THE COLLECTED WORKS OF
Samuel Taylor Coleridge
The Watchman
EDITED BY
Lewis Patton

SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE
from a crayon portrait executed by Robert Hancock
for Joseph Cottle in 1796.
in a provincial or London paper, can now stimulate them, to burn, or destroy the houses, or persons, of good men.

Your's,

Phocion. 1

INVOCATION TO LIBERTY

O

On Liberty, celestial power,
With thy electric influence blest,
Tho' clouds of darkness round us lour
Eternal sunshine cheers the breast.
Scar'd at thy frown, (with human Victims fed)
Oppression shrinks aghast, and hides his blood-stain'd head.

Thy Suppliant hear; and o'er the Land,
Evanid, shed thy vital ray,
Invigorate the suffering Band
Who long through many a dang'rous way
Have sought thee, fearless of the Tyrant's frown
"Opprest but not destroy'd, perplexed but not cast down."

Descend not, as the vile admire
In loose and wanton vesture clad,
But arm'd, with all thy genuine fire
To bless the good, and aye the bad;
Through the wide World, in awful splendour roll
And free from servile Bonds, the enervated Soul.

E. N. 2

ON THE SLAVE TRADE 3

Whence arise our Miseries? Whence arises our Vices? From imaginary Wants. No man

1 "Phocion" is the Rev John Edwards, Unitarian minister and successor to Joseph Priestley at the New Meeting in Birmingham. C had solicited this communication to Edwards 20 Mar 1796: CL i 191. "Phocion" continues the story of Bins and Jones below, p 160.

2 A poem "far above mediocrity; but I do not understand the word 'Evani'd'; as there used . . . do you know who E. N. is?" So C wrote in a letter to Edwards (CL i 191-3). "E. N."'s identity is still a secret; his use of "evani'd" for "transient" seems to be the same as Joseph Glanvill's in comparing the sun with an "evanid Meteor" in The Vanity of Dogmatizing.

3 This essay, as EHC noted, is a reworking of C's lecture on the slave-trade given in Bristol 16 Jun 1795.

man is wretched without a cause. But if each among us confined his wishes to the actual necessaries and real comforts of Life, we should preclude all the causes of Complaint and all the motives to Iniquity. What Nature demands, she will supply, asking for it that portion only of Toil, which would otherwise have been necessary as Exercise. But Providence, which has distinguished Man from the lower orders of Being by the progressiveness of his nature, forbids him to be contented. It has given us the restless faculty of Imagination. 1

Hence the soft Couch and many-colour'd Robe,
The Timbrel and arch'd Dome and costly Feast
With all th' inventive Arts that nurse the Soul
To forms of Beauty; and by sensual wants
Unsensualize the mind, which in the Means
Learns to forget the grossness of the End,
Best-pleasur'd with its own activity.
And hence DISEASE that withers manhood's arm,
The dagger's Envy, spirit-quenching WANT,
WARiORS, and LORDS, and PRIESTS—all the sore ills
That vex and desolate our mortal life.
Wide-wasting ills! yet each th' immediate source
Of mightier good! Their keen necessities
To ceaseless action, goading human thought
Have made Earth's reasoning Animal her Lord,
And the pale-featur'd SAGE's trembling hand
Strong as an Host of armed Deities!
From Avarice thus, from Luxury, and War
Sprang heavenly SCIENCE, and from SCIENCE FREEDOM!

RELIGIOUS MUSINGS. 2

See Studies 20; also Cottle E Rec i 20.

EHC's transcript "from M.S. of Lecture on the Slave Trade, partly in handwriting of S. T. C. & partly in that of R. [Joutehey]," now in VCL, appears in Lectures 1795 (CC3) with a more detailed study of sources. C's annotated copy of The Watchman, now in the BM, contains minor changes in punctuation and emphasis (eg. small capitals for "in favour of the slave trade!" with an extra exclamation-point added) in this essay (pp 102-8). These changes have been incorporated into the text; word changes, however, are given in the notes below.

1 Imagination as a servant of a necessitarian optimism appears to be Hartleian. Hartley devotes some chapters to an inquiry into "the rise and gradual increase of the pleasures . . . of imagination, ambition, self-interest, sympathy, theophagy, and the moral sense" (Observations on Man i 416), which are stages in man's growth. The present remarks on imagination appear to assign to it a larger role than does Hartley; cf also The Destiny of Nations lines 80-8: PW (EHC) i 154.

2 Lines 226-44 (var) in Poems (1796); cf lines 206-25: PW (EHC) i 117.
I have the firmest Faith, that the final cause of all evils in the moral and natural world is to awaken intellectual activity. Man, a vicious and discontented Animal, by his vices and his discontent is urged to develop the powers of the Creator, and by new combinations of those powers to imitate his creativeness. And from such enlargement of mind Benevolence will necessarily follow; Benevolence which may be defined “Natural Sympathy made permanent by an acquired Conviction, that the Interests of each and of all are one and the same,” or in fewer words, “Natural Sympathy made permanent by enlightened Selfishness.” In my calmer moments I have the firmest Faith that all things work together for Good. But alas! it seems a long and a dark Process.

The early Year’s fast-flying Vapours stray
In shadowing Trains across the orb of Day:
And we, poor Insects of a few short Hours,
Deem it a world of Gloom.

Were it not better hope a nobler doom
Proud to believe, that with more active powers
On rapid many-coloured Wing
We thro’ one bright perpetual Spring
Shall hover round the Fruits and Flowers
Screen’d by those Clouds & cherish’d by those Showers!

From an unpublished Poem.¹

I have dwelt anxiously on this subject, with a particular view, to the Slave-trade, which, I knew, has insinuated in the minds of many, uneasy doubts respecting the existence of a beneficent Deity. And indeed the evils arising from the formation of Imaginary Wants, have in no instance been so dreadfully exemplified, as in this inhuman Traffic. We receive from the West-India Islands Sugars, Rum, Cotton, Logwood,² Cocoa, Coffee, Pimento, Ginger, Indigo, Mahogany, and Conserves. Not one of these articles are necessary; indeed with the exception of Cotton and Mahogany we cannot truly call them even useful: and not one of them is at present attainable by the poor and labouring part of Society. In return we export vast quantities of necessary Tools, Raiment, and defensive Weapons, with great stores of Provision. So that in this Trade as in most others the

¹ This poem appeared here for the first and only time during C’s life: PW (EHC) I 148, under the title Ver Perpetuum.
² The heart of Haematoxyln campechianum used for making dyes for fabrics; hence not “necessary”.

On the Slave Trade

Poor are employed with unceasing toil first to raise, and then to send away the Comforts, which they themselves absolutely want, in order to procure idle superfluities for their Masters. If this Trade had never existed, no one human being would have been less comfortably clothed, housed, or nourished. Such is its value—they who would estimate the price which we pay for it, may consult the evidence delivered before the House of Commons. I will not mangle the feelings of my readers by detailing enormities, which the gloomy imagination of Dante would scarcely have dared attribute to the Inhabitants of Hell.¹ For the honour of our common nature, I would fain hope that these accounts have been exaggerated. But, by the confession of all, these enormities might have been perpetrated and with impunity: and when was power possessed and not exercised? By the confession of all parties great cruelties have been inflicted: and therefore before I can suspect exaggeration, I must disbelieve the oaths of the humane and disinterested in compliment to the assertions of men from whose shoulders though I should take mountains of guilt, enough would remain to sink them to perdition.—These Facts have been pressed on the Public even to satiety. It is my present purpose to consider the objections to the Abolition of this Commerce—which may be reduced to the five following—First, that the Abolition would be useless, since though we should not carry it on, other nations would. II. That the Africans are better treated and more happy in the Plantations than in their native Country. III. That the Revenue would be greatly injured. IV. That the Right of Property would be invaded. V. That this is not a fit opportunity.

I. That if England abolish the Slave-trade, other nations will carry it on. The same argument has been adduced by the *French Planters: a sufficient proof of its fallacy.³ Somebody must begin; and there is

¹ "‘Very soon this society of Friends to the Negroes require an abolition of the slave-trade: that is to say, that the profits which may result from it to the French commerce should be transferred to foreigners. For never will their romantic philosophy persuade the other European Powers &c.” See the address of the Planters of St. Domingo to the French Legislature.
³ C, who did not know Italian at this time, probably was acquainted with the Inferno in Henry Boyd’s translation (2 vols 1785). See CN 170 and n. Southey had borrowed the volumes from the Bristol Library in Sept and Oct 1794; see Bristol LB 118.
² The “Address” is quoted in A

Particular Account of the Commencement and Progress and the Insurrection of the Negroes in St. Domingo... (2nd ed 1792) 18.
³ Of Bryan Edwards The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies (2 vols 1793) II 106–9. See Bristol LB 121.
little reason to fear, that a wise and politic example will not be followed. As Society is constituted, there will be always highway robberies: it is useless therefore to prevent any one man from committing them. Fortunately for Travellers this logic will not hold good in law. But although it cannot operate in favour of little Rogues, it appears to possess wonderful power in the higher circles of Villany. Assuming the universal depravity of Mankind as an axiom, a corrupt member of Parliament lulls his Conscience to sleep with "to be sure these bills are subversive of the Constitution; but with such immense treasures to bestow, Ministry will secure a majority in the House: my opposition will therefore be useless to my Country; and if I vote for them, I shall only assist to do what would be otherwise done without me—and why should I not have this contract, or this sinecure, as well as another man, who perhaps would make a worse use of it?" &c.

II. That the Slaves are more humanely treated and live more happily in the Plantations than in their native Country. If any incredulous person should entertain a doubt of this, the slave-merchants, slave-holders, and slave-drivers together with the manufacturers of neck-collars and thumb-screws, are ready and willing to take their bible oaths of it!!—When treated with tolerable humanity the human race as well as other animals, multiply.—The Negroes multiply in their native country: They do not multiply in the West-India Islands; for if they did, the slave-trade would have been abolished long ago by its inutility.—This is a fact which no perjury can overweigh, which no sophistry can undermine.

The tyranny of the African Chiefs is in a great measure owing to the agency of Europeans, who flock to their Courts, and seduce them by bribery, andadden them by intoxication. The Africans are not slaves in their native Country; Slavery is their highest punishment for the greatest crimes, which their Chiefs now wantonly impute to the innocent for the sole purpose of making them slaves in order to sell them to the European Merchants: and with the same views the Chiefs make war with each other. Vadestrom,1 a disinterested and religious man, who has travelled into the interior parts of Africa, informs us, that the Africans who are situated beyond the contagion of European Vice, are innocent and happy. The peaceful Inhabitants of a fertile soil, they cultivate their fields in common, and reap the crop as the common property of all. Each Family, like the Peasants in some parts of Europe, spins, weaves, sews, hunts, fishes, and makes

1 Carl Bernhard Wadestrom An Essay on Colonization . . . (2 pts 1794) i 112-17 and ch 2 passim. See Bristol LB 121.

baskets, fishing-tackle, and the implements of agriculture: and this variety of employment gives an acuteness of intellect to the Negro which the Mechanic whom the division of labor condemns to one simple operation is precluded from attaining.

III. That the Revenue would be injured.—To the friends of humanity this is indeed a cogent argument against the abolition. They will doubtless reflect, how worthy this Revenue has been employed for these last hundred years—they will review with delight waste-lands cultivated, sciences publicly protected and rewarded, population increased, and the peasantry of England and Ireland instructed in useful learning, and humanized. The universal plenty, which this Revenue has been applied to scatter and secure, they will recognize in every lane, hamlet, and cottage—Revenue, the grand preventive against that fiendish composition of Murder and Suicide, called War-Revenue! that so completely precludes Intoxication in the lower classes, Luxury in the higher ranks, and Bribery in all!—The friends of humanity may moun that so excellent an end could not be effected by less calamitous means; but they will stifle their feelings, and lose the miseries of the West-Indies in the contemplation of that paradisiacal state of their native country—for which it is indebted to this well-raised, well-applied Revenue, which while it remains in such pure hands, no friend of Freedom and Virtue can possibly wish diminished!!—If to start a doubt were practicable, it might perhaps be hinted, that the Revenue must be always in proportion to the wealth of the nation, and that it seems to have been proved, that the West-India trade is more often a losing than a winning trade—a Lottery with more blanks than prizes in it. It is likewise asserted to be the grave of our Seamen. This argument therefore, however cogent it would otherwise have been, ought not to have been adduced, till these doubts had been cleared up, and this assertion satisfactorily disproved.

IV. That the Right of Property would be injured.—Yes perhaps, if immediate emancipation had been the object of Mr. Wilberforce's bill.1 But how would the right of property be invaded by a law which should leave the estate and every thing on it untouched, and only prevent the owner from forcing men to work for him? from forcing men to leave their friends and country, and live slaves in a climate so unwholesome or beneath a usage so unnatural, that contrary to the universal law of life they annually diminish? Can a man possess a right to commit actual and virtual murder? to shorten and

1 For the fate of the bill see below, pp 155-8.
prevent existence? It is a well-known and incontrovertible fact, that in some few plantations in which tyranny has been instructed by an enlightened selfishness to relax and soften her features, there have been no slaves bought for a series of years. By whomever therefore they have been bought yearly, yearly murders must have been committed!

V. This is not the time.—This not the time? "The French (says Abbe Sieyes) hear with delight of the numerous armaments which England sends to certain death in the West-India Islands. We make war there more effectually as well as economically by sending over a few adventurous officers to preach the rights of man to the negroes, and furnish them with weapons to assert those rights."—What can prevent the success of these intrigues among the slaves, but the most active humanity on the part of their present masters?

Such have been the cosmetics with which our parliamentary orators have endeavoured to conceal the deformities of a commerce, which is blotted all over with one leprosy of evil. In the year 1786 it's enormities became the subject of general conversation, and in the following years petitions poured into parliament from various parts of the kingdom, requesting it's abolition. The bill for that purpose passed the House of Commons mangled and mutilated by the amendments of Mr. Dundas, and it has been dying ever since of a slow decline in the House of Lords. The jealous spirit of liberty placed the Elector of Hanover on the throne of Great Britain: and the Duke of Clarence, one of his illustrious descendants, made his maiden speech in favour of the slave trade!! For the last unsuccessful attempt to expel the abolition in the House of Commons, see the proceedings in the British Legislature in this Number. Gracious God! enormities, at which a Caligula might have turned pale, are authorised by our laws, and jocosely defended by our Princes; and yet we have the impudence to call the French a Nation of Atheists! They, who believe a God, believe him to be the loving Parent of all men—And is it possible that they who really believe and fear the Father, should fearlessly authorize the oppression of his Children? The Slavery and Tortures, and most horrible Murder of tens of thousands of his Children!

Yes! the wicked and malignant can believe a God—they need not the solutions, which the enlarged views of the Optimist prompt; their own hearts teach them, that an intelligent being may be malevolent;

and what they themselves are, they impiously imagine of the Deity. These men are not Atheists: they are the causes of Atheism.—There are some who think Mr. Pitt sincere in his zeal for the abolition of this Trade; and I must certainly applaud their charity: but charity itself will allow that there are suspicious circumstances. Several violent and unpopular bills have lately been carried through both Houses—how came this bill, (certainly not an unpopular measure) to fail? It has been generally supposed, that a majority is always at the command of the existing minister; indeed that in the present state of the Constitution he could not guide the machine of government without an arranged majority. In answer to this objection, it has been confidently asserted by the advocates for Mr. Pitt, that the cabinet was divided on the subject; and at length agreed that the friends of the minister should be left, each individual to his own opinion. The cabinet therefore, we may suppose, were unanimous with regard to the late sedition and treason bills; and to this unanimity we may attribute the speed with which they were precipitated into laws. But it may be answered, that to unloose the fetters from the limbs of their brethren was a perfectly novel employment, and that therefore we ought not to wonder, if the minister and his friends are slow and awkward and finally unsuccessful. But to fasten them on is an old job, and difficult as it appears to the inexperienced, they executed it with an ease and rapidity which might have astonished the oldest turnkey in Newgate.

The Abbe Raynal computes that at the time of his writing, nine millions of slaves had been consumed by the Europeans—add one million since, (for it is near thirty years since his book was first published) and recollect, that for one procured ten at least are slaughtered, that a fifth die in the passage, and a third in the seasoning; and the calculation will amount to one hundred and eighty million! Ye who have joined in this confederacy, ask of yourselves this fearful question—"if the God of Justice inflict on us that mass only of anguish which we have wantonly heaped on our brethren, what must a state of retribution be?" But who are they who have joined in this tartarean confederacy? Who are these kidnappers, and assassins? In all reasonings neglecting the intermediate links we attribute the final effect to the first cause. And what is the first and constantly acting cause of the Slave-trade? That cause, by

1 Guillaume-Thomas-François Raynal, A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlement and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies. It was originally published in 1770.
which it exists and deprived of which it would immediately cease? Is it not self-evidently the consumption of its products? And does not then the guilt rest on the consumers? And is it not an allowed axiom in morality, that wickedness may be multiplied, but cannot be divided; and that the guilt of all, attaches to each one who is knowingly an accomplice? Think not of the slave-captains and slaveholders! these very men, their darkened minds, and brutalized hearts, will prove one part of the dreadful charge against you! They are more to be pitied than the slaves; because more depraved. I address myself to you who independently of all political distinctions, profess yourself Christians! As you hope to live with Christ hereafter, you are commanded to do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you. Would you choose, that a slave merchant should incite an intoxicated Chieftain to make war on your Country, and murder your Wife and Children before your face, or drag them with yourself to the Market? Would you choose to be sold? to have the hot iron hiss upon your breasts, after having been crammed into the hold of a Ship with so many fellow-victims, that the heat and stench, arising from your diseased bodies, should rot the very planks? Would you, that others should do this unto you? and if you shudder with selfish horror at the bare idea, do you yet dare be the occasion of it to others?——The application to the Legislature was altogether wrong. I am not convinced that on any occasion a Christian is justified in calling for the interference of secular power; but on the present occasion it was superfluous. If only one tenth part among you who profess yourselves Christians; if one half only of the Petitioners; instead of bustling about with ostentatious sensibility, were to leave off—not all the West-India commodities—but only Sugar and Rum, the one useless and the other pernicious—all this misery might be stopped. Gracious Heaven! At your meals you rise up, and pressing your hands to your bosoms, you lift up your eyes to God, and say, "O Lord! bless the food which thou hast given us!" A part of that food among most of you, is sweetened with Brother's Blood. "Lord! bless the food which thou hast given us?" O Blasphemy! Did God give food mingled with the blood of the Murdered? Will God bless the food which is polluted with the Blood of his own innocent children? Surely if the inspired Philanthropist of Galilee were to revisit Earth, and be among the Feasters as at Cana, he would not now change water into wine, but convert the produce into the things producing, the occasion into the things occasioned. Then with our fleshy eye should we behold what even now imagination ought to paint to us; instead of conserves, tears and blood, and for music, groanings and the loud peals of the lash!

There is observable among the Many a false and bastard sensibility that prompts them to remove those evils and those evils alone, which by hideous spectacle or clamorous outcry are present to their senses, and disturb their selfish enjoyments. Other miseries, though equally certain and far more horrible, they not only do not endeavour to remedy—they support, they fatten on them. Provided the dunghill be not before their parlour window, they are well content to know that it exists, and that it is the hot-bed of their pestilent luxuries.—To this grievous failing we must attribute the frequency of wars, and the continuance of the Slave-trade. The merchant finds no argument against it in his ledger: the citizen at the crowded feast is not nauseated by the stench and filth of the slave-vessel—the fine lady's nerves are not shattered by the shrieks! She sips a beverage sweetened with human blood, even while she is weeping over the refined sorrows of Werter or of Clementina. Sensibility is not Benevolence. Nay, by making us tremulously alive to trifling misfortunes, it frequently prevents it, and induces effeminate and cowardly selfishness. Our own sorrows, like the Princes of Hell in Milton's Pandemonium, sit enthroned "bulky and vast:" while the miseries of our fellow-creatures dwindle into pigmy forms, and are crouded, an innumerable

1 Their religion, C explained to Thelwall in Dec 1796, commands Christians "never to use the arm of flesh, to be perfectly non-resistant". CL 1 282.
2 Changed to "ended" by C in the BM copy (Ashley 2842) of The Watchman p 108. Cf "A family that uses 5 lb. of sugar per week, with the proportion of rum, will, by abstaining from the consumption 21 months, prevent the slavery or murder of one fellow creature; eight such families in 194 years prevent the slavery or murder of 100, and 38,000 would totally prevent the Slave Trade to supply our islands." William Fox An Address to the People of Great Britain, on the Propriety of Abstaining from West India Sugar and Rum (10th ed Birmingham 1791) 2-3 (the pamphlet reached its 26th ed in 1793). Fox, an attorney, published a periodical in 1796 called The Friend.
3 See CN 1 223 and n.
4 Translations of Goethe's Sorrows of Werter were numerous in England from 1779 onward.
5 The lady Clementina, who went temporarily mad, in Richardson's History of Sir Charles Grandison.
6 A misremembering of Samson's "Though in these chains, bulk without spirit vast" (Samson Agonistes line 1238)? Satan in hell, not Pandemonium, lay floating "... in bulk as huge As whom the Fables name of monstrous size" (Paradise Lost i 196-7).
multitude, into some dark corner of the heart. There is one criterion by which we may always distinguish benevolence from mere sensibility—Benevolence impels to action, and is accompanied by self-denial.

P.S. It has been objected, that if we leave off sugar and rum, why not the other West-India commodities, as cotton and mahogany? To this we answer, First, that if the reasons adduced against the use of sugar and rum be valid and irresistible, and the same reasons apply to cotton and mahogany, why should we not disuse them? Surely no impossibility, no insurmountable inconvenience is implied. The whole objection resolves itself into this—if sugar and rum were the only West-India commodities, I could be honest and act like a Christian; but because I like cotton better than linen, and think mahogany genteeler furniture than oak, it is impossible. Secondly, the disuse of sugar and rum only would in a certain number of years prove the adequate means of abolishing the whole of the trade. And there is reason to believe that the additional disuse of cotton, mahogany, &c. would not accelerate the time; for when we might proselytize fifty to the disuse of sugar, we could not perhaps make five persons converts to the disuse of all the West-India commodities. So that what we should gain in point of time by the greater quantity of commodities disused, we should more than lose by the smaller number of persons disusing them. This the very objection makes probable. For they, who start it, do not start it in favour of a severe consistency, but in the hope of keeping themselves in countenance by the multitude of their accomplices. But thirdly, the other West-India commodities do not require such intense labor in their growth and preparation, as the Sugar and Rum. They might be raised by European Labourers. The Sugar plantations make Africans necessary, and their slavery intolerable.

I have read and heard one argument in favour of the slave-trade, which I mention chiefly on account of its seditious and reasonable tendency. It has been asserted by more than one Writer on the subject, that the plantation slaves are at least as well off as the peasantry in England. Now I appeal to common sense, whether to affirm that the slaves are as well off as our peasantry, be not the same as to assert that our peasantry are as bad off as negro-slaves? And whether if our peasantry believed it, they would not be inclined to rebel?

1 "These lines, first published in the Watchman . . . were included in the volume of MS Poems presented to Mrs. Eastlin in April, 1795. They were never claimed by Coleridge or assigned to him, and are now collected for the first time". PW (EHCl 135. If the lines are not C's, perhaps the signature G.A.U.N.T. stands for "Mr. Gaunt, of Clare-hall" who in Feb 1795 was "preparing a translation of the poetry of Lucretius; omitting entirely the metaphysical parts", as announced in the second and last number of Benjamin Flower's University Magazine (Feb 1795) 133, immediately after an announcement that C would "shortly publish some Sonnets". The Lucretius was to appear in the spring, but no trace of this or any other work of C's contemporary at Cambridge, John Gaunt (BA 1795, MA 1800), has been discovered.

2 The conclusion seems to echo Bishop Berkeley's use of the query (see above, p 102 and nn 3-8, 103 and n 2).