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Pope and Slavery

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> I am certainly desirous to run from my Country, if you'll run from yours, and study Popery and Slavery abroad a while, to reconcile ourselves to the Church & State we may find at home on our return. (Pope to the Earl of Marchmont, 22 June 1740; *Correspondence*, IV. 250)

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IN 1790 THE POET Alexander Radishchev, called 'The First Russian Radical', printed his *Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow*, criticising the condition of the serfs under Catherine the Great, and dedicating it without permission to his friend, the poet A. M. Kutuzov. Kutuzov, alarmed with reason at this dedication, recounts how on an earlier occasion he had remonstrated with Radishchev, quoting to him in English Pope's translation of Homer's *Iliad*, Bk. I, the lines of Calchas to Achilles on the perils of telling unwelcome truths to kings:

> For I must speak what Wisdom would conceal,
> And Truths invidious [to] the Great reveal.
> Bold is the task! when Subjects grown too wise
> Instruct a Monarch where his Error lies;
> For tho' we deem the short-liv'd fury past
> Be sure, the Mighty will revenge at last.
>
> (I. 101–6)[1]

[1]In my reference to Radishchev I am indebted to Professor Monica Partridge and to Professor A. G. Cross. The lines quoted from Pope's *Iliad* translation by A. M. Kutuzov are I. 101–6; T. E. VIII. 92. The allusion is briefly discussed in David Marshal Lang, *The First Russian Radical 1749–1802* (London, 1959), pp. 198–201. What appears to have happened is that Kutuzov originally quoted the passage from Pope's Homer to Radishchev in response to the latter's dedication to him of *The Life of Fedor Ushakov*, itself a politically controversial work. Radishchev followed this up by the further dedication to Kutuzov of his *Journey from*

Interesting as a Russian response to Pope's work, Kutuzov's invocation of these lines brings home to us the relevance of Homer's lines, as handled by Pope, to the real dangers of offending an eighteenth-century prince, not to say a benevolent despot of the Enlightenment (Radishchev was sent to Siberia) but there is something yet further interesting in Kutuzov's account. Pope's version of *Iliad* I uses the word 'slave' and makes slavery, in various senses of the term, a theme in this part of his translation. Yet the Greek hardly seems to demand the modern word 'slave'. Homer's word δμως for a slave taken in war (cf. *Odyssey* I. 398) or for a slave generally (cf. *Odyssey*, VI. 69–71) would have been appropriate at several points in the Book but is not in fact used. The word δουλον is known not to have been used in Homer (though see *Odyssey*, XVII, 320–23). Kutuzov's warning quotation was drawn from a text which addressed some of Radishchev's concerns in a way which Homer's *Iliad*, Bk. I, did not.

In the great project of his Homer translation Pope not only had the best advice to turn the original Greek, but was a scholar of the seventeenth-century English translators. Thomas Warton, whom this lecture commemorates, tells us that he had in his possession Pope's copy of Chapman's Homer (the *Iliad*) with his underlinings and comments.[2] As Pope knew, none of the full-length seventeenth-century translators of Homer had resorted to the words 'slave' or 'slavery' in *Iliad* I, but the immediate cause of his different practice is undoubtedly to be found in the version of *Iliad* I which Dryden included in his *Fables* in 1700. In setting forth the fatal quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon, Dryden was more lavish in his use of the word 'slave' than Pope. Thus the 'Captive-Maid' Chryseis is referred to as 'the fair Slave' by Calchas to Agamemnon (I. 44, 146) and as a 'Slave' twice by the King in his

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St. Petersburg to Moscow (1790). In his letter to E. I. Golischeva-Kutuzova, 6/17 December 1790, Kutuzov recounts how he has quoted the passage from Pope's Homer in warning response to Radishchev's earlier book, and denies that he has seen the *Journey*. He says that the same fate as that of Radischev awaits him, should he return to Russia (Barskov, *Perepiska*, pp. 65–6). Lang notes that Radishchev was a member of the 'English Club at St. Petersburg' (p. 85) and so would, in all probability, have appreciated the application of the Homeric passage and its literary context as Pope presented them. It may just be worth noting that Kutuzov was a prominent Freemason, and that Pope had some connection with Masonry, as Maynard Mack records in *Alexander Pope: A Life* (London, 1985), pp. 437–440, though it seems unlikely that Kutuzov would have known such a detail.

[2]Thomas Warton, *The History of English Poetry, From the Close of the Eleventh to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century . . . A New Edition Carefully Revised . . .*, 4 vols. (London, 1824), IV. 271–2. 'A diligent observer will easily discern,' Warton noted, 'that Pope was no careless reader of his rude predecessor.'

reply (I. 165, 180). Angrily disputing Agamemnon's decision to seize his own prize, Briseis, Achilles accuses the King of treating his 'Friends' 'like abject Slaves' (I. 228) while the narrator himself, in Dryden, suggests that Agamemnon regards his supporters as 'sceptered Slaves' (I. 258). After Nestor's attempted reconciliation Achilles returns to the verbal attack. 'Command thy Slaves', he rages, 'My freeborn Soul disdains/A Tyrant's Curb' (I. 415–6). Later Achilles, recounting to his goddess-mother Thetis what has happened, calls Chryseis 'the sacred Slave' (I. 534).[3] Dryden has thus rung several changes on the word. From the quasi-literal sense as applying to women taken captive as spoils of war, he moves into metaphor with the accusations of Achilles, attaining the further reaches of the metaphorical with 'sceptered Slaves', to come to rest on the more contemplative usage: 'sacred Slave.'

There is method here but it is not Pope's. While Dryden distributes the word widely Pope concentrates it in the mouth of Achilles, leaving a single literal reference for Nestor, who calls Chryseis 'beauteous Slave' (I. 362), while before and after this speech a metaphorical use conveys the pitch of Achilles' anger:

> Tyrant, I well deserve thy galling Chain,
> To live thy Slave, and still to serve in vain
>
> (I. 388–89)[4]

If Pope ever considered following in detail Dryden's use of the word 'slave' in *Iliad* I, his Homer MS in the British Library shows no trace of it. His revisions do show him strengthening the bond of opposites between slavery and tyranny, heightening Achilles' accusations against Agamemnon, and (for example) rejecting the word 'servile' for 'slavish' at line 306.[5] Dryden creates an irony in which a quarrel about slaves leads to one accusing the other of treating him like a slave. Pope mounts a stronger attack on Agamemnon as a tyrant, in Achilles' view. Each, though in different measure, makes the reader think about the relation between literal and metaphorical senses of the word 'slave'.

If we look at other recent translations of *Iliad* I only, we find the sometime Jacobite Arthur Mainwaring using the word 'slave' once as

[3]*The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. James Kinsley, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1958), IV. 1585, 1587, 1588, 1589, 1590, 1594, 1597.
[4]T. E. VII. 106.
[5]BL Add. MSS 4807, ff. 20^{r} and ^{v}, 21^{r}, 23^{r} and 24^{r}.

he reworks Dryden's 'sceptred Slaves' to help him point the accusation of Achilles against Agamemnon: 'Vile are the slaves who thy dull Presence throng'[6], while Pope's early rival in translating Homer, Thomas Tickell, in 1715, uses the word three times: once in Achilles' accusation against Agamemnon, once in Agamemnon's counter-accusation against Achilles, and once in allusion to Briseis in Achilles' explanation to Thetis.[7] Tickell seems to have been at the opposite end of the political spectrum from Dryden, but, after Dryden's precedent, translators of different political view evidently found the word 'slave' irresistible for this part of the *Iliad*. There is hardly enough evidence on which to hazard a political generalisation, but it may seem that those towards the Tory/Jacobite end of the spectrum (Dryden, Pope, perhaps Mainwaring) are more hostile to Agamemnon as king and leader of a warlike league, levelling against him the charge of treating his supporters like slaves. They are all closer to the viewpoint of Achilles. Only the Whig Tickell has Agamemnon return the charge upon Achilles.

If Dryden's version of *Iliad* I provides a short-term explanation of why the word and idea of slavery were conspicuous in Pope's version of the early *Iliad*, this merely pushes the problem back for fifteen years. A fuller explanation must take a more extensive view. The words 'slave' and 'slavery' had long been part of the English political lexicon. Thus Sir Richard Hutton in the Ship Money case of King Charles I had averred: 'The people of England are subjects, not slaves; freemen not villeins; and are not to be taxed de alto et basso and at will. . . .'[8] The same term was used on the other side of this dispute. In 1648, when the parliamentary cause might seem to have triumphed, the Leveller William Walwyn summed up all the civil wars as 'a pulling down of one Tyrant, to set up another, and instead of

[6]Arthur Mainwaring, 'Part of Homer's *Iliad*, Book I', in Tonson's *Miscellanies*, V (London, 1704), p. 472.

[7]Thomas Tickell, *The First Book of Homer's Iliad* (London, 1715): 1. 'A Tyrant Lord o'er Slaves to Earth debas'd;' (p. 16); 2. 'And hopes for Slaves, I trust, he ne'er shall find.' (p. 20); 3. 'And bore *Briseis* thence, my beauteous Slave,' (p. 26). Pope thoroughly annotated his copy of Tickell's book, and finds some objection to the first two lines quoted, as he does to a large number of lines. Maynard Mack tentatively suggests that 'Tyrant Lord' was found insufficiently strong to render Homer's Greek: 'δημοβόρος βασιλεύς' and that Pope considered 'Slaves' in the second example 'obsolete or affected' (Maynard Mack, *Collected in Himself*, pp. 452, 450).

[8]Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, II, part ii, Appendix p. 176, quoted in Conrad Russell, *Unrevolutionary England, 1603–1642* (London, 1990), p. 142.

Liberty, heaping upon ourselves a greater Slavery then that we fought against'.[9]

King Charles I in his *Eikon Basilike* was made to complain how it was 'the badge and method of Slavery by savage Rudeness and importunate obtrusions of Violence to have the mist of his [own alleged] Error and Passion dispelled': words which supplied Samuel Johnson with his only illustration of the word 'slavery' in the first edition of his *Dictionary*.[10] Dryden in his *Absalom and Achitophel* wrote how:

> ... *Israel*'s Monarch, after Heaven's own heart,
> His vigorous warmth did, variously, impart
> To wives and slaves....
>
> (ll. 7–9)

following up this literal reference by a satirical and metaphorical one to rebellious subjects of the King who

> ... led their wild desires to Woods and Caves
> And thought that all but Savages were Slaves.
>
> (ll. 55–6)[11]

a procedure with the word similar to that which he would employ in his version of *Iliad*, I.

Two other instances of the political use of the slavery metaphor have a special salience in later seventeenth-century England. The first is surprisingly little known:

> I was born free, & desire to continue so, and tho I have adventured my life very frankly on severall occasions for the good & honor of my Country, & am as free to do it again (and wch I hope I shall do as old as I am, to redeem it from [the] slavery it is like to fall under) yet I think it not convenient to expose my self to be secured as not to be at liberty to effect it....

These words are those of King James II in the declaration he drew up before withdrawing to France in 1688, and subsequently published.[12] The second is well known:

[9]Howard Erskine-Hill and Graham Storey, eds. *Revolutionary Prose of the English Civil War* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 94.

[10]King Charles I and John Gauden, *Eikon Basilike. The Portraicture of His Sacred Majestie in His Solitudes and Sufferings* (London, 1648 [OS], 1727 Edition), p. 28; see too Philip Malone Griffith, 'Samuel Johnson and King Charles the Martyr', *The Age of Johnson*, II. 259.

[11]*The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. James Kinsley, I. 218.

[12]BL Add. MSS 28252, f. 55. This hitherto unnoticed MS of James II's Declaration is discussed in Howard Erskine-Hill, 'John, First Lord Caryll of Durford, and the Caryll Papers', in Eveline Cruickshanks and Edward Corp, eds. *The Stuart Court in Exile and the Jacobites* (London, 1995), pp. 78–81.

> Slavery is so vile and miserable an Estate of Man, and so directly opposite to the generous Temper and Courage of our Nation; that 'tis hardly to be conceived, that an *Englishman*, much less a *Gentleman*, should plead for't.[13]

These are the opening words of Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* (published 1689 but composed earlier, probably in support of the Shaftesbury faction in the Exclusion Crisis of 1679–81). More, perhaps, than in the debates of the mid-seventeenth-century civil wars, the word 'slavery' was invoked by both sides in the 1688 Revolution and after; indeed in the 1690s it is part of that network of public argument which opens out into allegations of tyranny, accusations and invocations of military conquest, a renewed contention about patriarchal and contractual theories of the origin of government and, amidst it all, the image of rape, a sexual as well as a military term, deployed in pamphlet and poem. It is this kind of polemic that Dryden would draw on, from his own Jacobite viewpoint, when in his version of *Iliad* I he wrote:

> Command thy Slaves: My freeborn Soul disdains
> A Tyrant's Curb; and restiff breaks the Reins.
> Take this along; that no Dispute shall rise
> (Though mine the Woman) for my ravish'd Prize:
>
> (ll. 415–8)

and thus used the Homeric quarrel to illuminate the political rights and wrongs of Williamite England.

2

If my road from Radishchev to Renaissance slavery should seem unduly prolonged, the reason is in my evidence itself: namely the ease and frequency with which the word 'slave' was used metaphorically in political polemic, without direct mention of slavery. In 1576 Jean Bodin, well aware of new slavery in the Americas, surveyed the great and grievous subject in the history of the world, and concluded that 'although servitude in these latter times was left off, for about three or foure hundred yeares, yet is it now againe approved . . .'[14]

[13]John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Peter Laslett (Cambridge, 1960; rev. 1963; Signet Classics, 1965), p. 175, also 75–9.

[14]Jean Bodin, *Six Livres de la République* (1576), Bk. I, ch. V; tr. Richard Knolles (London, 1606), pp. 34 (for the quotation), 39, 40, and 43 (bearing especially on new enslavement by Portugal and Spain). Towards the end of this notable chapter Bodin affirms his own view:

The debate about Indian slavery, Bartolomé de las Casas' representations to the Spanish crown, and his later, unpublished, recognition of objections to African slavery, occurred early in the Iberian conquest of the West Indies.[15] Bodin, while perceiving the power of the new economic demand and supply in slaves, and while characteristically noting a mass of precedents and arguments, nevertheless explicitly opposes the institution. His *Six Livres de la République* was well known in seventeenth-century England; Locke had it in his library; so had Jonathan Swift but one can hardly pretend that this feature of Bodin's great work was influential on English political thought, least of all, perhaps, on the 'progressive' Locke.[16] But a renewed awareness of slavery, and knowledge of the expanding slave trade between West Africa and the Americas, surely lent power and sensationalism to the modern word 'slave': a word which nevertheless pre-dates the first voyage of Columbus by about two centuries, and seems to derive from the servitude of Slavs from Dalmatia and the Black Sea area, in and through Venice.[17] The new rise of slavery in the Renaissance perhaps supplies the longer-term explanation of why 'slave' and 'slavery' spill over from political polemic into translations of parts of Homer where the Greek does not seem to warrant the words. Imaginative literature in English is early aware of slavery: both Shakespeare's Venetian dramas, significantly enough, allude to it, Shylock to remind the Duke what it means to possess another person (IV. i. 90–100); Othello, the black Moor, to refer to the risk of his having been conquered in war and 'sold to slavery' (I. iii. 138). Of course Shakespeare is also aware of what was happening in the

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'there is nothing that doth more discourage and ouerthrow, (and if I may so say) bastardise a good and noble mind, than seruitude ... if it be true that reason and the law of God is alwaies and euerie where to take place, and that it was not shut vp only within the bounds of Palestine: why should not that law so profitably and so wisely made by God himselfe, concerning slaverie & libertie, stand in force, rather than that which was by man's wisedom deuised?' (p. 46).

[15]David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (New York, 1966; rept. Oxford, 1988), pp. 166, 169–70.

[16]For Locke's knowledge of Bodin's *Six Livres*, see Locke, *Two Treaties*, ed. Laslett, p. 151. For Swift's view, see Jonathan Swift, *Miscellaneous and Autobiographical Pieces, Fragments and Marginalia*, ed. Herbert Davis (Oxford, 1969), pp. 244–47. Swift possessed the 1579, French, edition of the book, and dated his short character of Bodin, pasted in the volume, as 2 April 1725. Among other chapters, Bodin's chapter against slavery (I. V) escaped Swift's generally hostile annotation.

[17]David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery*, pp. 111–12; *Slavery and Human Progress* (Oxford, 1984), p. 156.

New World and has Prospero repeatedly call Caliban slave (*The Tempest*, I. ii. 308, 313, 319, 344, 351).[18]

A century or more after Bodin's book and Shakespeare's plays, with the new slavery established, and the slave trade an expanding and vastly profitable concern, Pope too was well aware of what was done in the world. His reference to the exposure of 'the poor naked Indians' to 'our guns', in a letter of 5 Dec. 1712 to his friend John Caryll when his poem *Windsor-Forest* was in its final stages of expansion and revision, shows his knowledge of the condition of the native Indians of the New World as the victims of conquest. Further, by this same time, the much-debated provisions of the Treaty of Utrecht, which so many hoped would end the wars brought on Britain by that militaristic monarch, the Prince of Orange, included the great sweetener designed to reconcile bellicose Whigs with the Tory peace: the Asiento Clause. This would allow British participation in the slave trade between West Africa and the Spanish Indies, on terms similar to those recently enjoyed by the fortunate French.[19]

To read the Asiento Clause — itself a document of 42 articles — is to see exemplified what might be regarded as a kind of baseline for Swift's *Modest Proposal*. Report of it had a great impact in 1712; many regarded it as a triumph of Tory diplomacy and it figured in one of Queen Anne's most famous speeches from the throne: '. . . the Part which We have born in the Prosecution of this War, entitling Us to have some Distinction in the Terms of Peace, I have insisted and obtained, That the Asiento or Contract for furnishing the *Spanish West-Indies* with Negroes, shall be made with Us for the Term of Thirty Years, in the same manner as it hath been enjoyed by the *French* for Ten Years past.'[20] The Treaty itself would be more explicit, 'the English

[18]*Oxford English Dictionary*, Sense 1 (AD, 1290); Johnson's *Dictionary* 2 vols. (London, 1755), II: 'Slave'.); David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery*, pp. 41–2. See also *Johnson on Shakespeare*, ed. Arthur Sherbo (New Haven;), VII. 227. In one of these instances, Johnson praises Theobald for taking the lines from Miranda and giving them to Prospero (*Johnson on Shakespeare*, VII. 124). Prospero also calls Ariel a slave, I. ii. 272, but the whole exchange between Prospero and Ariel in this scene seems to show that Prospero regarded him as an indentured servant: a slave, as it were, for a fixed term (ll. 243–301). Line references are to the New Oxford one-volume edition.

[19]*The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, ed. George Sherburn, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1956), I. 162.

[20]The Queen's Speech *in Parliament*, the 6th *of* June, 1712; *A Collection of All Her Majesty's Speeches, Messages, &c. From Her Happy Accession to the Throne, To The Twenty First of June 1712* (London, 1712), p. 46.

Company's obliging itself to supply the Spanish West-Indies with Black Slaves for the Term of Thirty Years. . . .'[21]

Windsor-Forest, often regarded as a kind of English Georgic, is a poem of a wider variety of effect, skilfully related through an exceptional mastery of the art of transition and metamorphosis. It opens a vision of the past and a vision of the future, linked conceptually by the themes of warfare and hunting, but spatially and temporally by the Thames, river of English history. The subject of slavery is first introduced in Pope's vision of the past, dominated as it is by Norman Nimrods, hunter-conquerors:

> Cities laid waste, they storm'd the Dens and Caves
> (For wiser Brutes were backward to be Slaves). . . .
>
> (ll. 49–50)

Pope is here turning Dryden's couplet on slavery in *Absalom and Achitophel* (ll. 55–6). Here the Norman ruler 'makes his trembling slaves the Royal Game' (ll. 64–5) (note the wide range of the word 'Game') and Pope paints a scene of desolation which begins perhaps (such is the nature of the poem's subtle historical transitions) to gather more recent association:

> The levell'd Towns with Weeds lie cover'd o'er,
> The hollow Winds thro' naked Temples roar;
> Round broken columns clasping Ivy twin'd;
> O'er Heaps of Ruin stalk'd the stately Hind;
> The Fox obscene to gaping Tombs retires,
> And savage Howlings fill the sacred Quires.
>
> (ll. 66–72)

These lines seem to recall the wanderings of the Roman Catholic Hind in 'kingdoms, once Her own', in Dryden's *Hind and the Panther* (I. 26);[22] once the poem was well-established, Pope would add as a footnote to this part further lines, allegedly rejected, which seemed to associate William III as conqueror and 'foreign master' with William I and II (T. E. I. 159). Again, in the poem's tribute to Charles I, 'sacred *Charles*', (l. 319) lines on the mid-seventeenth-century civil wars elide into lines on wars begun by William III, as Queen Anne, 'great ANNA' says — 'Let Discord cease!/She said, the World obey'd, and all was

[21] *The Compleat History of the Treaty of Utrecht*. . . 2 vols. (London, 1715), I. 55.

[22] T. E. I. 156; Dr. Michael O'Loughlin has pointed out to me Pope's probable allusion here to the Hind in Dryden's *The Hind and the Panther*, emblematic of the Roman Catholic Church. If he is right (as I believe) the 'Heaps of Ruin' and the 'sacred Quires' take on Reformation as well as Norman associations.

Peace!' (ll. 327–8). In this part of his poem, Pope has connected the word 'slaves' with those who, in times long past, were the prey of hunter-kings, and also, perhaps, those who were dispossessed and displaced at the Reformation and thereafter. Queen Anne's declaration of peace, however, occasions in the poem Pope's vision of a golden-age future for the whole world, a messianic vision invoking Virgil's Fourth Eclogue and Pope's own recent bid to unite in imitation that famous work with the prophecies of Isaiah.[23] Here Pope certainly celebrates a worldwide mercantile and missionary rôle for Britain. Here too, however, at the very historical moment when Britain proposed specifically to engage in the slave trade on an enlarged scale, Pope's idealistic poetic vision totally repudiates slavery:

> Oh stretch thy Reign, fair *Peace*! from Shore to Shore,
> Till Conquest cease, and Slav'ry be no more:
> Till the freed *Indians* in their native Groves
> Reap their own Fruits, and woo their Sable Loves,
> *Peru* once more a Race of Kings behold,
> And other *Mexico*'s be roof'd with Gold.
>
> (ll. 407–12; T. E. I. 192)

The word 'Conquest', within the structures of the poem, links the myth of slavery under the Norman yoke, European slavery, with real modern slavery.

There is no possibility of Pope's being ignorant of the Treaty of Utrecht: apart from the Queen's speech, and the battery of welcoming or warning pamphlets, he was on personal terms with some of the very people who were negotiating it and defending it: Prior, St. John, Swift, Robert Harley himself. Further, while critics have quibbled about the use of the word 'Sable' (these 'are not Negroes', T. E. I. 192), it seems likely that it was chosen with the particular purpose of bringing black slavery to mind. True, 'sable' could at this time signify a hue between tawny and black, and the Twickenham editors therefore think Pope is writing about Indian slaves only. But tawny and black seem to have been the recognized colours of New World slavery; the black slave trade was in the news; and Johnson's *Dictionary* would supply a list of instances of 'sable' meaning black, many of them poetic examples prior to Pope.[24] I am reinforced in my view by Pat Rogers, who has

[23]T. E. I. 112–22.

[24]See Morgan Godwyn, *The Negro's and Indians Advocate, Suing for Admission into the Church*. . . . (London, 1680), who refers to '*the Tawneys and Blacks*', i.e. Indian and Negro slaves (p. 4). Johnson, *Dictionary*, 2 vols. (London, 1755), under 'Sable'.

demonstrated the emblematic and heraldic idiom of *Windsor-Forest*.[25] Pope is not attempting to use colour realistically, but with a richly contrastive, stylised, signification. At this level the word 'sable' may be thought to have an ennobling function.[26] Neither is Pope observing human behaviour realistically. Love between liberated Indian and African slaves is a feature of an imagined messianic age of gold, such as a poet alone might delineate.

Here I don't want to over-idealise Pope. In December 1716 he was apparently ready to invest in stocks of the South Sea Company (to whom the opportunities of the Asiento were chiefly assigned), and did so in 1720, when the Company was obviously a gambler's opportunity rather than a trading venture. In each case he seems to have been sharing his 'Venture' with his needy friends Martha and Teresa Blount. In later life he alludes quite openly to how much he might have been worth when the South-Sea stocks were at their height.[27] But against this mistaken conduct must be set Pope's salient and surprising denunciation of slavery in his poem. David Foxon's bibliography of *English Verse, 1701–50*,[28] lists all the Treaty of Utrecht poems known to him in 1975. My research in these, and in others which have sub-

[25]Pat Rogers, '*Windsor-Forest*, Britannia and river poetry', *Essays on Pope* (Cambridge, 1993), esp. pp. 68–9.

[26]By this I mean that the noble associations of an heraldic term and colour are bestowed upon slaves. It may also be relevant to recall the subtitle of Aphra Behn's popular novel, *Oroonoko, or The Royal Slave* (1678), which Pope seems to remember in drafting his version of *Iliad* I, BL Add. Mss. 4807, l. 245. C. F. *Iliad*, I. 362; T. E. VII. 105.

[27]Alexander Pope, *Correspondence*, ed. Sherburn, I. 379; II. 33–4; 'To Mr. Bethel' (The Second Satire of the Second Book of Horace, Imitated), ll. 133–40; T. E. IV. 65–6.

[28]David Foxon, *English Verse, 1701–1750*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1975), II. 296 and item references there listed. Foxon lists 74 Treaty of Utrecht poems. I have read all but four of these, this remainder not having been available or traceable during the two years when I worked on this subject. In some cases the reclassification of small, anonymous items has been a problem. Foxon's list includes a number of Latin poems, which have also been read. In the course of consulting these poems, I have encountered a large further number of poems which, if not all formal Treaty of Utrecht poems, do comment seriously on the Treaty. Again, I have found no other poem which denounces slavery in the literal sense. It is of course possible that a poem denouncing slavery may come to light. Further, it could be argued that references to South-Sea trade are, in the particular context of the Treaty years, allusions to the slave trade. If so, many of these allusions must be construed as approving references. The difference from *Windsor-Forest* is in such cases even greater. What in the end is most notable, however, is that when so many Whig writers wished to find all possible arguments to oppose the Treaty and the peace, non e, apparently, did so by attacking the Asiento Clause and opposing the slave trade. I am grateful to Professor H. T. Dickinson for drawing my attention to B. M.'s *The Planter's Charity*. I owe to Dr. D. K. Money, who has made a special study of university volumes of celebratory poems in learned languages, my knowledge of Maynard's poem.

sequently come to light, has discovered no other English poem commenting on the Treaty or Peace which squarely confronts, let alone opposes, slavery in the New World. An earlier poem, indeed, B. M.'s *The Planter's Charity* (1704), urged the baptism of black slaves while supporting slavery, and shows that the subject could be presented in English poetry in the reign of Anne. A Latin poem on the Treaty of Utrecht, *Assiento, sive commercium Hispanicum* (1713), by J. Maynard of St. John's College, Oxford, unhesitatingly supports the slavery of African negroes by the British and the Spanish. By comparison with these two explicit poems, *Windsor-Forest* appears more remarkable still. In other prominent English poems on the Peace, slavery is indeed commonly mentioned but it is always what we might term metaphorical: for example, a way of referring to the Dutch or the French under their several governments. If we look at the poems of the more salient talents of the time, the Jacobite Bevil Higgons, the Scriblerian Thomas Parnell, the Addisonian Whig Thomas Tickell and the time-server Edward Young, two, the most politically opposed of the four, consider slavery. In his poem, *On the Prospect of the Peace* (1713), Tickell celebrates the European discovery of the New World, prophesies that 'savage *Indians*' will soon 'swear by ANNA's Name' but, in his extended passage on slavery, makes no reference to Africans or Indians. Tickell's 'filial Subject' sunk into 'a Slave' is part of a post-Lockeian polemic against the designs of Louis XIV.[29] Higgons, for his part, compares Harley to a Columbus discovering a new world, this time a world of peace. He too talks of slavery, and here the slaves are Britons:

> *Britons*, no more like Slaves, be bought and sold,
> To daub their Leaders shining Vests with Gold. . . .

This is an attack on Britain during William's and Anne's wars: in one edition a footnote gives a clear factual definition of 'Slaves' (men pressed for military service and then sold by the officers of one regiment to those of another) but there is little doubt that slavery is really meant as a metaphor for the condition of Britons after the usurpations of William and Mary, and Anne.[30] Against the background of these

[29]Thomas Tickell, *On the Prospect of the Peace* (London, 1713; 4th edn.), pp. 15, 5.
[30]Bevil Higgons, *A Poem on the Glorious Peace of Utrecht: Inscrib'd in the Year 1713, To the Right Honourable Robert Late Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer*. . . [now re-dedicated to Edward, Earl of Oxford] (London, 1731), p. 12. The explanatory footnote may belong to this edition only.

poems *Windsor-Forest* begins to look remarkable. In her shallow study, *Alexander Pope* (1985), Laura Brown argues that the 'slave monopoly' 'is the liberty and concord' which the poem 'specifically defends'.[31] Strange, then, that it should be explicitly excluded from what is defended! The critic in quest of ideological double-think would do better to follow the lead of David Brion Davis and turn to Locke.[32] For, while in Pope's text references to European (and perhaps metaphorical) slavery reinforce the challenge to slavery in the New World, there is something uneasy about Locke's triumphal deployment of the metaphor of slavery against his patriarchalist opponent, when supported by well-informed and apparently uncritical references to slavery in the West Indies.

Pope's response to New-World slavery is not confined to the conclusion of *Windsor-Forest*. In a poem less suffused with hope, more with resignation to things as they are, the poet returns to the theme and recalls his own earlier lines. The 'poor Indian', in *An Essay on Man* (1733–34), untaught by theology or science, can still imagine a humble heaven beyond the hill:

> Some safer world in depth of woods embrac'd,
> Some happier island in the watry waste
> Where slaves once more their native land behold,
> No fiends torment, no Christians thirst for gold!
> To Be, contents his natural desire,
> He asks no Angel's wing, no Seraph's fire;
> But thinks, admitted to that equal sky,
> His faithful dog shall bear him company.
>
> (I. 104–112)

Notice the words 'once more' (l. 106) which suggest that Pope is still thinking about transported slaves, as well as Indians: not African Americans but Indian Africans, it seems. Notice too the 'behold'/'gold' couplet (cf. *Windsor-Forest*, ll. 411–12) which no longer conveys a reversal of fortune and a restoration of right, but a humbler and more widely human wish. Pope's tender tone is very different from his sources, here,[33] but to say that Pope is moving in the direction of sentimentalism would, I think, be a shallow judgement. We have only to consider the realms of thought behind some of Pope's simplest

[31]Laura Brown, *Alexander Pope* (Oxford, 1985), p. 40.

[32]First Treatise, Section 130; *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Peter Laslett, p. 276.

[33]T. E. III–i, pp. 27–8 (Louis Hennepin's *Continuation of the New Discovery* (English translation, 1698) is especially contemptuous of the Indians' ideas of immortality, including the immortality of animals.

words, to come to an opposite conclusion: 'that equal sky' or, more profound, 'To Be, contents his natural desire . . .'; Pope here sees one of the most orthodox of Christian hopes through the eyes of a slave.

3

In his *Patriarcha* (composed in the 1630s, published in 1680), Sir Robert Filmer foresaw that 'Many will be ready to say that it is a slavish and dangerous condition to be subject to the will of any one man who is not subject to the laws' (XXVI).[34] He had earlier declared that 'the greatest liberty in the world . . . is for a people to live under a monarch . . . all other shows or pretexts of liberty are but several degrees of slavery. . . .' (I. p. 53). Locke took up the challenge of these remarks; the question is what is the precise status of such words as 'slave' and 'slavery' in their exchange. In the foregoing discussion, I have been sufficiently of a Cratylist trend as to see the literal sense of the word 'slave', one who is bought and sold out of any right, as the primary and most powerful sense of the word. Secondary senses, which might, for example, suggest that the English under Charles I or Cromwell were slaves, I have taken as senses transferred or metaphorical. The trick of Locke's derisive polemic, with 'Slavery' its very first word, is to make the reader unable to know from the start whether Locke is writing literally or metaphorically. On this view, Locke gets full advantage of the literal power of the word without meaning it literally. Filmer's remark, however, admits to the possibility of 'degrees of slavery', and one wonders whether the OED should not have admitted some primary senses of the word, short of the sense which would properly apply to a transported and sold slave such as Aphra Behn's Oroonoko, or Homer's Eumâeus. To take an example nearer home, may there be a literal sense in which a subject of an absolute king, such as Louis XIV was held to be, or James II was supposed to wish to become, was a slave?

Any historian of transported slaves from West Africa would, I think, regard this possibility with derision. Yet in those times the semantic and social boundaries were less clear-cut than they seem today. At the poetic level the Catholic Irish of the mid-seventeenth

[34]Sir Robert Filmer, *Patriarcha . . . and Other Political Works*, ed. Peter Laslett (Oxford, 1949), p. 105.

century thought that many of their number had been transported into slavery on the West-Indian islands, after defeat in the Cromwellian wars.[35] Other uses of the word 'slave' give us pause. When James II anticipated that England would fall into slavery after 1688, he of course meant that it would yield its rights and laws to the invasion of the Prince of Orange. In his famous speech in the last Parliament of Scotland, in 1707, the Earl of Belhaven wound up his peroration with the words: ' "*now we are slaves for ever*!" '[36] Are we to take such statements as mere empty rhetoric? Not if we wish to take Locke's *Two Treatises* seriously. Pope himself would use the word slave in a Lockeian sense, in *An Essay on Man*, III, where superstition and tyranny 'Gods of Conqu'rors, Slaves of Subjects made' (III. 245–8).[37] It must further be said that, while the condition of the eighteenth-century English and Scots was in no way comparable with that of enslaved Indians or transported Africans, real changes did take place in 1689 and 1707. In England the legal hereditary monarchy was relegated under the threat of arms; Scotland did lose its ancient Parliament. Additional senses of the word 'slave' should perhaps include those displaced from status and power after revolutions in the state. Even where the use of 'slave' was primarily rhetorical, it was not, by that token, empty rhetoric.

This, I believe, may be demonstrated by looking forward to the articles against Russian serfdom published by the great reformer, Alexander Herzen, in 1852. Not only did Herzen ally the condition of Russian serfs with American slaves: his arguments as to how in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Russian peasants became white slaves uncannily recall those lines of Tickell and Pope which describe

[35]For recent historians of the slavery of transported blacks, see Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black* (Chapel Hill, 1968); Edwin S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1975); and Leon A. Higginbotham, Jr., *In the Matter of Color: Race and the American Legal Process in the Colonial Period* (New York, 1978). Of the seventeenth-century Catholic Irish, it has been said that their condition 'smacked of the hunted slave and not the indentured servant': see Éamonn Ó Ciardha, 'Woodherne, Tories and Rapparees in Ulster and North Connought in the Seventeenth Century' (unpublished MA dissertation, University College, Dublin, 1991), p. 74. In this connection one might note *Ireland's Declaration* (Dublin, 1649), (13 March): 'The continual slavery we have groaned under for these Nineteen years . . .', though Ó Ciardha is using the word in a stronger sense than is the seventeenth-century tract.

[36]*The Treasury of British Eloquence*, compiled and arranged by Robert Cochrane (Edinburgh, 1885), p. 102.

[37]On the political issues explored in *An Essay on Man*, III, see Howard Erskine-Hill, 'Pope on the Origin of Society', in G. S. Rousseau and Pat Rogers, eds. *The Enduring Legacy: Alexander Pope Tercentenary Essays* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 79–93.

how the 'filial Subject,' sinks into a slave, or how 'Slaves of Subjects' were made.[38] A serious scholar will not therefore easily dismiss language of this kind, not even that anthem composed by James Thomson, set by Arne, and sung at Clivedon in the Masque of *Alfred* in 1740 for the edification of Frederick, Prince of Wales: 'Britons never will be slaves.'[39]

All this should be remembered as we turn from those places in his poetry where Pope speaks of slavery itself to those where he uses the word 'slave' as, at least, a substantial metaphor. I don't mean to discuss the full range of the word in Pope's poetry, but it runs, for example, from a stylised form of 'goodbye': 'Your Slave' (T. E. vi. 140, l. 4), through various sexual, psychological and moral uses, such as Eloisa's self-accusation that she is not 'the spouse of God' but 'slave of love and man' (ll. 177–8); or the true seeker after divine wisdom who is 'Slave to no sect' (*An Essay on Man*, IV. 331);[40] to several notably aggressive or defiant uses in the Horatian poems, often having a pointed relation with Horace's text. In the Sixth Epistle of the first Book, Horace suggests that if we want popularity and influence,

[38]I am greatly in debt here to Professor Monica Partridge, an authority on Alexander Herzen and England, not only for her monograph, *Alexander Herzen, 1812–1870* (Paris, for Unesco, 1984), but for her guidance on the three articles on Russian Serfdom written by Herzen for the English journal *The Leader*, and which were published there in an English translation on 5, 12 and 19 November 1853 (see the USSR Academy of Sciences Edition of *The Collected Works of Herzen*, Vol. XII (Moscow, 1957), pp. 77–33, for further details). Under Western Eyes (to invoke the title of Joseph Conrad's novel) Herzen's account of the growth of serfdom in Russia is astonishing, and Herzen the internationalist is aware of this: 'Serfdom was established, step by step, at the beginning of the seventeenth century and attained full development under the "philosophical" reign of Catherine II. This seems inconceivable and it will take many years for Europe to be made to comprehend how Russian serfdom developed. Its origin and development form so exceptional and unparalleled a history that it almost defies belief.... How... is it possible to believe that one half of a population of the same nationality, endowed with rare physical and intellectual faculties, could have been reduced to slavery not by war, not by conquest, not by revolution but just by a series of special *ordinances*, by immoral concessions, by infamous claims?' (I gratefully acknowledge Monica Partridge's slight redrafting based on a Russian version also given in the Soviet Academy's *Collected Works*, XII. 34–61 since there are occasional inadequacies in the English rendering as published in *The Leader*, due to the translator's lack of familiarity with the subject matter, and to his florid style. Herzen's original French version does not appear to have survived).

It is interesting to observe both Bodin and Herzen, in their very different periods, writing of the development of a new slavery. With Bodin before the age of Pope, and Herzen after, we have a kind of frame to warn us against drawing too hard a line between literal and metaphorical senses of the word 'slave' in the period between.

[39]James Thomson, *Poems*, ed. J. Logie Robertson (Oxford, 1908), p. 422.

[40]T. E. II. 334; T. E. III–I. 160.

> Mercemur *servum, qui dictet nomina, laevum*
> *Qui fodicet latus et cogat transpondera dextram*
> *Porrigere . . .*
>
> (ll. 50–52; T. E. IV. 242)

Horace is just saying: pay a servant (*nomenclator*) to keep a list of names. Pope translates 'servum' faithfully: 'Then hire a Slave', he suggests, but of course such advice means something quite different in a society where slavery was instituted, from where it is not. Pope's verbal fidelity to Horace here has a new, sharp and moral effect, outrageously compounded by the latter part of the line: 'or (if you will a Lord)' (*Ep.* I. vi. 99).[41] This anticipates other lines of the later 1730s where Pope assails the aristocracy under Walpole:

> See, all our Nobles begging to be Slaves.
>
> (*Ep. Sat.* I. 163)[42]

A much-noticed divergence of Pope from Horace, in word and emotion, occurs in his first imitation (*Sat.* II. i), the famous passage

[41]T. E. IV. 243. It is of great interest that this poem, which sparks into verbal and moral life in its sharp juxtaposition of a slave-holding with a non-slaveholding society, was addressed to William Murray who, later in his career, as Lord Mansfield and Chief Justice of the King's Bench, was to hear two cases concerning the legality of owning a slave in England. These were brought on by the Anglican philanthropist Granville Sharp, the author of a series of eloquent pamphlets against the growing practice of importing slaves and holding them as such in England. In dealing with these cases he cannot but have remembered the epistle addressed to him as a young man by the most famous poet of his day. C. H. S. Fifoot, in his assessment of Murray's career, *Lord Mansfield* (Oxford, 1936), sees Mansfield's achievement as having, with scrupulousness and subtlety, amended positive law by natural law, precedent by principle (Ch. VII). Yet he is rather dismissive of Mansfield's record on the two slavery cases, *Lewis's Case* and *Sommersett's Case*, on the grounds that he sought, or seemed to seek, to evade the great issue that they raised (pp. 41–2). This seems cogent on Lewis's case, though the possibility that Mansfield was looking for the strongest possible ground for a definitive judgement should be considered. When, in *Sommersett's Case*, the 'owner' refused to take Mansfield's clear hint that he should release his 'slave', Mansfield surely found his ground and made his stand: 'The state of slavery is of such a nature, that it is incapable of being introduced on any reasons, moral or political, but only by positive law, which preserves its force long after the reasons, the occasion, and the time itself from which it was created, is erased from memory. It is so odious that nothing can be suffered to support it, but positive law. Whatever inconveniences, therefore, may follow from the decision, I cannot say that this case is allowed or approved by the law of England; and therefore the black must be discharged' (C. P. Lascelles, *Granville Sharp and the Freedom of Slaves in England* (New York, 1928; repr. 1969), p. 33. This was on 22 June 1772.) On Lord Mansfield and slavery, see also L. A. Higginbotham, Jr., *In the Matter of Color*. Both Lascelles and Higginbotham take a more positive view than Fifoot of Mansfield on *Sommersett's Case*.

I am most grateful to to my colleague, Dr. David Husain, of Pembroke College, Cambridge, for first drawing my attention to Granville Sharp and *Sommersett's Case*.

[42]T. E. IV. 309.

where his use of the first-person singular is realigned in relation to poetic precedent, and intensified by a non-Horatian repudiation of slavery: he is: 'Unplac'd, un-pension'd, no Man's Heir, or Slave . . .' (l. 116). Pope almost certainly recalls Donne's Satyre IV, which he was about to imitate. Donne, writing probably in the decade of *The Merchant of Venice*, had asked: 'Shall I, nones slave/Of high-borne or rais'd men, feare frownes' (ll. 162–3); Pope's version would keep the general sense without using the word 'slave': he used it for his imitation of Horace, Horace with a difference.[43] In the second of the two dialogues which eventually became the 'Epilogue to the Satires', the interlocutor of the satirist is made to say, in a tone between patronage and accusation: 'You're strangely proud' while the other person, the poet, Pope, bursts forth:

> So proud, I am no Slave:
> So impudent, I own myself no Knave:
> So odd, my Country's Ruin makes me grave.
> Yes, I am proud; I must be proud to see
> Men not afraid of God, afraid of me . . .
>
> (ll. 205–9 T. E. IV. 324)

In the debates of the 1970s and 1980s about whether Pope was closer to Horace or Juvenal in his 1730s satires, this satiric repudiation of slavery hardly arose as an issue.[44] Horace might quietly acknowledge that his father had been a freedman — a point to which I shall return — and each of the three Roman satirists alludes to slaves and slavery, as we might expect. None saw the need to say he was no slave. The peculiar moral resonance such a declaration has for Pope stems from the fact that he is writing out of and to a society in which slavery is not instituted, but which knows very well its significance in the modern world.

In Pope's case there may be another reason. I have quoted James II's declaration on his retreat to France alluding to the 'Slavery' his 'Country' was now 'like to fall under'. This was a view explored in *Windsor-Forest* through its subtle elision of ancient conquest with modern, earlier civil war with recent European war. Late in Pope's life, however, it was less easy to think of a Britain conquered than one

[43]T. E. IV. 17; 42–3.

[44]T. E. IV. 324. See Howard D. Weinbrot, *Augustus Caesar in 'Augustan' England: The Decline of a Classical Norm* (Princeton, 1978) and Howard Erskine-Hill, *The Augustan Idea in English Literature* (London, 1983). See also, the more recent Jacob Fuchs, *Reading Pope's Imitations of Horace* (1989).

sunk in self-induced decline. This is exemplified in the strange poem Pope sent to *The Gentlemen's Magazine* in 1740 (taking the idea of voluntary servitude, perhaps, from *Paradise Lost*, XII. 220):

> Yes, 'tis the time, I cry'd, impose the chain!
> Destin'd and due to wretches self-enslaved!
> But when I saw such Charity remain,
> I half could wish this people might be saved . . .
> (*On the Benefactions in the late Frost, 1740*)[45]

The poem is partly, of course, a product of the culture of opposition to Walpole, George I and George II, skilfully orchestrated by Pope's friend Bolingbroke. Bolingbroke sought to draw in Jacobite attitudes for not necessarily Jacobite ends: he was *politique*, and so ultimately, perhaps, was Pope. But each came from a different ethos. Pope's repudiation of 'slavery' is the affirmation of one whose community and values had been drastically marginalised by the events of 1689, and again by those of 1714. Like Dryden in the 1690s, Pope probably hoped for a restoration, but as the years rolled by and the House of Brunswick hung on, it became a point of honour to say: 'So proud I am no Slave'.

4

In his *Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow* Radishchev includes passages from his own *Ode to Liberty*, in which he speaks of himself as a slave praising freedom.[46] Slaves may have wisdom, while slavery does not. One of the literary figures who expressed this perception for Pope is Eumâeus in Homer's *Odyssey*. Eumâeus, it may be remembered, had been son of a king, betrayed into slavery to grow up a swineherd and faithful servant to his long-lost master Odysseus (XV. 403–484; XIV. 55–147). One of the first parts of the Odyssey Pope translated, 'The Arrival of Ulysses in Ithica' (1713), dealing as it does with the return of a lost monarch to his native land, is likely to have had some Jacobite poignancy for Pope.[47] The role of Eumâeus in the later books of the *Odyssey* (I draw only on those Pope originally translated) retains some of these associations. Thus Pope calls Eumâeus 'he, of ancient faith' (XIV. 30) without specific warrant from the Greek; he expands

[45]T. E. VI. 389.
[46]Lang, *The First Russian Radical*, p. 173.
[47]Howard Erskine-Hill, *Poetry of Opposition and Revolution* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 62–3.

on Eumâeus' words when he makes him call himself 'A man opprest, dependant, yet a Man' (XIV. 70), and this line was most deliberately shaped, for the Homer MS shows that it originally ran: 'A wretch opprest . . .', which makes a large difference.[48] The working drafts show the emergence of Eumâeus's line: 'No profit springs beneath usurping pow'rs' (XV. 404) with the last two words as a clear afterthought.[49] There is much politically suggestive eighteenth-century phrasing, hereabouts, in MS and print, but the paradox Pope needed was straightforwardly provided by Homer, whose text speaks of Eumâeus as both slave and leader of men (XIV. 53–61, 80–82; XV. 389) and who puts into Eumâeus' mouth the judgement on slavery which the Homer MS suggests Pope was able to translate directly and with minimal amendment (the occasion is the moving moment when the slave explains to Odysseus the reason for the neglect of the faithful dog Argos):

> Jove fix'd it certain, that whatever day
> Makes man a slave, takes half his worth away. (XVII. 392–3)[50]

This is the testimony of the slave who plays so important a part in the restoration of Ulysses. Broome is struck by it, quoting among other authors Longinus ('servitude . . . is a kind of prison . . .' (T. E. X. 151).

Yet the action of the *Odyssey* vindicates Eumâeus as one who plays a wise and prosperous part, and there is, correspondingly, a serious metaphorical sense in which Pope felt himself to know the nature of bondage, as an ultimately prosperous condition. This turns, partly on Pope's long poetic labours, especially in the translation of Homer, partly on a tradition of conceit with which a series of poets represented the nature of rhyme. Thus Samuel Daniel, noting rhyme to be 'farre more laborious than loose measures', says that 'if our labours haue wrought out a manumission from bondage, and that we goe at libertie, notwithstanding these ties, we are no longer the slaues of Rhyme, but we make it a most excellent instrument to serve us.'[51] This political wit was turned back upon the defence of rhyme by Milton, when in his

[48]BL Add. MSS 4809, f. 128^{r}. The balance of the line, as amended, affirms Eumâeus's irreducible humanity, despite the oppression of servitude.

[49]BL Add. MSS 4809, f. 148.

[50]T. E. X. 150–51. BL Add. MSS. 4809, f. 166^{r} and^{v}: '. . . (for Jove ordains,) the Day/That makes a slave, takes half his worth away.' On slavery in the ancient World see T. E. J. Wiedemann, *Slavery, Greece and Rome*, i, New Surveys in the Classics, 19 (Oxford, 1987; rev. 1992).

[51]Samuel Daniel, *Complete Works*, ed. A. B. Grosart, 4 vols. (London, 1896); reissued New York, 1963), IV. 45.

note on The Verse of *Paradise Lost* he sought to give his blank verse a libertarian association: 'ancient liberty', as he put it, 'recover'd to Heroic Poem from the troublesom and modern bondage of Rimeing.' In appreciative response Marvell developed the conceit by introducing the comic and familiar image of the packhorse:

> Well mightst thou scorn thy readers to allure
> With tinkling chime, of thy own sense secure;
> While the town-Bayes writes all the while and spells,
> And like a pack-horse tires without his bells:[52]

which Pope, certain to have known these exchanges, recalls on three occasions in varied tones of self-mockery. 'I really make no other use of poetry now, than horses do of the bells that gingle about their ears . . . only to travel on a little more merrily' (to Caryll, 20 Sept. 1713); 'I cannot but think these things very idle; as idle, as if a Beast of Burden shou'd go on jingling his Bells, without bearing any thing valuable about him, or ever serving his Master' (to Edward Blount, 27 June, 1723).[53] The packhorse is a beast of burden; Pope writes elsewhere of 'A Pension, or such Harness for a slave' (*To Bolingbroke*, l.87), slaves and beasts of burden being connected in his mind. Such remarks about rhyme are perhaps part of Pope's poetic psychology. The self-depreciating tone acknowledges both the burden of writing and the imputed criticism of rhyme as childlike, cheerful, ludic:

> Farewell then Verse, and Love, and ev'ry Toy,
> The rhymes and rattles of the Man or Boy:
> What right, what true, what fit, we justly call,
> Let this be all my care—for this is All.
>
> (*To Bolingbroke*, ll. 17–20)[54]

The subject of rhyme may be followed up in Pope's critical writings, in verse and prose,[55] but it will not appear that Pope ever produced an adequate defence of it, not even a defence of his own practice. The root of the right defence is buried beneath his self-depreciation, and stems not only from custom and demand but probably also from historical and ideological values which hardly could be produced in easy, genteel, conversation with men such as Joseph Spence. Sir William Temple had written in his essay 'Of Poetry' that the first rhymes 'that

[52]John Milton, *Poems*, ed. John Carey and Alastair Fowler (London, 1968), p. 456.
[53]Pope, *Correspondence*, ed. Sherburn, I. 330; II. 177. See also II. 209.
[54]T. E. IV. 285; 279–81.
[55]For example in Joseph Spence, *Anecdotes of Books and Men*, ed. J. M. Osborn, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1966), I. 173 (item 395).

ever I read in *Latin*' were 'the Verses ascribed to *Adrian*' 'at his Death': 'Animula vagula, blandula. . . .' Temple said that 'the old Spirit of Poetry being lost . . ., this new Ghost began to appear in its room even about that Age . . .'[56] and Pope was strangely intrigued by this short, apparently rhyming Latin poem, filled with diminutives, the Emperor supposedly addressing his own soul on his death.[57] Pope defended the lines as showing, not 'Gaiety' and 'levity' but tenderness and 'concern', and argued that they evinced a nascent belief in the immortality of the soul in the mind of a heathen. He both translated the poem and produced a converted Christian version of it, the latter greatly revised between 1730 and 1736.[58] Hardly any small poems of Pope are such studied examples of consonance; Pope took the feminine diminutives as making an exceptional demand on his resources in rhyme. Thus (from his translation):

> Whither, ah whither art thou flying!
> To what dark undiscover'd shore?
> Thou seem'st all trembling, shiv'ring, dying,
> And wit and humour are no more.
>
> (*Corr.* I. 178)

Pope has turned to regularly rhyming stanzas, as he does in his converted version, 'The Dying Christian to his Soul'. Here, especially, we see the resources of rhyme, not just as added melody, or the knack of making aphorisms memorable (more or less banal defences of rhyme in Pope), but rather as a pattern of recognition and response. Thus 'Oh, the pain, the bliss of dying!' is in response to the line where Pope tries to capture in English internal rhyme the effect of the Latin diminutives: 'Trembling, hoping, ling'ring, flying'. And thus Pope develops a second voice in the poem: 'Hark! they whisper; Angels say,/ Sister Spirit, come away.'[59] This poem, at least, is likely to be placed

[56]Sir William Temple, *Essays on Ancient and Modern Learning and on Poetry*, ed. J. E. Spingarn (Oxford, 1909), p. 62.

[57]Pope, *Correspondence*, ed. Sherburn, I. 149–50 and 178–9. Pope's versions of the Latin poem are entangled in the complex history of his letters, and the earliest text of each poem to survive is found at the *last* of the above references, his letter to John Caryll of 12 June 1713. The first reference is a letter to Steele, 7 November 1712, which the latter printed in *Spectator* 532, 10 November 1712, but without any poem by Pope (none may yet have been written). The second reference is to a letter to Steele, December 1712, which survives only from Pope's printed *Correspondence* (1737) and may be fabricated. For the remaining textual history of both of Pope's poems, see T. E. VI. 91–5. Pope thought about Hadrian's poem, and his own Christian parallel to it, off and on, for a quarter of a century.

[58]T. E. VI. 91–2.

[59]T. E. VI. 94.

far out on the range of religious sentimentalism by the modern reader, but I cite it here for several reasons. First, the discussion of rhyme has often seemed sterile because it has been treated as an emptily formal device, whereas for Pope it seems to have had a richly associative train of thought, just as blank verse did for Milton. Secondly, and in particular, we cannot but notice the association, in Pope's discussion of the Adrian verses, of rhyme with a dawning Christian vision. Not accidentally, perhaps, Pope writes elsewhere of the same association:

> Where mix'd with Slaves the groaning Martyr toil'd.
>
> (*To Mr. Addison*, l.6)[60]

So he imagines the sites of the Roman Empire. Thirdly, and arising from all this, the notion of rhyme as recognition and response, seems a promising way of seeing the bondage of Pope's rhyme in a new light.

The time surely has come for a reconsideration of Pope's art of rhyme. Gillian Beer has just published some excellently perceptive remarks on rhyme in Pope's great imitation of Horace's Epistle to Florus, but the most brilliant discussion of rhyme, in recent years, is, in my opinion, Peter McDonald's essay, 'Rhyme and Determination in Hopkins and Edward Thomas', *Essays in Criticism*, XLIII, 3 (July 1993), whose treatment of the subject is consistently carried out in relation to the presentation of the poetic self. Most germane to my present purpose, however, is McDonald's treatment of rhyme as a paradox of 'submission and mastery' (p. 229, 234, 243).[61] Thinking about Pope more generally, it is many years since we had a good book on the formal features of Pope's poetry, considered in the light of his concerns. The last was certainly Geoffrey Tillotson's *On the Poetry of Pope* (1938).

But here I have some further observations to make about the bondage of rhyme, before coming to my conclusions.

The Temple of Fame (1715), a poem of Pope not often considered, has some brilliant effects. 'What you' (Fame cries to the idle), 'What you (she cry'd) unlearn'd in Arts to please, / Slaves to yourselves, and ev'n fatigued with Ease . . .': in the light of the contrast the rhyme enforces, the art to please becomes the life of action, and the saliency

[60]T. E. VI. 202.

[61]Gillian Beer, 'Rhyming as comedy: body, ghost, and banquet', in Michael Cordner, Peter Holland and John Kerrigan, eds. *English Comedy* (Cambridge, 1994), esp. pp. 191–2, but the whole essay is quizzical and suggestive. Peter McDonald, 'Rhyme and Determination in Hopkins and Edward Thomas', *Essays in Criticism*, XLIII, 3 (July 1993), pp. 229, 234, 243.

rhyme gives 'ease' sets up the paradox of the first and final words: the slavery of ease (ll. 396–7). Fame gets further petitioners:

> Last, those who boast of mighty Mischiefs done
> Enslave their Country, or usurp a Throne;
> Or who their Glory's dire Foundation laid
> On Sovereign's ruin'd, or on Friends betray'd;
> Calm, thinking Villains, whom no Faiths could fix,
> Of crooked Counsels and dark Politics;
> Of these a gloomy Tribe surround the Throne, . . .
>
> (ll. 406–12)[62]

Welcome enough to Jacobites, one would imagine, early in 1715, these lines enact some well-qualified responses. There is no reason to doubt a deliberate half-rhyme 'done'/'Throne', in which dissonance conveys shock: no routine mischief. Notice the contrast in surface-sense between 'laid' and 'betray'd', and the responding bond in underlying meaning: treachery from the root in each case. Notice too the disturbing rhyme of the emphatic and familiar word 'fix' with the more recessive 'politics' where the stress-pattern of the second rhyming word falls away (we know how Pope said the word from other poems)[63] and the verse consciously and appropriately fails to achieve the sure symmetry at which heroic couplets seem to aim. So with the justice of politics.

An earlier passage in the same poem reminds us that in Pope's hands rhyming couplets do not fall into a set of barely connected aphorisms like beads on a string. Notice the management of the narrative simile here:

> Thick as the Bees, that with the Spring renew
> Their flow'ry Toils, and sip the fragrant Dew,
> When the wing'd Colonies first tempt the Sky,
> O'er dusky Fields and shaded Waters fly,
> Or settling, seize the Sweets the Blossoms yield,
> And a low Murmur runs along the Field.
> Millions of suppliant Crowds the Shrine attend,
> And all Degrees before the Goddess bend;
> The Poor, the Rich, the Valiant, and the Sage,
> And boasting Youth, and Narrative old-Age.
> Their Pleas were diff'rent, their Request the same:
> For Good and Bad alike are fond of Fame.
> Some she disgrac'd, and some with Honours crown'd;

[62]T. E. II. 282–3.
[63]See *To Arbuthnot*, l. 321; T. E. IV. 119.

> Unlike Successes equal Merits found.
> Thus her blind Sister, fickle *Fortune* reigns,
> And undiscerning, scatters Crowns and Chains.
>
> (ll. 282–97)[64]

Notice the trajectory enacted by the rhymes from 'renew' to 'fly' to 'field' and how this movement is combined with the movement of the sound which 'runs along the Field': narrative words. Notice at the end, not only the contrastive rhyme of 'reigns' and 'Chains', but how these highlit words stand in relation to others not necessarily part of the end-rhyme scheme: 'crown'd' in relation to 'Crowns' and 'reigns' and in relation to the ostensibly unrelated, scattered, 'Crowns and Chains.' Syntax makes some words salient, rhyme others; the two schemes subtly counterpoint or coincide with one another.

Following the theme of the slavery of rhyme I turn finally to a later poem, lacking the bravura of *The Temple of Fame*, but with a subtler familiarity and greater depth: Pope's imitation of Horace's Epistle to Florus. Here Pope pays tribute to his father, though Horace said nothing of his father in the Latin poem. But Horace's tribute to his freedman father in *Sat.* I. vi was so celebrated, and the imitative practice which recalled texts, other than the one being formally translated, so common, that Pope surely meant his reader to recall here that Horace's father had been a slave. This seems to align Horace's father who becomes free from actual slavery, with Pope's father who remains inwardly free though a kind of internal exile (something like Seneca's paradox) after the invasion of the Prince of Orange. Both Papists (in Pope's understated pun) manage to survive misfortune and injustice:

> And me, the Muses help'd to undergo it;
> Convict a Papist He, and I a Poet.
> But (thanks to *Homer*) since I live and thrive,
> Indebted to no Prince or Peer alive . . .
>
> (ll. 66–9)[65]

The humorously forced rhyme of the first couplet equates poetry with a suffering that will finally empower rather than constrain: notice then the plain, prosperous, rhyme ('thrive'/'Alive') in the following couplet: a milder way for Pope to say he is no man's slave.

[64]T. E. II. 279. G. F. C. Plowden notes, in his valuable study *Pope on Classic Ground* (Athens, Ohio, 1983), that the last line is in debt to an inverted line by Thomas Creech in his translation of Manilius's *Astronomica* (pp. 130, 166).
[65]T. E. IV. 169.

In the remarkable lines that follow the spoils of conquest and history are succeeded by those of time itself:

> This subtle Thief of life, this paltry Time,
> What will it leave me, if it snatch my rhime?
> If ev'ry wheel of that unweary'd Mill
> That turn'd ten thousand verses, now stands still.
>
> (ll. 76–9)[66]

Having been told of the larger deprivations of history and age, we might expect 'rhime' not 'Time' to be termed 'paltry' here. Instead rhyme is esteemed as the poet's last resource. Rather the charge that rhyming is mechanical and laborious is taken up by 'that unweary'd Mill' (an image not in Horace) which at once deprecates yet pays tribute to rhyme as a strength. Since 'subtle Thief of life' echoes a sonnet of Milton (VII, l. 1) one wonders whether labour at the mill with slaves might not also be recalled. The punning word 'turn'd' must here refer to the turning of rhymes but, since Pope has just been talking about Homer, also means: 'translated', a sense he has used elsewhere.[67] There is, possibly, a further meaning, for the turning of the slave in the act of manumission, described by Persius whom Pope was re-reading at this time, and probably alluded to by Daniel, catches that repeated labour and release which rhyme meant for Pope.[68]

Those who remember the subtle, circumspect, courageous, intelligent and stunningly accomplished poet, the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of whose death we mark at the end of this month, regard him chiefly perhaps as a satirist. Satire, of course, is a major feature of

[66]T. E. IV. 171.

[67]John Milton, *Poems*, ed. Carey and Fowler, p. 147; *Samson Agonistes*, l. 41, p. 348; 'Ten thousand', a round figure.

[68]Daniel, *Complete Works*, ed. Grosart, IV. 45; Persius, V, ll. 73–82. To speak of the turning of a line, or, as Ben Jonson did, of Shakespeare's 'well-turnéd and true-filéd lines' (l. 68 of 'To the memory of... Master William Shakespeare') was to make a kind of Latin/English pun, since a line was a verse, and the word verse came from the noun *versus*, a row, a line, a furrow, a verse (cf. Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, VI. ix. 1, ll. 1–4) and from the verb *verto, verti, versum*, to turn. As verse came to be more commonly rhymed than not, turning a verse came to suggest turning a rhyme, though this may have been a post-Pope usage. O. E. D. attributes the first instance of 'turning a couplet' to Washington Irving (1850) referring to Goldsmith (X. 487: Sense II, 5 (b)). Daniel wrote of 'reducing' verse 'in *girum*, and a iust forme', which implied turning a turn into a complete circle, the just or perfect figure. Against Persius's scornful account of the manumission which made a slave free ('heu steriles veri, quibus una Quiritem/vertigo facit') one might set Psalm 126, *In convertendo*, verse 1: 'When the Lord turned again the captivity of Sion...'.

his work, and the idea of slavery supplied him with an extreme and dramatic way of writing about the state of Britain:

> Adieu to Virtue if you're once a Slave:
> Send her to Court, you send her to her Grave.
> (*To Bolingbroke*, ll. 118–19)[69]

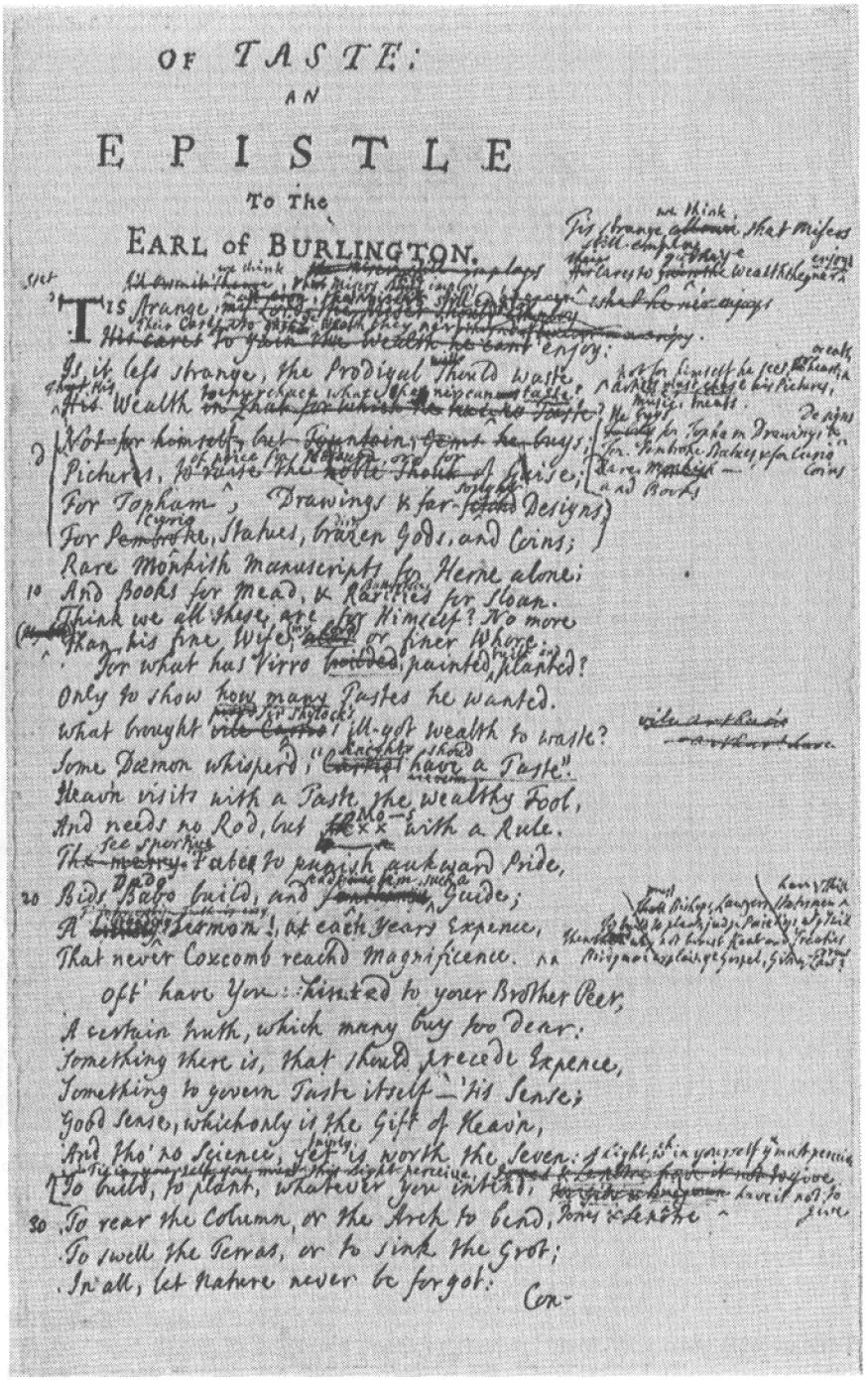
But Pope challenged the practice of slavery itself in non-satirical lines, and there is an extended yet serious sense in which he both repudiated the application of the word to himself and yet identified with slavery. In turning from world to word we find that the idea of slavery allows us to see Pope from several related angles, and allows us to turn from positions publicly proclaimed to his more personal self-presentations as labourer, craftsman and artist in words.

[69]T. E. IV. 287.

Pallas Athene and Odysseus on the coast of Ithica, plate from John Ogilby's translation of the *Odyssey* (1665), probably known to Pope as a child.

PLATE 2

The frontispiece from *Pope Alexander's Supremacy and Infallibility Examin'd* (1729), an attack responding to Pope's *Dunciad Variorum*, published in that year. By permission of the British Library.



OF TASTE:
AN
EPISTLE
To the
EARL of BURLINGTON.

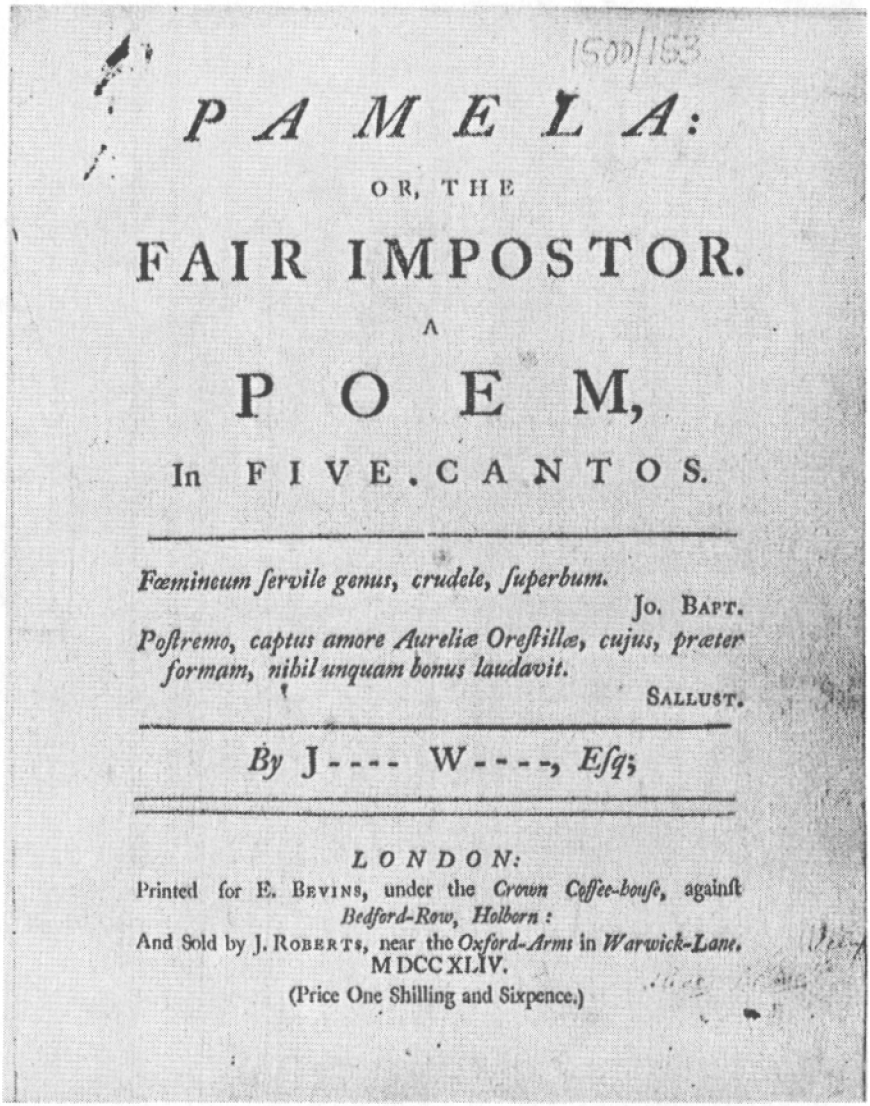
'Tis strange, the Miser thus with Pains amass
His Heap, but dares not touch the Pile he has:
Is it less strange, the Prodigal should waste
His Wealth in Scenes he hates for Fear of Taste?
Not for himself he sees, or hears, or eats,
Painters, or Musicks, Masters, Cooks, or Cheats:
For Topham, Drawings & Designs,
For Pembroke, Statues, Medals, Gems, and Coins;
Rare Mophith Manuscripts for Herne alone;
And Books for Mead, & Rarities for Sloan.
Think we all these are for Himself? No more
Than his fine Wife, or finer Whore.
For what has Virro painted, built, or planted?
Only to show how many Pastes he wanted.
What brought Sir Jobb Traffick, ill-got Wealth to waste?
Some Dæmon whispered, "Jobb should have a Taste".
Heaven visits with a Taste the wealthy Fool,
And needs no Rod, but like a Rule.
Taste to punish awkward Pride,
Bids Babo build, and Sanchoniatho Guide;
A Sermon, at each Year's Expence,
That never Coxcomb reach'd Magnificence.

Oft have you hinted to your Brother Peer,
A certain truth, which many buy too dear:
Something there is, that should precede Expence,
Something to govern Taste itself — 'tis Sense;
Good Sense, which only is the Gift of Heaven,
And tho' no Science, fairly worth the Seven:
To build, to plant, whatever you intend,
To rear the Column, or the Arch to bend,
To swell the Terrace, or to sink the Grot;
In all, let Nature never be forgot.

Con-

The autograph leaf of the opening of Pope's Epistle *To Burlington*. By permission of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MA 36.

PLATE 4



1500/153

PAMELA:

OR, THE

FAIR IMPOSTOR.

A

POEM,

In FIVE CANTOS.

Fœmineum servile genus, crudele, superbum.

JO. BAPT.

Postremo, captus amore Aureliæ Orestillæ, cujus, præter formam, nihil unquam bonus laudavit.

SALLUST.

By J---- W----, *Esq;*

LONDON:

Printed for E. BEVINS, under the *Crown Coffee-house*, against *Bedford-Row, Holborn:*

And Sold by J. ROBERTS, near the *Oxford-Arms* in *Warwick-Lane.*

MDCCXLIV.

(Price One Shilling and Sixpence.)

The titlepage of *Pamela: Or, The Fair Imposter. A Poem, in Five Cantos* (1744). By permission of the British Library.