, writing on it, by no means excited wonder. (qted. in Ferguson Subject 163)

However, an examination of the poetry indicates that Barbauld, More, and Wheatley were affected by political interests as well as personal considerations. The external environment affected each poet's perception of Africans and her representation of African slaves.

Several questions arise out of the above analysis of representation and the creation of a literary identity, beginning with the original questions. How are we to reconcile the positive and negative results of literary representation? Can we? We do not have a choice because

> it becomes apparent that literature as one of the most persuasive uses of language may have an important influence on the ways in which people grasp themselves and their relation to the real relations in which they live. (Belsey 598)

The eighteenth-century abolition movement's deliberate use of literature to promote anti-slavery sentiments indicates that we recognize that literature influences the ways in which individuals understand themselves and the Other. In this way, a literary representation creates a fixed identity with determined characteristics and thus affects our perceptions of individuals, cultures, and the Other. Consequently, it is necessary to understand the process of representation because it is the key to understanding the ways in which identities are created. An examination of Barbauld's, More's, and Wheatley's works demonstrates the ways in which representations are a complex amalgamation of the author, the author's perception of the self and the represented, external influences, and contrary instincts, indicating that contradictions are inevitable.

If contradictions are inevitable, it is necessary to question the fairness of representing another individual or group in literature. British abolition history demonstrates that popular support for the enslaved African people aided in the eventual abolition of the slave trade and slavery. Historians detail the ways in which the massive mobilization of individuals against the slave trade created an anti-slavery climate that influenced political change. Therefore, silence implies acquiescence, allowing the oppression of one group or country to continue. Speaking out against oppression and representing the needs of the oppressed promotes resistance and, eventually, change.

However, who may speak? In speaking out, the speaker speaks for the individual who is being represented in the literature. Barbauld and More employed their poetry to represent the interests of African slaves. In doing so, Barbauld's and More's representations also reflect their concerns and anxieties about the self as well as the Other, resulting in inconsistencies in both the British and the African identities and emphasizing the ambiguity of identity in general. To understand the representation and the created identity, then, it is also necessary to consider who

or what is representing (C.Walker 569). Deciding upon who may or who may not represent an individual in literature is also problematic because it leads to the predicament of determining who maintains the right to make the decisions. As the Other, Wheatley appears to speak for the slave; however, her language and subjects are constrained by her enslavement and her experiences are unique, indicating that her voice is not the voice of all slaves. One representative voice speaking out for a group of individuals does not allow for differences.

How do we represent a group in literature and allow for differences? Speaking for a group of individuals results in a collective identity which is created out of the author's understanding of common characteristics as well as internal and external influences. Barbauld's and More's discussion of African slavery illustrates the way in which the personal and the unique are lost to a collective representation. Abolitionists portrayed a common African identity without considering distinct geographical regions, cultures, tribal affiliations, or religious beliefs; similarly Barbauld and More portrayed a common British identity that effaced class and geographical and religious differences. Individual differences were also lost to the collective identity, resulting in the depersonalization of the representation of Africans.

Clearly, the author, as 'representer,' must examine personal and external motivations for representing another individual or group in literature. The responsibility begins with the author who determines the nature and content of the representation. Although Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak is primarily concerned with the feminist tradition, she presents relevant questions that have an impact upon all literary representations: "there has to be a simultaneous other focus: not merely who am I? but who is the other woman [the represented]? How am I naming her? How does she name me?" ("French" 39). Without a relationship between the speaker and the represented, the most compassionate motivations will go awry (39).

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