

Chamberlain, Kitchener, Kropotkine —and the political Pessoa

Carlos Pittella*

Keywords

Fernando Pessoa, Political poetry, English sonnets, Chamberlain, Kitchener, Kropotkine, Hobhouse, Concentration camps, Anglo-Boer wars, Port Arthur, Tsushima, Anarchism, Conquest of Bread, 1905 Russian Revolution, Duma, Search, Anon, Milton.

Abstract

Though Fernando Pessoa is not widely known as a political poet, we may be familiar with the political commentary explicit in some of his works. In four political sonnets dating from 1905 (but only fully published in 1995), the poet criticizes the mockery of Russia by British journalists, calls the colonization of Ireland and the Transvaal “a shame on England,” and lays a curse upon Joseph Chamberlain’s head for his involvement in the Anglo-Boer wars. Among Pessoa’s unpublished English poetry, there are drafts (in various stages of completion) of other political poems, written between 1905 and 1907, featuring Chamberlain and two other historical figures of the beginning of the 20th century: Kitchener and Kropotkine. By presenting the early political poems by Pessoa—both published and unpublished—this essay argues that they form a coherent *corpus*, which may be defined by the relationship between a political event and Pessoa’s reaction to it through a poem.

Palavras-chave

Fernando Pessoa, poesia política, sonetos ingleses, Chamberlain, Kitchener, Kropotkine, Hobhouse, campos de concentração, Guerra dos Bôeres, Port Arthur, Tsushima, Anarquismo, Conquista do Pão, Revolução Russa de 1905, Duma, Search, Anon, Milton.

Resumo

Embora Fernando Pessoa não seja largamente conhecido como um poeta político, seus leitores talvez estejam familiarizados com o comentário político explícito em alguns dos seus escritos. Em quatro sonetos políticos escritos em 1905 (mas só publicados por completo em 1995), o poeta critica o escárnio da Rússia feito por jornalistas britânicos, chama a colonização da Irlanda e do Transvaal “a shame on England” (uma vergonha para a Inglaterra) e amaldiçoa Joseph Chamberlain por seu envolvimento nas Guerras dos Bôeres. Entre a poesia inglesa inédita de Pessoa, encontram-se rascunhos (em vários estágios de acabamento) de outros poemas políticos, escritos entre 1905 e 1907, referindo Chamberlain e outras duas personagens históricas do princípio do século XX: Kitchener e Kropotkine. Ao apresentar esses primeiros poemas políticos de Pessoa—tanto publicados como inéditos—este ensaio defende que tais textos formam um *corpus* coerente, definível pela relação entre um evento político e a reação de Pessoa a ele através de um poema.

* Postdoctoral Research Associate at Brown University; affiliated with the Center for Theatre Studies at the University of Lisbon.

1. A Political Pessoa?

Fernando Pessoa is not widely known as a political poet.¹ This may be primarily due to the fact that a significant part of Pessoa's political works was only recently edited: though a handful of Pessoa's political writings were published during his lifetime² and two volumes edited in 1979 (PESSOA, 1979a & 1979b), the first critical editions³ came out in 2011 and 2015, when José Barreto compiled Pessoa's texts on Freemasonry (PESSOA, 2011a), European fascism and the military dictatorship in Portugal (PESSOA, 2015a).

In one article, Barreto assessed the full scope of the political thought in Pessoa's poetry and prose, suggesting that even his own comprehensive editions didn't exhaust Pessoa's political writings:

Atento observador e pensador político que também foi, Fernando Pessoa legou à posteridade milhares de páginas inéditas contendo apontamentos, observações, ensaios e projectos de ensaios sobre a política do seu tempo, principalmente a portuguesa, ou sobre temas mais universais de "sociologia política" (assim lhe chamava).

(BARRETO, 2015: 189)

[A keen observer and political thinker, among other things, Fernando Pessoa bequeathed to posterity thousands of unpublished pages containing notes, observations, essays and projects of essays on the politics of his time, especially the Portuguese [politics], or about universal themes of "political sociology" (as he used to call it).]⁴

¹ This text is based on a chapter of my doctoral thesis (PITTELLA, 2012) and on a communication (with the same title as this article) presented at the colloquium *A Poesia Inglesa de Fernando Pessoa – Tributo a Georg Rudolf Lind*, at the Fernando Pessoa House (3 July 2014). I thank Jerónimo Pizarro, José Barreto, Stephanie Leite and Patricio Ferrari for their advice in the preparation of this text.

² In 1917 Pessoa published "Ultimatum" under the heteronym Álvaro de Campos; half poetry, half prose, it couldn't be more explicitly political. Nevertheless, Campos is not primarily known as a political (fictitious) author. During his lifetime, Pessoa engaged in polemics that became politicized, such as defending homoeroticism in 1923 (cf. BARRETO, 2012a) and Freemasonry in 1935 (cf. BARRETO, 2011a), or attacking Mussolini in 1926 (cf. BARRETO, 2012b). Still, those writings were in prose, and, save for two exceptions, Pessoa's political poetry would only be known after his death. Exceptionally, Pessoa published the monarchic poem "À Memória do Presidente-Rei Sidónio Paes" [In Memory of the President-King Sidónio Paes] (PESSOA, 1920), and tried to publish the anti-Salazarist "Liberdade" [Freedom] in 1935, though it was initially censored and only published posthumously in 1937 (cf. PITTELLA and PIZARRO, 2016: 212-216).

³ Barreto's 2015 critical edition includes mostly prose writings by Pessoa: 121 texts in Portuguese, 22 in English, and 7 in French; it also includes 22 poems (some fragmentary) in Portuguese (cf. PESSOA, 2015a). Depending on how one defines "political text," *Ibéria* and *A Língua Portuguesa* (PESSOA, 2012 & 1997b), among other Pessoaan works, could also be considered political.

⁴ Unless mentioned otherwise, all translations are my own.

Among these unpublished pages, one may also find Pessoa's political English poems, still virtually unknown.⁵ These writings are sometimes signed with the pen names Charles Robert Anon and Alexander Search; other times, they remained unattributed to any fictitious personalities, and could be attributed to the oronym, that is, Pessoa himself.

Even if we define "political poetry" in the strictest sense of verses directly and explicitly connected to propaganda for or against a political system,⁶ numerous poems by Pessoa could be placed on both sides of the definition: on one hand, the poetry of *Mensagem* may very well be interpreted as patriotic-nationalistic, and a few of its poems were included in textbooks promoted by the Portuguese military dictatorship⁷; on the other hand, Pessoa wrote extensively against this same dictatorship, as attested by the compilation *Sobre o Fascismo* (PESSOA, 2015a), and left scattered poems directed to political figures of his time, such as Teófilo Braga⁸ (PESSOA, 2013b: 105).

I intend to show that numerous English poems by Pessoa, written between 1905 and 1907, may be read as reactions to specific political events. At this point I recall T.S. Eliot's admonition to readers regarding political poetry:

But before proceeding I want to dismiss one objection that may be raised. People sometimes are suspicious of any poetry that has a particular purpose: poetry in which the poet is advocating social, moral, political or religious views. And they are much more inclined to say that it isn't poetry when they dislike the particular views [...]. I should say that the question of whether the poet is using his poetry to advocate or attack a social attitude does not matter.

(ELIOT, 2009 [1943]: 6)

Why doesn't it matter? For Eliot, because poetry survives changes in popular opinion. For Pessoa studies, because a better knowledge of Pessoa's English poetry—including his political poems—would contribute to our understanding of his oeuvre as a whole.

⁵ For the current state of Pessoa's English poetry as a whole see FERRARI and PITTELLA (2014).

⁶ It is not a simple matter to define "political poetry"; David Orr's search for a definition is emblematic: "Is a political poem simply a poem with 'political' words in it, like 'Congress,' 'Dachau' or 'egalitarianism'? Or is it a poem that discusses the way people relate (or might relate) to each other? If that's the case, are love poems political? What about poems in dialect? Should we draw a firm line, and say that a political poem has to have some actual political effect? Should it attempt to persuade us in the way most normal political speeches do?" (ORR, 2012: 48-49).

⁷ I thank José Barreto for informing me that the poems "Mar Português" and "O Mostrengo," both from *Mensagem*, have been used in textbooks during the Portuguese military dictatorship. As far as I know, the appropriation of *Mensagem* for the purposes of political propaganda is yet to be studied.

⁸ Teófilo Braga (1843-1924) became the leader of the Provisional Government of Portugal on 6 October 1910, after the 5 October revolution, which saw the abdication of King Manuel II. Pessoa mocks Braga in the "Soneto de mal-dizer" attributed to Joaquim Moura Costa (PESSOA, 2013b: 105).

2. State of the Art

What are the known English political poems by Pessoa?⁹ In 1972, Georg Rudolf Lind revealed two long poems Pessoa wrote about the First World War: “Now are no Janus’ temple-doors thrown wide” and “Salute to the Sun’s Entry into Aries,” respectively dated 7 January 1915 and 9 March 1917 (LIND, 1972: 449-458). Pessoa would hardly refrain from commenting on a war that involved the entire Europe. This was not the first time, though, that the poet would react to political events in his English verses. In 1984, Hubert Jennings presented four sonnets that the young Pessoa, under the name of Charles Robert Anon, submitted to the *Natal Mercury*, a daily newspaper founded in 1852 and still published in Durban, South Africa.¹⁰

Igualmente reveladores do seu envolvimento são os poemas que Pessoa escreveu sobre temas políticos. Estes destinavam-se ainda ao *Natal Mercury*, mas não foram aceites por aquele prudente jornal. São quatro sonetos: Joseph Chamberlain (Fevereiro de 1905); To England, I & II (19 de Junho de 1905); Liberty (20 de Junho de 1905).

(JENNINGS, 1984: 95)

[Equally revealing of his involvement are the poems that Pessoa wrote about political themes. These were intended to the *Natal Mercury*, but were not accepted by that prudent newspaper. These are four sonnets: Joseph Chamberlain (February 1905); To England, I & II (19 June 1905); Liberty (20 June 1905).]

Those four sonnets are crucial to the understanding of Pessoa’s political poetry—and the influence of John Milton (1608-1674) is noteworthy:

The idea of expressing political views in sonnet form had not been done before Milton, and it was only with his example that such a precedent was set. In the thirty-three sonnets he [Milton] published in his lifetime, his comments on state policy as well as problems he personally underwent during Cromwell’s Commonwealth found a place in this poetic form for the first time [...]. One could say that the sonnets [Pessoa] sent to the South African review were Miltonic for Anon, both by virtue of the form adhered to (Italian sonnet: an octave followed by a sestet), and the reference to current political events. Pessoa/Anon explored the sonnet as a weapon, as a way of taking a political stance. It is likely that he used the pseudonym of Charles Robert Anon (an English name) in order to protect himself within a tightly knit community at a time when criticism of British interests would not have been welcome.

(FERRARI, 2015: 11-12)¹¹

⁹ Henceforth referred to as the *corpus*.

¹⁰ Pessoa’s father died when the poet was five years old, and his mother remarried the Portuguese consul in Durban. For biographical information of Pessoa in Durban, see JENNINGS (1984 and 1986).

¹¹ Ferrari also notes that, while living in Durban, Pessoa studied *The Poetical Works of John Milton*, and first read Robert Bridges’s *Milton’s Prosody* in 1904, during his last year of high school (cf. FERRARI, 2015: 7); both books are extant in Pessoa’s private library (for a full reference see the bibliography at the end of this article).

Jennings was the first to edit “To England II” (he also published two verses from “Liberty” and three from “Joseph Chamberlain”). After the *Natal Mercury* rejected the sonnets, Pessoa would copy the four pieces in neat handwriting and attribute them, not to Anon, but to Alexander Search—a fictitious author who would dominate Pessoa’s English literary production from 1906 to 1910 (cf. PESSOA, 2014: 227-248).

Jennings worked on Pessoa’s papers alongside Lind in Lisbon, in 1968 (cf. JENNINGS, 1979: 20 and BROWN, 2016: 151).¹² Lind’s transcriptions are now part of Pessoa’s literary estate at the National Library of Portugal (NLP), comprising a dossier with the call number¹³ BNP/E3 “77-78B Annex.” Though Lind published multiple poems by Search as early as 1966, he never edited the four aforementioned sonnets. Thus, apart from the efforts by Jennings, these poems remained virtually unknown until the publication of Luísa Freire’s edition of Alexander Search’s poetry (PESSOA, 1995), shortly followed by the one prepared by João Dionísio (PESSOA, 1997a).

Perhaps the biggest contribution of Dionísio to our *corpus* lies in his meticulous transcription of several lists prepared by the poet. Some of these lists include titles naming political figures prominent in the beginning of the 20th century: alongside “Joseph Chamberlain,” who merited the sonnet divulged by Lind & Jennings, we find “Kitchener” and “Kropotkine”—titles of two poems that remained unpublished. These lists offer, thus, a map to roam through Pessoa’s labyrinthine archive in search of manuscripts that would fit the intriguing titles enumerated: sometimes a list presents a clue, such as part of an *incipit*, or the mark “S” indicating a sonnet—narrowing the query.

In 2009, Jerónimo Pizarro edited a number of Pessoa’s notebooks, which included another relevant list featuring some titles of the same political poems (cf. PESSOA, 2009: 152-155). In 2015, Patricio Ferrari brought to my attention two more unpublished lists, one of them attributed to Charles Robert Anon [See ANNEX I]. Also in 2015, the poem “Steal, Steal!”—named on some of the lists—was published by Stefan Helgesson, transcribed by Ferrari (HELGESSION, 2015: 36-37).

Based on these publications and lists, what emerges is a coherent group of early English political poems, spanning from February 1905 to August 1907 (note that the World War I English poems by Pessoa are not included here, as their sociopolitical context would require a separate study).

¹² Jennings himself acknowledges the debt to Lind “for the transcription of the works of Alexander Search” (JENNINGS, 1986: 72).

¹³ Pessoa’s estate was designated “Espólio 3” [Archive 3] at the *Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal* [National Library of Portugal]. Hence any call numbers from the archive will begin with the abbreviation BNP/E3.

TABLE A¹⁴ presents this *corpus* of poems, in chronological order, together with the attributions by Pessoa (unpublished titles appear in bold).

[TABLE A]

POEM TITLE	DATE	ATTRIBUTION
Joseph Chamberlain	February 1905	Charles Robert Anon, later Alexander Search
To England I & II	19 June 1905	
Liberty	20 June 1905	
Vicar of Bar	c. 1905-1906	Charles Robert Anon
Steal, Steal!	July 1906	Unattributed (Fernando Pessoa)
Kitchener	July 1906	
Vae Fortibus! (Woe to the Strong)	July 1906	
Kropotkine	19 May 1907	
Oh Miserable Slaves	20 May 1907	

Pessoa's fictitious authors are usually studied as separate literary entities; nevertheless, considering our *corpus*, one must ask: why would some poems transit from Anon to Search, while one ("Vicar of Bar") remained with Anon? Why would other poems not be attributed at all and thus, by default, go to Pessoa himself?

One could hypothesize further: would the unattributed poems have also been given to Search, had Pessoa revised them, as he did with many early fragments? From reading these writings as a group, we encounter a legitimate corpus, in which Pessoa's poetic personae were not totally independent or clearly defined.

Besides their floating authorship (among Pessoaan personae), these poems also share a thematic coherence, bringing to light—and commenting upon—a definite historic period. By focusing on the first decade of the 20th century (half spent by Pessoa in South Africa, half in Portugal), I will highlight references to Joseph Chamberlain, Herbert Kitchener, Piotr Kropotkine [Пётр Кропоткин], and to historical events connected to these personalities. By attempting to briefly recreate the sociopolitical context in which Pessoa's texts were written, I intend to pinpoint events to which the poet could be reacting.

3. "Joseph Chamberlain" and "Vicar of Bar"

In our *corpus*, the earliest poem is "Joseph Chamberlain." Written in February 1905, it is a malediction Pessoa directed at Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914)—a very influential British politician at the time. Appointed Secretary of State for the

¹⁴ Call numbers from Pessoa's archive pertaining to the *corpus*, together with references to the publications made to-date, are presented in TABLE B of ANNEX II; known lists naming those poems, together with publications that first edited them, are presented in TABLE C of ANNEX II.

Colonies in 1895, Chamberlain was implicated in the botched Jameson Raid (1895) and in the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902).

Joseph Chamberlain

Their blood on thy head, whom the Afric waste
Saw struggling, puppets with unwillful hand,
Brother and brother: their bought souls shall brand
Thine own with horrors. Be thy name erased

5 From the full mouth of men; nor be there traced
To thee one glory to thy parent land;
But 'fore us, as 'fore God e'er do thou stand
In that thy deed forevermore disgraced.

10 Where lie the sons and husbands, where those dear
That thy curst craft hath lost? Their drops of blood,
One by one fallen, and many a cadenced tear,

With triple justice weighted trebly dread,
Shall each, rolled onward in a burning flood,
Crush thy dark soul. Their blood be on thy head!

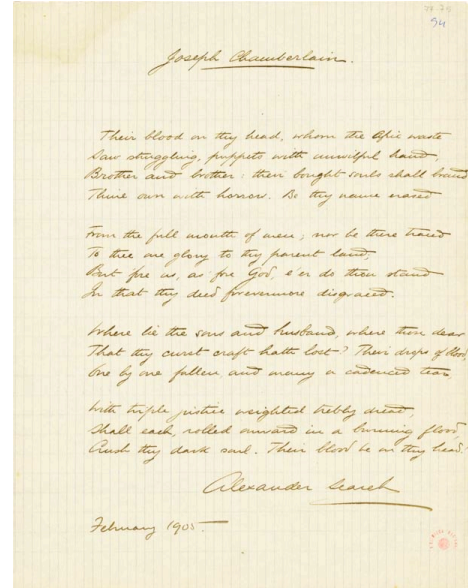


Fig. 1. "Joseph Chamberlain" [BNP/E3, 77-75]

Pessoa reveals a political preoccupation and insight surprising for a sixteen-year-old—a foreigner, living in South Africa and witnessing the development and aftermath of the Second Anglo-Boer War. The Boers were the descendants of Calvinist settlers who established themselves in South Africa in the 17th and 18th centuries. Though officially a conflict between Boers and Englishmen, the war involved the entire country, killing more than 75,000 people.

Incidentally, the conflict united—against the British—both Boers and native South Africans, but it was so destructive to the local economy, that it ended up accentuating a segregation system that would give rise to *apartheid* in the 1940s. The conflict is infamously remembered as the first case of concentration camps in the 20th century, preceding the ones the Nazi regime would employ.

The British army adopted a scorched-earth strategy. Thousands of Boer farms were burned to ashes to destroy the food supply. The herds were led away or slaughtered on the spot. The military objective was to cripple the fighting men in the field. But the strategy fell hardest on the defenceless—the women and children whose homes the soldiers destroyed. [...] To house this impoverished horde, the British built a system of concentration camps. They were awful places: filthy, badly provisioned, and with only rudimentary medical facilities. Disease spread through the packed and weakened people, and took a dreadful toll. Some twenty-eight thousand Boer women and children, and at least twenty thousand black people, died in the camps.

(HART, 2016: 41)

In February 1905, when Pessoa's sonnet was first written, the concentration camps set up and operated by the British had already been exposed. Having visited several camps in 1901, British activist Emily Hobhouse¹⁵ (1860-1926) wrote a report drawing attention to the humanitarian crisis in South Africa (HOBHOUSE, 1902)—a crisis so horrific, that the report would face general disbelief, as the activist would recount later in life:

My work in the Concentration Camps in South Africa made almost all my people look down upon me with scorn and derision. The press abused me, branded me a rebel, a liar, an enemy of my people, called me hysterical and even worse.

(HOBHOUSE, 1 May 1926; in RAATH, 1999: 33)

Hobhouse would return to South Africa in 1903 and 1905, promoting reconciliation and being attacked by the media—thus in the public sight at the time when Pessoa cursed Chamberlain as the master-puppeteer behind the bloodshed.

Pessoa's sonnet functions as a spell.¹⁶ By employing incantatory repetition, it throws the weight of thousands of deaths upon the colonial policies of Joseph Chamberlain, a character generally respected in English history. Line 12 invokes the "triple" return of all ill-effects of Chamberlain's actions;¹⁷ the first and last lines form a circle, with the sonnet concluding in the same way as it began. On his sonnet "On the Late Massacher in Piemont," Milton had also proffered a malediction, asking the "Lord" to "avenge thy slaughter'd Saints," the Waldensian Protestants of Piedmont, who were massacred in 1673. Milton employs an escalation of words with numerical roots ("redoubl'd," "triple" and "hunder'd-fold"), with a might that must have impressed the young Pessoa¹⁸: "Their moans |

¹⁵ Emily's brother was Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse (1864-1929), political theorist, sociologist and author of *Liberalism* (1911), a book extant in the library of Fernando Pessoa (CFP 3-32).

¹⁶ One may find traces of the magical incantations of Keats and Poe in the poetry Pessoa attributed to Alexander Search. Note that, in 1903, when Pessoa won the Queen Victoria Memorial Prize, *The Poetic Works of John Keats* and *The Choice Works of Edgar Allan Poe* were among the books the young Portuguese poet chose—and cherished—as part of his prize (cf. JENNINGS, 1984: 39).

¹⁷ One could perhaps call this poem a "karmic" curse, for it invokes the law of inevitable reactions that would befall the doer of ill-intended actions. Pessoa would become acquainted with the law of *karma* through his Theosophical readings, which reclaimed the principle from Hinduism and Buddhism; in 1916, Pessoa would translate the book *Light on the Path and Karma* (COLLINS, 1912). While in Durban, the poet studied the works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, which included references to Eastern thought and the following passage about Plato, expounding a concept reminiscent of *karma*: "his [Plato's] clear vision of the laws of return, or reaction, which secure instant justice throughout the universe, instanced everywhere" (EMERSON, 1902: 163). I thank Duarte Drumond Braga for helping me trace the influence of the concept of *karma* on Pessoa's writings.

¹⁸ Pessoa wrote elsewhere: "When Milton wrote a sonnet, he wrote as if he were to live or die by that sole sonnet. No sonnet should be written in any other spirit" (PESSOA, 1966: 204).

To England.

(When English journalists joked on Russia's disasters)

I.

How long, oh Lord, shall war and strife be rolled
On the God-breathing breast of slumbering man,
Horrible nightmares in the doubtful span
Of his sleep blind to heaven? As of old,

5 Shall we, more wise, in frantic joy behold
The bloody fall of nation and of clan,
And ever others' woes with rough glee scan,
And war's dark names in Glory's charts inscrolled?

10 We now that in vile joy our egoist fears
Behold dispelled, one day shall mourn the more
That blood of men erased them—bitter tears

Of desolated woe, as wept of yore
(Yet not for the short space of ten long years)
The Grecian archer on the Lemnian shore.

II.

Our enemies are fallen; other hands
Than ours have struck them, and our joy is great
To know that now at length our fears abate
From hurt and menace on great Eastern lands.

5 Bardling, scribbler and artist, servile bands,
From covert sneer outstare their trembling hate,
Laughing at misery, and woe, and fallen state,
Armies of men whole-crushed on desolate strands.

10 The fallen lion every ass can kick,
That in his life, shamed to unmotioned fright,
His every move with eyes askance did trace.

Ill scorn beseems us, men for war and trick,
Whose groaning nation poured her fullest might
To take the freedom of a farmer race.

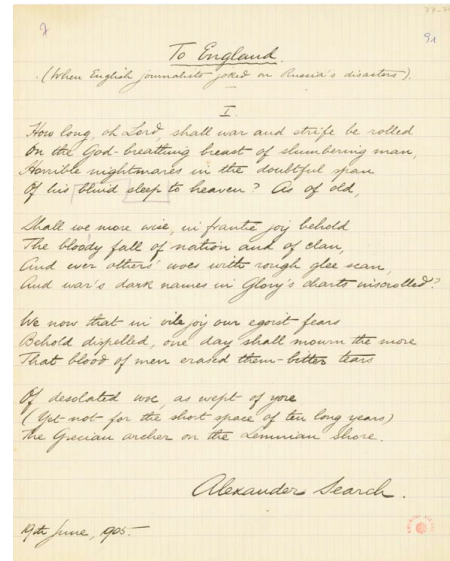


Fig. 3. "To England I" [BNP/E3, 77-79']

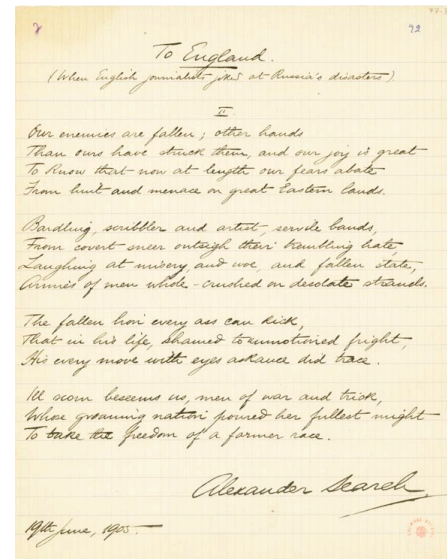


Fig. 4. "To England II" [BNP/E3, 77-80']

Since December 1904, Russia was in social turmoil, enduring a war with Japan (1904-1905) and a series of protests quashed by the forces of tsar Nicholas II—a period that would culminate in the Revolution of 1917. "The fallen lion" which "every ass can kick" evokes some of Aesop's fables (eg., "The Sick Lion"), with the animals symbolizing Russian dormancy and English boastfulness. The "farmer race," whose freedom was taken by England, stands for the Boers, whose name means, literally, "farmers" both in Dutch and in Afrikaans.

The Russo-Japanese War was declared on 10 February 1904, one day after the Battle of Port Arthur (8-9 February); though the Russians drove the Japanese forces from the battlefield and no warships were lost, there were 150 casualties on the Russian side (compared to 90 Japanese casualties), and the surprise attack in Port Arthur would later be compare to the 1941 assault on Pearl Harbor. This war would end with the infamous Battle of Tsushima, on 27-28 May 1905, a massacre in which Russia lost all its battleships and more than 4,000 men. Pessoa's two poems "To England" are written three weeks after the Russian humiliation.

The first sonnet ends with another malediction; differently from the spell directed to Chamberlain, this one proves to be prophetic, taking ten years to be fulfilled ("Yet not for the short space of ten long years"). Verily, a decade after the 1905 poem, Europe would be facing the first of two World Wars, soon having to swallow the necessity of an alliance with the Russians in order to defeat Nazism.

Closing the cycle of poems submitted to the *Natal Mercury*, "Liberty" is dated one day after the two sonnets "To England."

Liberty

(To G. N.)

Oh, sacred Liberty, dear mother of Fame!
 What are men here that they should expel thee?
 What right of theirs, save power, makes others be
 The pawns, as if unfeeling, in their game?

5 Ireland and the Transvaal, ye are a shame
 On England and a blot! Oh, shall we see
 For ever crushed and held who should be free
 By human creatures without human name?

Wonder not then, dear friend, that here where men
 10 Are far away I can well rest, and far
 From where in lawful bodies, Christian-wise,
 Beings of earth their fellows fold and pen;
 Glad that the winds not yet enchainèd are
 And billows yet are free to fall and rise.

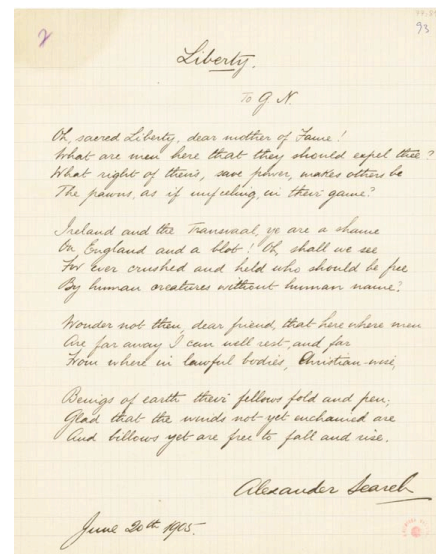


Fig. 5. "Liberty" [BNP/E3, 77-81]

Helgesson noted that, during the Anglo-Boer wars, "Irish volunteers had fought on the Boer side, identifying [...] with the nationalist David struggling against the imperialist British Goliath" and that "the lines 'Ireland and the Transvaal, ye are a shame | On England and a blot!' convey thereby the damage wrought by the war on the image of the British Empire" (HELGESSION, 2015: 38).

"Liberty" is dedicated "To G.N.," the initials of Gaudencio Nabos, the director of *O Palrador (The Conversationalist)*, a journal created by Pessoa and staffed exclusively by his fictitious authors (cf. PESSOA, 2013a: 180-181). According

to Pessoa, Nabos was bilingual and resided, primarily, in England; he suddenly started writing in Portuguese in 1908, after Pessoa returned to Portugal, carrying Nabos with him (cf. PESSOA, 2013a: 182). “Liberty,” therefore, is a sonnet-report from a foreign correspondent in South Africa (Pessoa/Anon/Search) directed to two publications: the real *Natal Mercury* and the fictional *O Palrador*.

5. “Kitchener” and “the Strong” who “Steal”

In November 1901, Lord Horatio Herbert Kitchener, British local general in South Africa since December 1900, received a complaint cosigned by the State President and the State Secretary of the Transvaal and Orange Free State, who repeated “the request already made [...] that a Commission from our side, of whom at least one member will be a medical man, shall be allowed to visit the women’s camps to render a report” (in HOBHOUSE, 1902: 109). In his response, Kitchener places the responsibility for the camps with the State—not with himself, despite his status and the fact that the complain had been directed to him:

I observe from your Honour’s communication, which you have asked me to forward to Lord Salisbury, and which I have so forwarded, that you complain of the treatment of your women and children, and the camps which we have established for their reception.

Everything has been done which the conditions of a state of war allowed to provide for the well-being of the women and children, but as your Honour complains of that treatment, and must therefore be in a position to provide for them, I have the honour to inform you that all women and children at present in our camps who are willing to leave will be sent to the care of your Honour, and I shall be happy to be informed where you desire they shall be handed over to you.

(KITCHENER, 1 December 1901; in HOBHOUSE, 1902: 110)

Emily Hobhouse didn’t think that everything had “been done which the conditions of a state of war allowed.” Neither did Fernando Pessoa. Among the poet’s unpublished manuscripts, we find a draft titled “Kitchener.” Though incomplete, we know it to be a sonnet, because Pessoa includes the poem in two lists of sonnets he prepared (BNP/E3, 48C-8^r and 153-63^v); moreover, the list 48B-101^r indicates that this poem should have “14” verses (as a traditional sonnet).

The poem “Kitchener” is preceded by an epigraph that echoes the theme of Émile Zola’s *Germinal*, which had been published in 1885. Though possibly inspired by Zola²¹, Pessoa was more likely reacting to the Bambatha Rebellion,²² a

²¹ Tough one-sided, *The Natal Rebellion of 1906* (BOSMAN, 1907) is a source of important information.

²² Pessoa mentions Zola in a text that Lind & Prado Coelho conjectured to be from 1907: “How do we explain the taste of so many authors for subjects which are coarse, unpleasant, repugnant? How are we to explain the □ of Zola; how the ‘Black Cat’ of Edgar Allan Poe?” (PESSOA, 1966: 26).

Zulu revolt against British rule and taxation in Natal, which saw a series of guerilla attacks from February to April 1906, resulting in 4,000 Zulu dead, 7,000 imprisoned and 4,000 flogged. From the list 48B-101^r, we know Pessoa dated his poem from "July 1906," just after the revolt was quelled by the British.

If we equalized strength[,] would they not
tyrannise, overdo strength. Yes, as they are men
rough, uncultivated (you yourselves made them so).
Remember the Revolution!

Kitchener

Oh hireling son of tyranny & hate
Salaried salesman of distress and death,
[]
[]
5 []
[]
[]
[]
[]
Hadst thou no mother? Never sawst thou love?
10 []
[]
[] the power [] fell
Thou layest faith in []
God and revenge and punishment and hell.

Fig. 6. "Kitchener" [BNP/E3, 49B^v-100^v]

The derogatory term "hireling," with which Pessoa opens this poem, is rather telling: it is the same word used by Milton to belittle ministers at the end of his sonnet "To the Lord Generall Cromwell": "Helpe us to save free Conscience from the paw | Of hireling wolves whose Gospell is their maw" (MILTON, 1983 [1694]: 30).

Kitchener was born in Ireland in 1850. He became Chief of Staff to Commander in Chief in 1899 and, in 1900, was quickly promoted from overall commander to local general in South Africa. Therefore, he was as involved as Chamberlain in the Anglo-Boer conflict. In 1902, Kitchener was appointed Commander in Chief in India. In June 1916, on the way to Russia to attend World War I negotiations, the cruiser HMS Hampshire, carrying Kitchener, sank in the Northern Sea after striking a German mine. Pessoa would react to Kitchener's demise through Alvaro de Campos's "Ultimatum," dated November 1917.

Tu organização britânica, com Kitchener no fundo
do mar mesmo desde o principio da guerra!
(It's a long, long way to Tipperary, and a jolly sight
longer way to Berlin!)

Fig. 7. Detail of "Ultimatum" [PESSOA, 1917: 3.]

[Thou, British organization, with Kitchener at the bottom of the sea ever since the beginning of the war! | (*It's a long, long way to Tipperary, and a jolly sight longer way to Berlin!*)]²³

Pessoa also made an astrological chart for Kitchener (see ANNEX III). On the verso of the “Kitchener” manuscript, there is another incomplete sonnet, which begins with the cautionary exclamation “Woe to the strong!”—an English rendition of the opening of verse 22, chapter V, of prophet Isaiah’s book in the Old Testament (“Woe to the strong ones of you that drink wine”).

Though “Woe to the Strong!” doesn’t appear in the known lists made by Pessoa, the equivalent Latin expression “Vae Fortibus!” does, being alongside “Kitchener” in three documents.²⁴ The current *Vulgate* Bible displays the Latin phrase as “Vae qui potentes”; nevertheless, “Vae fortibus” is a more concise translation, present in 18th century editions of Isaiah’s book (*cf.* VITRINGA, 1715).

The epigraph to “Kitchener” seems to equally apply to this sonnet—and its opening warning may be seen as another malediction professed by Pessoa, this time directed, not to an individual, but to the entire England as a colonizer.

[*Vae Fortibus!*]

Woe to the strong! For when the weak shall make
 Their frailty strength [] fire
 Of their tremendous & unspoken ire
 Not only [] thrones and altars shake
 5 [] mire
 Grew coarse and beast-like so when they shall wake
 Beast-like shall be their vengeance [] they slake
 Their thirst of blood in rape in torture dire
 In myriad tortures. The more far ye leave
 10 [] sink into the beast
 The greater horror for yourselves ye weave
 Force begets force & wrong is paid with wrong
 Horrid the day that shall behold the feast
 Of murder & of lust – Woe, to the strong.

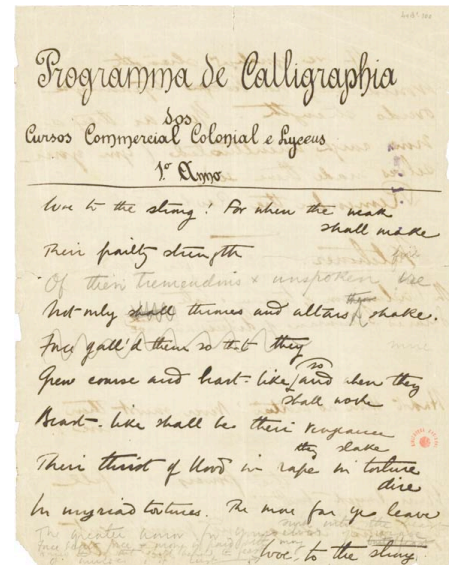


Fig. 8. “Vae Fortibus” [BNP/E3, 49B¹-100^r]

Also with an exclamation in its title, “Steal, Steal!” is a third political poem written in July 1906. If, in “Liberty,” Pessoa claimed “Ireland and Transvaal” were “a shame on England,” here the poet adds “Scotland” to the equation:

²³ This passage of the “Ultimatum” combines the 1912 British war song “It’s a Long Way to Tipperary” (by Jack Judge and Henry James “Harry” Williams) with the 1917 World War I song “It’s a Long Way to Berlin” (by Arthur Fields and Leon Flatow).

²⁴ These documents are NLP/A3, 48B-101^r, 48C-8^r and 153-63^v—the last two listing only sonnets, and the first giving the date “July 1906” for “Vae Fortibus.”

[*Steal, Steal!*]

- Steal, steal, steal
Wherefore are ye strong
Steal, steal, steal
The weak are ever wrong
- 5 Englishmen remember all
The example your nation doth deal
Scotland, Ireland, the Transvaal
Many a land []
So steal, steal, steal!
- 10 Wherefore strength if not to oppress
Wherefore might if not to make distress
Wherefore []
So, men of England, continue your work
And steal, steal, steal!

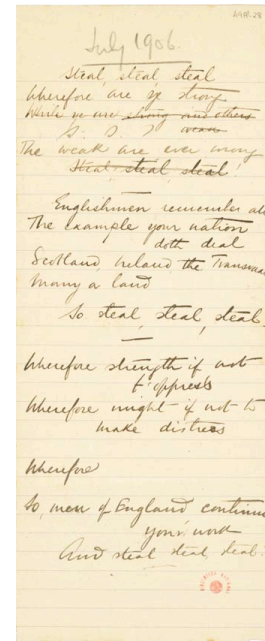


Fig. 9. “Steal, Steal!” [BNP/E3, 49A¹-28^r]

Helgesson, who first studied this poem, provides insightful commentary:

There was indeed little doubt, even on the British side, that the annexation of Transvaal had to do with anything other than economic interest. The conflict had been preceded by the infamous Jameson raid, a failed attempt in 1895 to take control of Johannesburg and the Transvaal. It had not directly involved British troops, but the scheme had been devised by a group of influential British politicians and capitalists (most prominent among them Cecil Rhodes) and was aimed at provoking an interstate conflict. We know today, of course, that not only was the raid carried out with the tacit blessing of Joseph Chamberlain—then British secretary of state for the colonies—but its ultimate outcome would be the outbreak of the war in October 1899.

(HELGESSION, 2015: 38)

6. “Kropotkine” and “Miserable Slaves”

Besides the pair “Kitchener” and “Vae Fortibus,” another duo of political sonnets appears in lists prepared by Pessoa: “Oh Miserable Slaves” and “Kropotkine,” written on two consecutive days (the manuscripts of these poems are dated 19 and 20 May 1907, though the lists curiously put both dates one day later, that is, 20 and 21 May 1907).

Piotr Kropotkine (1842-1921), born a Russian prince, was a geographer who explored glaciers in Siberia, Finland and Sweden, and a very influential philosopher of anarchism. Due to his activism, he spent several years in prison in Russia and then in France, eventually returning to Russia after the 1917 Revolution. One of Kropotkine’s most influential books, *The Conquest of Bread*, was

first published in French, in 1892, as *La Conquête du pain*; after being partially serialized in the London journal *Freedom* (between 1892 and 1894), it received an English edition in 1906, the year before Pessoa wrote his sonnet “Kropotkine,” adding the subtitle “C[onquista] del Pan”—which suggests that the poet got acquainted with Kropotkine’s book via one of the many Spanish editions published as early as 1893.²⁵

Kropotkine C[onquista] del Pan

Dreams, idle dreams! yet happy who can have
Such things existence’ things to substitute!
Who sums not life into a flowering grave
Nor locks his good in fame & in repute.
5 Happy so firm to dream & to believe
That on the soil of earth good can take root
Nor know that joys or pains can make to grieve
And Venus’ self was born a prostitute.
Happy incognisant to dream progress
10 Nor know in life a fermentation huge
Whose *psychis is volition feeling thought
A vision changing like its shadowy bliss
That doth the sight with many forms deluge:
A plant a cell a leaf a body rot.

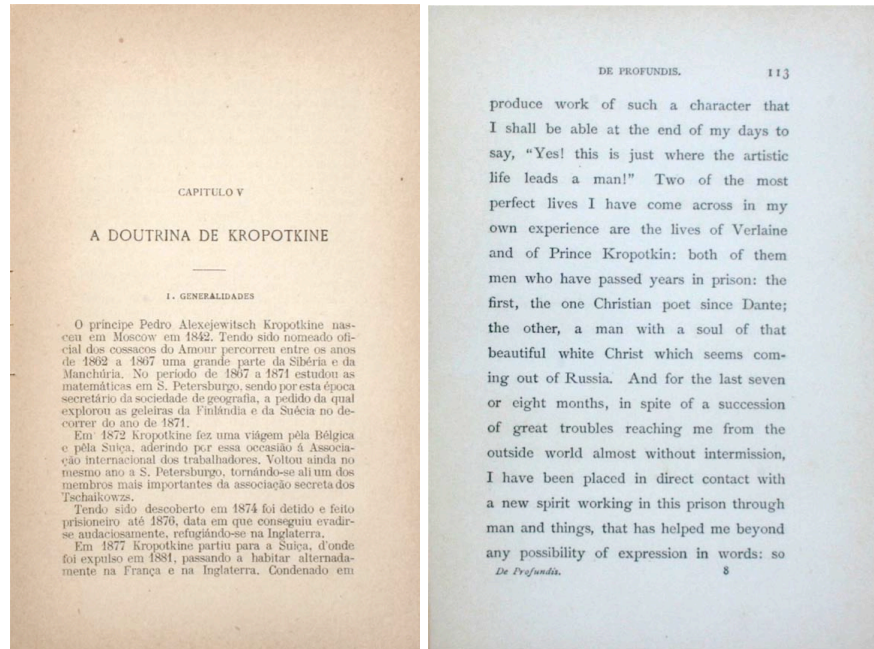
Kropotkine C[onquista] del Pan 49A-37
Dreams, idle dreams! yet happy who can have
Such things existence' things to substitute!
Who sums not life into a flowering grave
Nor locks his good in fame & in repute.
Happy so firm to dream & to believe
That on the soil of earth good can take root
Nor know that joys or pains can make to grieve
And Venus' self is born a prostitute.

49A-38
Happy incognisant to dream progress
Nor know in life a fermentation huge
Whose psychis is volition feeling thought
A vision changing like its shadowy bliss
That doth the sight with many forms deluge:
A plant a cell a leaf a body rot.
20 Merry
1907.

Figs. 10 & 11. “Kropotkine” [BNP/E3, 49A1-37r & 38r]

Notwithstanding some editorial challenges (see *genetic notes on ANNEX IV*), here we have a complete unpublished sonnet by Pessoa, dedicated to the Russian anarchist. Kropotkine also appears in two books extant in Pessoa’s private library (though both volumes were published in 1908, and, thus, could not have influenced the 1907 sonnet): a whole chapter is dedicated to the anarchist doctrine of Kropotkine in *As Doutrinas Anarquistas* (ELTZBACHER, 1908: 85-118), and Oscar Wilde refers to “Prince Kropotkine” in *De Profundis* (WILDE, 1908: 113).

²⁵ In the beginnings of the twentieth century, “La Conquista del Pan” was among the five most read books by the Spanish proletariat. In a letter to Miguel de Unamuno, the editor Francisco Sempere mentions a total of 58,000 copies of the book already sold by 9 March 1909 (not counting three previous editions by publishing houses in Barcelona [Manucci, Presa, and Atlante]); cf. MINTZ, 2003: 8.



Figs. 12 & 13: References to Kropotkine in Pessoa's private library (ELTZBACHER, 1908: 85; WILDE, 1908: 113)

"Kropotkine" hints at a biblical passage: the formula "Happy" *plus designation* ("happy who can have," "Happy so firm," and "Happy incognisant") evokes the language of the "Beatitudes" from Jesus' "Sermon on the Mount"; thus, the poet equates the messages of salvation of Anarchism and Christianity.

In spite of concluding with the verb *to rot*, "Kropotkine" seems to paint an overall positive image of the Russian anarchist—even more so if we compare this sonnet with Pessoa's invectives targeting Kitchener and Chamberlain. This budding positivity is not sustained, though, in the incomplete poem "Oh Miserable Slaves," drafted on the verso of the document with the quartets of "Kropotkine."

[*Oh Miserable Slaves*]

Oh miserable slaves that no revolt
Can kindle or impel to any use,
Slaves that we are, that cannot will nor choose
With mind & conscience under lock & bolt.

5 Slaves that no [] can redeem
From this eternal tyranny divine
Freemen & freedmen that a drop of wine
Can make to sleep or injure in a dream!

So wholly slaves, so miserable slaves!

□

Oh miserable slaves that no revolt
Can kindle or impel to any use,
Slaves that we are, that cannot will
nor choose
With mind & conscience under lock &
bolt.
Slaves that no [] can redeem
From this eternal tyranny divine
Freemen & freedmen that a drop of wine
Can make to sleep or injure in a dream!
So wholly slaves, so miserable slaves!

Fig. 14. "Oh Miserable Slaves" [BNP/E3, 49A¹-37^v]

Being written on the verso of the same paper, it is reasonable to read “Oh Miserable Slaves” as a pessimistic response to Kropotkine’s dreams. There is, however, a contemporary political event to which Pessoa could be reacting: the process of dissolution of the Second State Duma of the Russian Empire. Merriam-Webster defines “duma” as “the principal legislative assembly in Russia from 1906 to 1917 and since 1993,” with the word meaning “council, thought.”

Initiated as a result of the 1905 revolution, the Duma was established by Tsar Nicholas II in his October Manifesto (Oct. 30, 1905), which promised that it would be a representative assembly and that its approval would be necessary for the enactment of legislation. [...]

Four Dumas met [...] They rarely enjoyed the confidence or the cooperation of the ministers or the emperor, who retained the right to rule by decree when the Duma was not in session.

(ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA)

Aimed at restricting the rule of Tsar Nicholas II through the creation of a legislative assembly, the Duma faced serious limitations from the outset. If, on one hand, the creation of the Duma was seen as a major victory of the 1905 Russian Revolution, on the other hand its powers were always constrained, with the Tsar maintaining his sole authority to appoint/dismiss ministers.

The inauspicious beginnings of the Second Duma, in March 1907, included the collapse of the Duma chamber’s ceiling. Fortunately, the assembly was not in session at the time. The friction between government and the Second Duma quickly increased, with the first trying to dissolve the assembly at the first opportunity, which eventually happened in June—marking the end of the 1905-1907 Russian Revolution—shortly after Pessoa drafted this poem.

While I can only suggest (and not prove) that the failures of the 1905 Russian Revolution were on Pessoa’s mind when he drafted “Oh Miserable Slaves,” this is the fourth sonnet in our *corpus* touching on Russia’s challenges (besides “To England I & II” and “Kropotkine”). Moreover, though the “miserable slaves” are not specified in the poem, Pessoa does equate the Russian people with slaves in an different (undated) text (the same Pessoa who had criticized English journalists for mocking Russia in the sonnets “To England”): “No caso da Rússia, povo passivo e com hábitos de escravo” [*In the case of Russia, a people which is passive and has the habits of a slave*] (PESSOA, 1979b: 112).

7. Final Note

The ten poems presented as our *corpus* should be taken as a mere sample of Pessoa’s English political poems, for at least two reasons: (1) Pessoa’s English poetic corpus has not been fully transcribed; what is more, there may well be poems still to be located in the archive (including texts which have been listed by

the poet, but which have not been found to date); (2) one can always expand the strict definition of *political poetry* used in this article, in order to include many more writings by Pessoa.

One example of published political piece not included here is “Napoleon” (BNP/E3, 79¹-7^r; PESSOA, 1997a: 293). The poem is titled after one more historical giant who, between 1905 and 1907, merited a sonnet by Pessoa—besides Chamberlain, Kitchener and Kropotkine. Differently from the other three, though, Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821) was not alive when his dedicated poem was written; therefore, Pessoa could not have been reacting to contemporary events involving the French ruler (although he could well have been using Napoleon as a symbol to comment upon a current event, or reacting to a meaningful date, such as the anniversary of a battle—two hypotheses which could be investigated and perhaps defended given new evidence).

Moreover, Pessoa attributed “Napoleon” directly to Alexander Search (i.e., it was neither initially signed by Charles Robert Anon, nor remained unattributed); this last point suggests the transition to a different phase in Pessoa’s English poetry, which would soon be dominated by the signature of Search.

Before Search, there was Charles Robert Anon and, behind him, Fernando Pessoa—sometimes using a pseudonym²⁶ to protect himself when cursing political figures, other times leaving a text unsigned, as if the young poet were still unsure about his voice. Either way, by studying these early English political poems as a group, one recognizes a poet attentive to the world around him; a poet keenly reacting to current events through his preferred means of action; a political poet.

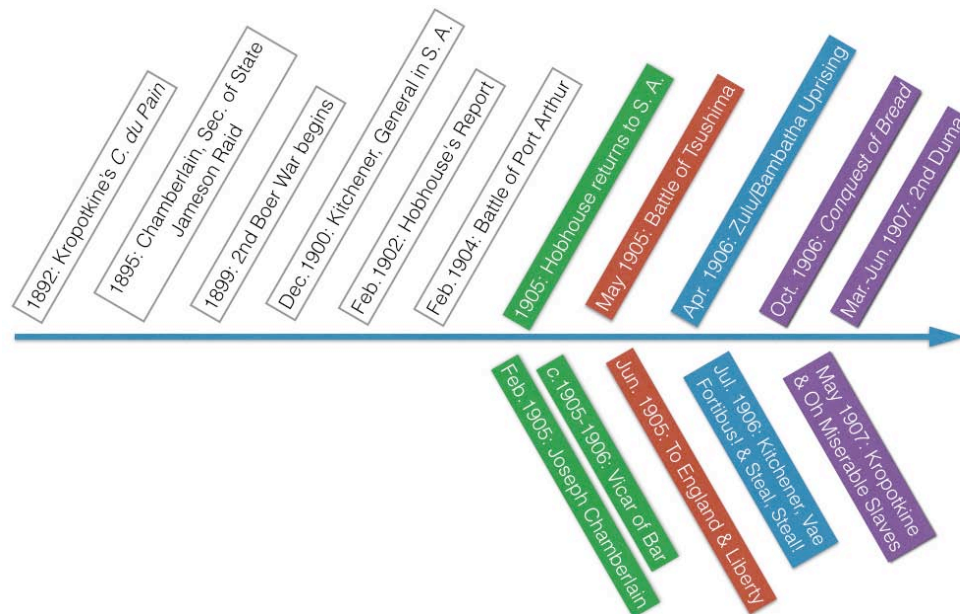
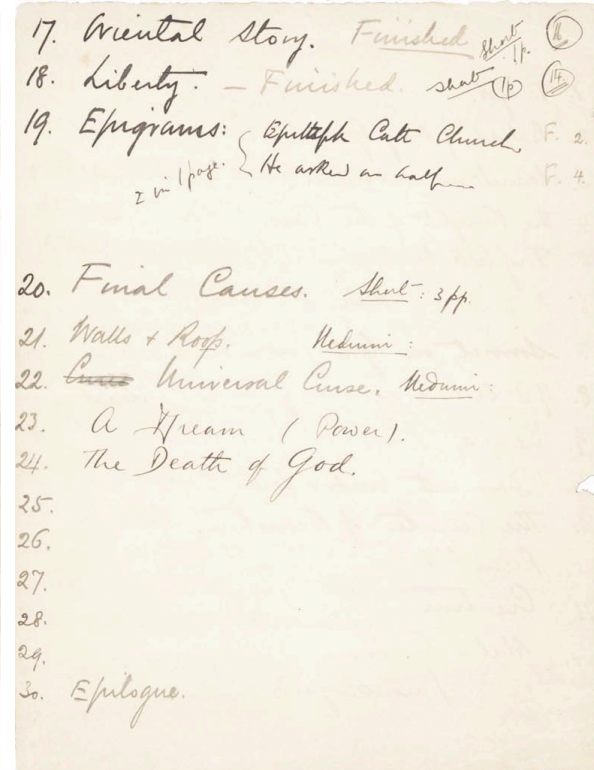
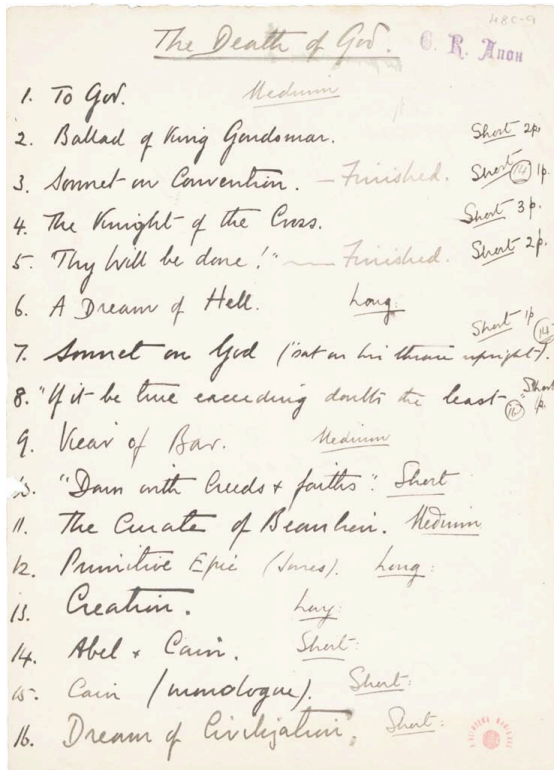


Fig. 15. Chronology of political events and Pessoa’s poems (not to scale)

²⁶ Pessoa used the term pseudonym until at least 1913. See the contribution by FERRARI and PITTELLA on Frederick Wyatt in this issue.

Annex I: Unpublished Lists

List I [NLP/E3, 48C-9] "The Death of God." Unpublished. Written in black ink, with notes and the title in pencil. On the upper right side, in purple ink, there is the seal of "C. R. Anon." Datable to 3 April 1906 or later, for "Thy Will be done" is the poem in this list with the latest verified date (it appears on the 48C-10^v, followed by the date "3 April 1906"). I thank Patricio Ferrari for the initial transcription of this list. This document is not mentioned in PESSOA, 1997a.

Figs. 16 & 17 [BNP/E3, 48C-9^v & 48C-9^v]

[48C-9^r]*The Death of God.*

6. R. Anon

- | | |
|--|------------------|
| 1. To God. <i>Medium</i> | |
| 2. Ballad of King Gondomar. | Short 2 p[ages] |
| 3. Sonnet on Convention. – Finished. | Short ⑭ 1 p[age] |
| 4. The knight of the Cross. | Short 3 p[ages] |
| 5. “Thy Will be done!” _____ Finished. | Short 2 p[ages] |
| 6. A Dream of Hell. <i>Long:</i> | |
| 7. Sonnet on God (“sat on his throne upright). | Short 1 p[age] ⑭ |
| 8. “If it be true exceeding doubts the least” | Short 1 p[age] ⑮ |
| 9. Vicar of Bar. <i>Medium</i> | |
| 10. “Down with Creeds & Faiths.” <i>Short</i> | |
| 11. The Curate of Beaulieu. <i>Medium</i> | |
| 12. Primitive Epic (Jones). <i>Long:</i> | |
| 13. Creation. <i>Long:</i> | |
| 14. Abel & Cain. <i>Short:</i> | |
| 15. Cain (monologue). | Short: |
| 16. Dream of Civilization. | Short: |

[9^v]

- | | |
|---|------------------|
| 17. Oriental Story. <i>Finished</i> | Short 1 p[age] ⑮ |
| 18. Liberty. – Finished. | Short ⑰ p[age] ⑮ |
| 19. Epigrams: { Epitaph Cath[olic] Church | F[inished] |
| 2 in 1 page. { He asked me half... F[inished] | 4. |
| 20. Final Causes. <i>Short: 3 p[ages]</i> | |
| 21. Walls & Roofs. | <i>Medium:</i> |
| 22. Universal Curse. | <i>Medium:</i> |
| 23. A Dream (Power). | |
| 24. The Death of God. | |
| 25. □ | |
| 26. □ | |
| 27. □ | |
| 28. □ | |
| 29. □ | |
| 30. Epilogue. | |

NOTES

22 <Cures> Universal Curse.

List II [BNP/E3, 48C-10] "Death of God." Unpublished. Written in black ink, with some dates added in pencil. Datable to 13 January 1907 or later, for "The Vultures" is the poem on this list with the latest indicated date. I thank Patricio Ferrari for pointing out this list to me. This document is not mentioned in PESSOA, 1997a.

-
- "Death of God." 48C-10
1. "Death of God."
 2. "The Cell."
 3. "Power" (a dream).
 4. "Vicari of Bar"
 5. "Curate of Beauheim."
 6. "Universal Curse."
 7. "Mahomet's Coffin."
 8. "History of Creation."
 9. "A Dream of Hell."
 10. "Fragment of an Epic."
 11. "Apology" (Epilogue).
- II. (1)
1. "Ballad of King Gondomar," [21 March 1906]
 2. "They Will be Done," [3 April 1906]
 3. "Down w. creeds & faiths."
 4. "God's work" 8.
 5. "The Knight of the Cross."
 6. "Nonnemon of Pope's Letter."
 7. "Funial Causes."
 8. "In the Train," [26 May 1906]
 9. "A Dream of Civilization."
 10. "Abel & Cain"
 11. "In the Lunatic Asylum"
 12. "If it be true even) doubt the least."
 13. "Supportion." (walk & roof)
 14. "A Virgin's Heart."
 15. "Oriental Story." [February 1906]
 16. Epitaphs : 2. Cather. Church -2*
 17. - II. God -4*
 18. The Vultures. [13 January 1907] -16-

Figs. 18 & 19 [BNP/E3, 48C-10^r & 48C-10^v]

[48C-10^r]*"Death of God."*

I.

1. "Death of God."
2. "The Cell."
3. "Power" (a dream).
4. "Vicar of Bar"
5. "Curate of Beaulieu."
6. "Universal Curse."
7. "Mahomet's Coffin."
8. "History of Creation."
9. "A Dream of Hell."
10. "Fragment of an Epic."
11. "Apology" (Epilogue).

[10^v]

II. (1)

1. "Ballad of King Gondomar." [21 March 1906]
2. "Thy Will be Done." [3 April 1906]
3. "Down w[ith] creeds & faiths."
4. "God's Work." ----- 8.
5. "The Knight of the Cross."
6. "Noumenon of Pope's Letter."
7. "Final Causes."
8. "In the Train." [26 May 1906]
9. "A Dream of Civilization."
10. "Abel & Cain"
11. "In the Lunatic Asylum."
12. "If it be true exceeding doubts the least..."
13. "Supposition." (walls & roofs)
14. "A Virgin's Heart."
15. "Oriental Story." [February 1906]
16. Epitaphs: I. Cath[olic] Church - 2. -
17. [Epitaphs:] II. God - 4. -
18. The Vultures. [13 January 1907] - 16 -

NOTES

- 16 [← - 2. -] <*4>
 17 - <2>/4. \ -

Annex II: Tables

[TABLE B] Poems transcribed, original manuscripts and publications.

POEM TITLE	DOCUMENTS [BNP/E3]	PUBLICATIONS
Joseph Chamberlain	49B ³ -77 ^v , 77-75, 144N-7 ^r	PESSOA, 1995: 48-50 & 1997a: 304
To England I & II	77-79 ^r , 77-80 ^r	JENNINGS, 1984: 95 (sonnet II); PESSOA, 1995: 52-54 & 1997a: 302-303
Liberty	77-81 ^r	PESSOA, 1995: 54 & 1997a: 301
Vicar of Bar	49D ¹ -75 ^v	Unpublished
Steal, Steal!	49A ¹ -28 ^r , 49A ¹ -28a ^r	HELGESSON, 2015: 36-37
Kitchener	49B ¹ -100 ^v	Unpublished
Vae Fortibus!	49B ¹ -100 ^r	Unpublished
Kropotkine	49A ¹ -37 ^r , 49A ¹ -38 ^r	Unpublished
Oh Miserable Slaves	49A ¹ -37 ^v	Unpublished

[TABLE C] Poems transcribed, lists including them and publications of said lists.

POEM TITLE	LISTS INCLUDING POEMS [BNP/E3]	PUBLICATIONS OF LISTS (PESSOA)
Joseph Chamberlain	48B-101 ^r , 153-63 ^v	1997a: 298; 2009: 152
To England I & II	48B-100 ^r , 153-63 ^r	1997a: 298; 2009: 152
Liberty	48B-94 ^r , 48B-146 ^r , 153-63 ^r 48C-9 ^v	1997a: 294, 305; 2009: 152; Unpublished
Vicar of Bar	48C-11 ^r , 48B-96 ^r , 48B-147 ^r , 153-66 ^r ; 48C-9 ^r , 48C-10 ^r	1997a: 249, 295, 306; 2009: 155; both unpublished
Steal, Steal!	48C-11 ^r , 48B-100 ^r	1997a: 250, 298;
Kitchener	48C-8 ^r , 48B-101 ^r , 153-63 ^v	1997a: 257, 299; 2009: 152
Vae Fortibus!	48C-8 ^r , 48B-101 ^r , 153-63 ^v	1997a: 257, 299; 2009: 152
Kropotkine	48C-8 ^r , 48B-100 ^r , 153-63 ^r	1997a: 256, 298; 2009: 152
Oh Miserable Slaves	48C-8 ^r , 48B-100 ^r , 153-63 ^r	1997a: 256, 298; 2009: 152

Annex III: Astrological Chart for Kitchener

[BNP/E3, 144Y-16v] "Kitchener." Astrological chart published digitally by the National Library of Portugal, available at <http://purl.pt/13899> (accessed on 2 December 2016). Lined page of a notebook with two vertical red lines on the left margin and four on the right. Written in black ink, with the central circle drawn in pencil. Datable to 1917. I thank Patricio Ferrari for pointing out this chart to me, and Jerónimo Pizarro for dating it. This document was not included in PESSOA, 2011b.

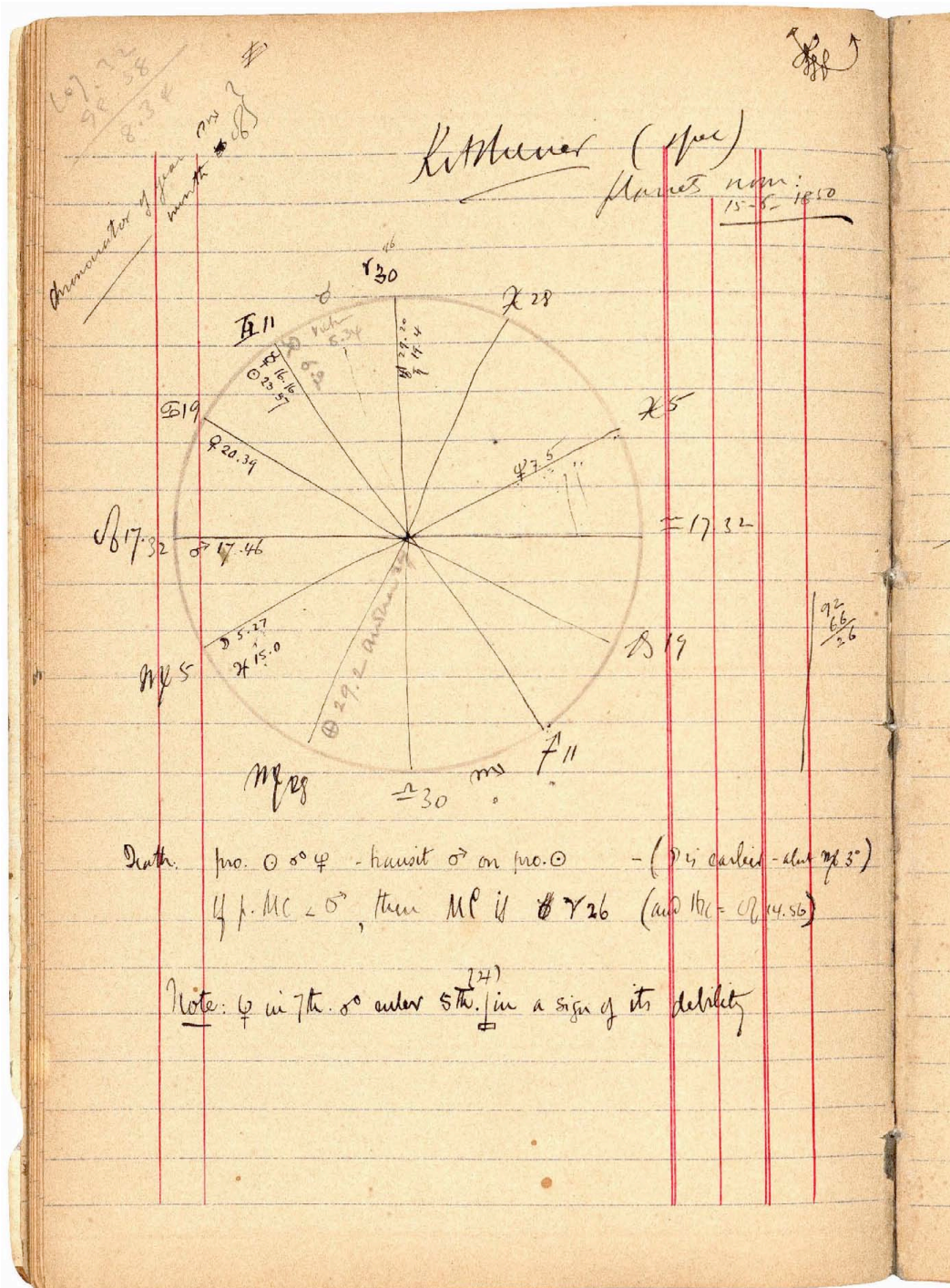


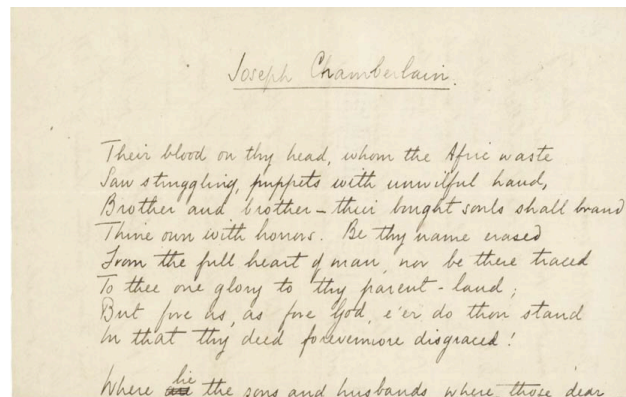
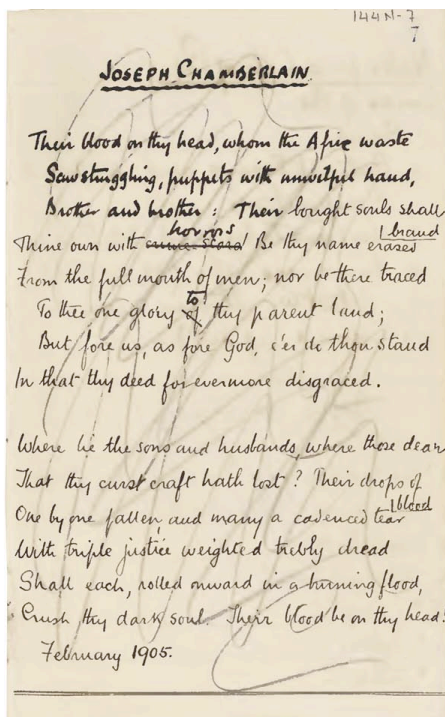
Fig. 20 [BNP/E3, 144Y-16v]

Annex IV: Genetic Notes of Poems Transcribed²⁷

Poem I [BNP/E3, 144N-7^r, 49B³-77^v & 77-75^r] “Joseph Chamberlain.” Three manuscripts, 144N-7 (A), 49B³-77^v (B) and 77-75^r (C), both dated “February 1905”; A is unsigned, written with two different types of black ink, with a few amendments and completely crossed out in pencil (with a letter “C” at the bottom of the document indicating “Copied”); B is a partial manuscript, presenting only the first nine lines of the poem (the other side of the document presents the poem of *incipit* “Thou askest sometimes in perplexity”); C is written with black ink on grid paper, with no amendments and bearing the signature of “Alexander Search”; although featuring the same sonnet, A is organized in one octet and one sestet, and B in two quartets and two tercets. This transcription is based on the edition prepared by Dionísio (PESSOA, 1997a: 304, 525-527).

NOTES

- 1 A Afric B Afric C <a>/A \ fric
- 2 A : Their B — their C : their
- 4 A <crime-scars!> [↑ horrors] B horrors C horrors
- 5 A full mouth of men; B full heart of men, C full mouth of men;
- 6 A glory <of> [↑ to] thy parent land B glory to thy parent-land C glory to thy parent land
- 8 A disgraced. B disgraced! C disgraced.
- 9 A Where lie B Where <are> [↑ lie] C lie
- 10 A blood B nonexistent verse C blood,
- 11 A tear B nonexistent verse C tear,
- 12 A dread B nonexistent verse C dread,



Figs. 21 & 22. First two drafts (A & B) of “Joseph Chamberlain” [BNP/E3, 144N-7^r & 49B³-77^v]

²⁷ See ANNEX II for all lists from Pessoa’s archive including the poems transcribed, and for a complete list of previous publications of both poems and lists of our studied *corpus*.

Poem II [BNP/E3, 49D¹-75^r] “Vicar of Bar.” Unpublished manuscript. Datable to 1905-1906. Lined paper written in black ink. Unsigned. In five different lists (BNP/E3, 48B-96^r, 48B-147^{r&v}, 48C-10^r, 48C-11^r and 153-66^r), this poem appears alongside the title “Curate of Beaulieu” (for which I could not locate a draft in Pessoa’s archive); the analogous construction of these two designations (clerical title + city) suggests two little known clergymen in small villages in England.

NOTES

- 2 distrac(t)] *the parentheses seem to indicate that the “t” should be muted, perhaps in an comical attempt to rhyme with “back” at the end of the first verse.*
- 3 sub<l>/tl\ e
- 10 with [↑ those] fleas
- 14 These are too horrible □ for the <day> [↓ Their too great horror our □ laugh [↓ doth mar] *the space initially left between “our” and “laugh” seems to have been filled by the addition of “doth mar” at the end of the verse.*

Poem III [BNP/E3, 77-79^r] “To England I.” Manuscript. Dated “19th June, 1905.” Grid paper written in black ink, with one intervention in purple pencil, bearing the signature of “Alexander Search.” On the upper left corner, there is a note in purple pencil—perhaps “*F”—indicative of a grouping of poems planned by the poet. This transcription is based on the edition prepared by Dionísio (PESSOA, 1997a: 302-303, 525).

NOTE

- 4 Of his [blind] ⇄ [sleep] *“this” instead of “his” in Dionísio’s edition (PESSOA, 1997a: 302).*

Poem IV [BNP/E3, 77-80^r] “To England II.” Manuscript. Dated “19th June, 1905.” Grid paper written in black ink, bearing the signature of “Alexander Search.” On the upper left corner, there is a note in purple pencil—perhaps “*F”—indicative of a grouping of poems planned by the poet. This transcription is based on the edition prepared by Dionísio (PESSOA, 1997a: 303, 525).

Poem V [BNP/E3, 77-81^r] “Liberty”. Manuscript. Dated “June 20th 1905.” Grid paper written in black ink, bearing the signature of “Alexander Search.” On the upper left corner, there is a note in purple pencil—perhaps “*F”—indicative of a grouping of poems planned by the poet. This transcription is based on the edition prepared by Dionísio (PESSOA, 1997a: 302, 524).

Poem VI [BNP/E3, 49B¹-100^v] “Kitchener.” Unpublished manuscript. Dated “July 1906” on list 48B-101^r. Though incomplete, the draft of a sonnet, for its title appears on documents 48C-8^r and 153-63^v (both lists of sonnets) and on 48B-101^r (with the indication that it should have 14 verses). Loose piece of paper, written in both black ink and pencil, not being clear which writing utensil was used first; if, at first sight, the pencil inscriptions could be seen as additions, upon further inspection they do not satisfactorily complete the blank spaces left among the fragmentary lines in black ink—thus raising the question of the writings in ink and pencil perhaps belonging to different texts (the pencil could have already been on the paper when the black ink was used). In pencil, we read:

Nor even have strength *with t<h>/h\ ee []]
That such *as [↑ &] those have made for mankind’s fear

On the right side of the title “Kitchener,” there are two illegible words—possibly the title of a separate poem which Pessoa didn’t get to draft (note the author draws a line as if creating two columns: on the left one, the draft of “Kitchener”; on the right, just the blank space in which the second poem could be written).

NOTES

- [*epig.*] Would they not <*the equ> tyrannise,
 2 Salaried salesman of distress and woe [↑ death],
 9 sawst] *obsolete form of “sawest,” generally spelled “saw’st,” though Pessoa doesn’t use the apostrophe here.*

Poem VII [BNP/E3, 49B¹-100^r] “Woe to the Strong! [Vae Fortibus!]” Unpublished manuscript. Dated “July 1906” on list 48B-101^r. Loose piece of paper with the handwritten header “Programma de Calligraphia | dos | Cursos Commercial Colonial e Lyceus | 1.º Anno”; a horizontal line separates the header from the poem. Written in black ink and in pencil, with some words also crossed-out in pencil. Though “Woe to the Strong!” doesn’t appear as a title in known lists made by Pessoa, the equivalent Latin expression “Vae Fortibus!” does, being alongside “Kitchener” in three documents: BNP/E3, 48B-101^r, 48C-8^r and 153-63^v—the last two of them listing only sonnets.

NOTES

- 2 <fire>/fire\
 3 <ire>/ire\
 4 Not only <shall> thrones and altars [↑ <then>] shake
 5 <Force of all’d them so that they> □ mire
 6 Grew course and beast-like and [↑ so] when they shall wake
 12 Horrid the day that shall behold the feast [→ <brutal feast>]

Poem VIII [BNP/E3, 49A¹-28^r] “Steal! Steal!” Manuscript. Dated “July 1906.” Lined paper written in black ink, with the title in pencil. On the contiguous document 49A¹-28a^r, there are three lines that, according to Helgesson, “could be either the continuation of this poem or the beginning of yet another unfinished piece” (HELGESSION, 2015: 44):

Murder and rapine hallows
 How many a hero, were there no wars
 Had ended in the gallows.

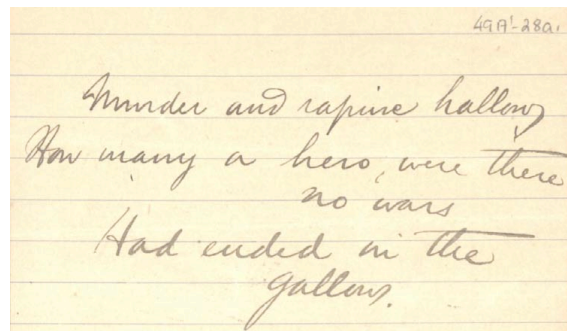


Fig. 23. [BNP/E3, 49A¹-28a^r; detail]

Poem IX [BNP/E3, 49A¹-37^r & 49A¹-38^r] “Kropotkine, C[onquista] del Pan.” Unpublished manuscript. Dated “20 May 1907” (though the list 153-63^r dates it “21 May 1907”). Two loose pieces of paper written in black ink with additions in pencil in verse 12. The poem was written on two papers of similar size (A and B). The title “Kropotkine” and the two first stanzas appear on document A (49A¹-37^r), and the tercets, followed by the date “20 May 1907,” on document B (49A¹-

38^r). On the verso of document A, one finds a text beginning with the words “Oh Miserable Slaves,” which I consider to be a different poem (with a different date). Two critical questions may be raised: (1) why not consider the verso of document A as the continuation of “Kropotkine”? and (2) why consider document B as the continuation of “Kropotkine,” instead of the continuation of the poem drafted on the verso of A? (1) Regarding the first question, the verso of A presents quartets. Following the eight initial verses of “Kropotkine” on the recto, one should look for six more verses (either two tercets, or one quartet and one couplet) to complete the poem (for we know it to be a sonnet, based on the lists left by Pessoa). (2) As to the second question, the verso of A seems to present nine complete lines, which, if supplemented by the six lines of B, would sum too many for a Miltonic sonnet; moreover, the first line on the verso of A is the incipit of a different poem listed by Pessoa in different documents, i.e., “Oh Miserable Slaves” (see call numbers of lists on ANNEX II); lastly, the tercets on B seem to complement the recto of A both in form (by reiterating formulae such as “Nor know” and “Happy” as verse-openings) and in content (by developing the idea of fermentation, which is connected to the “Pan/Bread” of Kropotkine’s book).

NOTES

- 2 *Pessoa places an apostrophe at the end of the word “existence,” thus creating the possessive expression “existence’ things” (i.e., things of existence); note it is acceptable to omit “s” following an apostrophe in constructions such as “for conscience’ sake” (STRUNK and WHITE, 2005: 1) and that the word “existence” (as “conscience”) already ends in a phonetic “s.”*
- 7 Nor know [↑ that] joys
- 8 is turned [↓ was born]
- 9 to <think life> [↓ dream]
- 11 <feeling & will> [↑ volition feeling] thought] *save for a transcription error, the poet seems to have employed, in this verse, the word “psychis,” which is the Latin ablative or dative plural of psyche, a curious choice, since English does not distinguish those declinations.*
- 13 That doth <eyes> [↑ the sight]
- 14 A plant, a worm, a brain, a body, rot. [↓ /a plant a cell a leaf a body rot/] *though the first variant presented commas, I opted to edit the final verse without commas, as it appears in the second variant; nevertheless, I capitalized the initial article of the last verse, following the standard used by Pessoa.*

Poem X [BNP/E3, 49A¹-37^v] “Oh Miserable Slaves.” Unpublished manuscript. Dated “19 May 1907” (though the list 153-63^r dates it “20 May 1907”). Loose piece of paper, written in black ink, except by the last verse, which was added in purple pencil.

Bibliography

- AESOP (1997). "The Sick Lion" in *Aesop's Fables—Online Collection*. Edited by John R. Long. Web: aesopfables.com/cgi/aesop1.cgi?srch&fabl/TheSickLion (accessed 14 November 2016).
- BARRETO, José (2015). "A Poesia Política de Fernando Pessoa" in *Abril—Journal of the Nucleus of Portuguese and African Literature Studies at UFF*, vol. 7, n.º 14, pp. 189-209.
- ____ (2013). "O nacionalismo liberal de Fernando Pessoa." *III Congresso Internacional Fernando Pessoa*. Lisbon, 28-30 November. Web: www.congressointernacionalfernandopessoa.com/comunicacoes/jose_barreto.pdf (accessed 30 Nov. 2016).
- ____ (2012a). "Fernando Pessoa e Raul Leal contra a campanha moralizadora dos estudantes em 1923" in *Pessoa Plural—A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 2, Onésimo Almeida, Paulo de Medeiros, and Jerónimo Pizarro, eds., Brown University, Warwick University, University of the Andes, Fall, pp. 240-270.
- ____ (2012b). "Mussolini é um louco: uma entrevista desconhecida de Fernando Pessoa com um antifascista italiano" in *Pessoa Plural—A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 1, Onésimo Almeida, Paulo de Medeiros, and Jerónimo Pizarro, eds., Brown University, Warwick University, University of the Andes, Spring, pp. 225-252.
- ____ (2011a). "Fernando Pessoa em defesa da Maçonaria: A história do artigo que rompeu com o Estado Novo" in *Fernando Pessoa, Associações Secretas e outros escritos*. Lisbon: Ática, pp. 239-288.
- ____ (2011b). "Fernando Pessoa e Salazar: Sobre o pensamento político do escritor e a sua ruptura com o salazarismo" in *Pessoa—Revista de Ideias*, n.º 3, Lisbon, June, pp. 17-34.
- BOSMAN, Walter (1907). *The Natal Rebellion of 1906*. London: Longmans, Green and Co.; Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, Johannesburg, East London, Stellenbosch, and Durban [Natal]: J. C. Juta and Co.
- BRIDGES, Robert (1901). *Milton's Prosody and Classical Metres in English Verse by William Johnson Stone*. Oxford: Henry Frowde [1st ed. of Bridges: 1889; 1st ed. of Stone: 1898] [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-641].
- BROWN, Susan (2016). "From Michael and Teca: two unpublished letters to Hubert Jennings" in *People of the Archive: the contribution of Hubert Jennings to Pessoaan studies* (a printed edition of *Pessoa Plural—A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 8, Special Jennings Issue). Edited by Carlos Pittella. Providence: Gávea-Brown, pp. 149-163.
- COLLINS, Mabel (1916). *Luz sobre o Caminho (e o Karma)*. Translated by Fernando Pessoa. Lisbon: Livraria Clássica Editora.
- ____ (1912). *Light on the Path (and Karma)*. London: Theosophical Publishing Society [Fernando Pessoa House, 1-30].
- ELIOT, T. S. (2009). *On Poetry and Poets*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux [1st UK edition: Faber and Faber, 1943; 1st USA edition: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1957].
- ELTZBACHER, Paul (1908). *As doutrinas anarquistas*. Translated Manoel Ribeiro. Lisbon: Guimarães & C.^a [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 3-21].
- EMERSON, Ralph Waldo (1902). *Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Essays, first and second series; Representative men; Society and solitude; English traits; The conduct of life; Letters and social aims; Poems; Miscellanies; Embracing nature; Addresses, and lectures*. London: George Routledge & Sons, Limited [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-172].
- ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA, THE EDITORS OF (1999) "Duma" in *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Web: www.britannica.com/topic/Duma-Russian-assembly (accessed 21 November 2016).
- FERRARI, Patricio (2015). "Pessoa and Borges: In the Margins of Milton" in *Variaciones Borges*, Daniel Balderston, ed., n.º 40, University of Pittsburgh, pp. 3-21.
- FERRARI, Patricio and Carlos PITTELLA (2015). "Four Unpublished English Sonnets (and the Editorial Status of Pessoa's English Poetry)" in *Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies*, n.º 28 (Fernando

- Pessoa as English Reader and Writer), Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro, guest eds. North Dartmouth: Tagus Press at UMass Dartmouth, pp. 227-246.
- HELGESSON, Stefan (2015). "Pessoa, Anon, and the Natal Colony—Retracing an Imperial Matrix" in *Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies*, n.º 28 (Fernando Pessoa as English Reader and Writer), Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro, guest eds. North Dartmouth: Tagus Press at UMass Dartmouth, pp. 30-46.
- HOBHOUSE, Emily (1902). *The Brunt of the War—and where it fell*. London: Methuen & Co.
- HOBHOUSE, Leonard Trelawney (1911). *Liberalism*. London: Williams & Norgate; New York: Henry Holt & Co.; Toronto: WM. Briggs; India: R. & T. Washbourne, Ltd. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 3-32].
- JENNINGS, Hubert Dudley (1986). *Fernando Pessoa in Durban*. Durban: Durban Corporation.
- ____ (1984). *Os Dois Exílios. Fernando Pessoa na África do Sul*. Oporto: Fundação Eng. António de Almeida / Centro de Estudos Pessoaanos.
- KEATS, John (1898). *The Poetical Works of John Keats*. London, New York: Frederic Warne and Co. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-294].
- LIND, Georg Rudolf (1972). "Fernando Pessoa perante a Primeira Guerra Mundial" in *Ocidente—Revista Portuguesa de Cultura*, vol. LXXXII, n.º 405, Lisbon, January, pp. 425-458.
- ____ (c. 1966) Dossier "BNP/E3, 77-78B Anexo" [unpublished dossier at Pessoa's literary estate at the National Library of Portugal, created c. 1966 but catalogued c. 1970]. Lisbon: National Library of Portugal.
- ____ (1966). "Die englische Jugenddichtung Fernando Pessoa" in *Aufsdtze zur portugiesischen Kulturgeschichte*, compiled by Hans Flasche, vol. 6, Westfalen, Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, pp. 130-163.
- MERRIAM-WEBSTER (n/d). "Duma." *Merriam-Webster.com*. Web: www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/duma (accessed 21 November 2016).
- MILTON, John (1983). *Samson Agonistes and Shorter Poems*. Ed. A. E. Barker. Arlington Heights: Harlan Davidson (Crofts Classics) [reprint of the 1950 edition, with added bibliography].
- ____ (n/d) [pref. 1853]. *The Poetical Works of John Milton*. London: George Routledge and Sons [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-359].
- MINTZ, Frank (2003). "Vida y Obra de Kropotkin" in Piotr Kropotkin, *La Moral Anarquista*. Edited by Frank Mintz. Madrid: Catarata, pp. 7-92.
- ORR, David (2012). *Beautiful & Pointless: a Guide to Modern Poetry*. New York: Harper Perennial.
- PARES, Bernard (1907). *Russia and Reform*. London: Archibald Constable & Co.
- PESSOA, Fernando (2015a). *Sobre o Fascismo, a Ditadura Militar e Salazar*. Edited by José Barreto. Lisbon: Tinta-da-china.
- ____ (2015b). *Álvaro de Campos—Obra Completa*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Antonio Cardiello; collaboration of Jorge Uribe and Filipa Freitas. Lisbon: Tinta-da-china. Collection "Pessoa."
- ____ (2013a). *Eu Sou Uma Antologia: 136 autores fictícios*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari. Lisbon: Tinta-da-china. Collection "Pessoa."
- ____ (2013b). "Como se 'Eu' fluísse..." [eight sonnets by Fernando Pessoa]. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Carlos Pittella. *Granta Portugal*, n.º 1 (*O Eu*). Lisbon, Tinta-da-China, June, pp. 95-117.
- ____ (2012). *Ibéria—introdução a um imperialismo futuro*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Pablo Javier Pérez López. Lisbon: Ática.
- ____ (2011a). *Associações Secretas e Outros Escritos*. Edited by José Barreto. Lisbon: Ática.
- ____ (2011b). *Cartas Astrológicas*. Edited by Paulo Cardoso with the collaboration of Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Bertrand.
- ____ (2009). *Cadernos*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
- ____ (1998). *Obra em Prosa*. Organized by Cleonice Berardinelli. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Aguilar.

- ____ (1997a). *Poemas Ingleses. Poemas de Alexander Search*. Edited by João Dionísio. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa, Vol. V, tome 2.
- ____ (1997b) *A Língua Portuguesa*. Edited by Luísa Medeiros. Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim.
- ____ (1995). *Poesia Inglesa*. Organized and translated by Luísa Freire. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte.
- ____ (1993). *Poemas Ingleses. Antinous, Incriptions, Epithalamium, 35 Sonnets*. Edited by João Dionísio. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
- ____ (1979a). *Sobre Portugal. Introdução ao Problema Nacional*. Edited by Joel Serrão, Isabel Rocheta, and Paula Morão. Lisbon: Ática.
- ____ (1979b). *Da República (1910-1935)*. Edited by Joel Serrão, Isabel Rocheta, and Paula Morão. Lisbon: Ática.
- ____ (1966). *Páginas de Estética e de Teoria Literárias*. Edited by Georg Rudolf Lind and Jacinto do Prado Coelho. Lisbon: Ática.
- ____ (1920). “À Memoria do Presidente[-Rei] Sidonio Paes” in *Acção*, n.º 4, year 2, Lisbon, 27 February, pp. 2-3.
- ____ (1917). “Ultimatum de Alvaro de Campos—Sensacionista” in *Portugal Futurista*, n.º 1 (*separata*). Edited by Fernando Pessoa. Lisbon: Tipografia P. Monteiro.
- PITTELLA, Carlos [editor] (2016). *People of the Archive: the contribution of Hubert Jennings to Pessoa studies* (a printed edition of *Pessoa Plural—A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 8, Special Jennings Issue). Providence: Gávea-Brown.
- ____ (2012). *Pequenos Infinitos em Pessoa: uma aventura filológica-literária pelos sonetos de Fernando Pessoa* [doctoral thesis]. Rio de Janeiro: PUC-Rio. Web: www2.dbd.puc-rio.br/pergamum/biblioteca/php/mostrateses.php?open=1&arqtese=0813690_2012_Indice.html (accessed 17 October 2016).
- PITTELLA, Carlos and Jerónimo PIZARRO (2016). *Como Fernando Pessoa Pode Mudar a Sua Vida*. Rio de Janeiro: Tinta-da-china Brasil.
- PIZARRO, Jerónimo, Patricio FERRARI, and Antonio CARDIELLO (2010). *A Biblioteca Particular de Fernando Pessoa / Fernando Pessoa's Private Library*. Bilingual edition. Alfragide: D. Quixote.
- POE, Edgar Allan (1902). *The Choice Works of Edgar Allan Poe: poems, stories, essays*. London: Chatto & Windus. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-442].
- RAATH, Andries W. G. (1999). *The British Concentration Camps of the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902: Reports on the Camps*. Bloemfontein: War Museum of the Boer Republics.
- STEVENS, David Harrison (1919). “The Order of Milton's Sonnets” in *Modern Philology*, vol. 17, n.º 1, The University of Chicago Press, May, pp. 25-33.
- STRUNK Jr., William and E. B. WHITE (2005). *The Elements of Style*. Illustrated by Maira Kalman. New York: The Penguin Press.
- VITRINGA, Campegius (1715). *Commentarius in Librum Prophetiarum Jesaiæ*, vol. I. Herbornæ Nassavorum [Herborn]: Johan. Nicolai Andreae.
- WILDE, Oscar (1908). *De Profundis and The Ballad of Reading Gaol*. Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-583].