

# **Curating the Crimea: The Cultural Afterlife of a Conflict**

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by

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## **Abstract**

### **Curating the Crimea: The Cultural Afterlife of a Conflict**

This interdisciplinary thesis explores how the Crimean War (1854-56) has registered in British consciousness since the conflict's outbreak. It draws extensively on the National Army Museum's (NAM) rich collection of archives, paintings, prints, medals and objects. The thesis situates NAM's collection in a wider material context, by drawing upon collections held elsewhere. It therefore provides an important overview of the conflict's material legacy in Britain. This material heritage is used to document and assess the War's mixed reception over time, its powerful associations of pride and shame surrounding certain events, concepts and personalities.

Chapter 1 frames the War's key debates surrounding military mismanagement by contrasting two of its early and influential chroniclers: the historian Alexander Kinglake and journalist William Russell. Their distinct ideological dispositions demonstrate the War's contested nature and different Victorian ideals of war and soldiering. Chapter 2 accounts for the exceptional status of the eponymously named Charge of the Light Brigade, tracing its afterlife to the turn of the twentieth century. It looks at various strategies for negotiating its futile outcome, from traditional forms of individual hero-worship through to the impact of Tennyson's tribute to a 'noble six hundred' in wartime and in the late-Victorian period. Chapter 3 explores further the public status of the Army through the media influence of the monarchy in the aftermath of the Crimean War, an aspect of the War which has been neglected. Mediated royal acts of sympathy towards sick and wounded soldiers and the institution of the Victoria Cross are contextualised against royal anxiety about its loss of influence over the Army. This chapter discusses in detail a striking set of royal photographs showing wounded soldiers, which are an important source for discussing apprehension of suffering. Chapter 4 traces the public faces of Florence Nightingale, outlining the nature and consequences of Victorian investment in Nightingale as a benevolent Army presence before turning to posthumous responses to Nightingale's personality and work. It assesses for the first time objects and public memorials associated with Nightingale and their role during the First and Second World Wars.

The Crimean War was the only Victorian war on a European scale and involved increasingly direct forms of communication between civilians and war workers. This project assesses how public knowledge of the operations, failures and losses of the War led to affirming and subversive responses in the Victorian imagination and beyond. These responses reveal the social, political and emotional conflicts engendered by war, which are of continued relevance to the public conscience.

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## Introduction

### Charting the Crimean War

No brighter page will ever be found in the illustrious annals of history, no more brilliant example of disinterested virtue [...] than that of two nations, once engaged in deadly conflict, now uniting together, nay mingling their blood, not for the increase in power [...] but for the protection of a weaker state, one jeopardized by the grasping ambition of a tyrannical despot.<sup>1</sup>

So James Gibson enthused in 1855, writing in *Memoirs of the Brave*, one of many rousing accounts published before the Crimean War (1853-56) ended. Gibson presents an unexpected British alliance with France and Turkey and intervention against Russia, a rival European power, as an act of selfless duty. *Memoirs of the Brave* contains letters and biographies of soldiers of all ranks, which helped to define a vision of the British Army whilst it was still on campaign. The notion of the soldier's altruism recurred frequently in such accounts, acting as a synecdoche for the nation's 'disinterested virtue'.<sup>2</sup> Responsibility for war-waging was thus placed firmly on the Russians. These sentiments are captured, perhaps even parodied, in a set of comical prints held at the National Army Museum (NAM), which trace the British soldier's subjection to war at the hands of 'The Russians', a repeated refrain (Fig.1). The Army's invasion of the Crimean peninsula was a means of undermining the ambitions and power of the Russian Empire, though British enthusiasm for war, as Gibson demonstrates, was often recast as defence of the Ottoman Empire and Liberal Europe.<sup>3</sup> Showing how even the name of a conflict can act to shape understanding, Andrew Lambert has noted how the 'Crimean War' privileges the Army's land operations, since there was a much wider naval campaign in the Baltic.<sup>4</sup> The names mid-Victorians gave to the conflict emphasised Britain's struggle against Russia. References to 'the war with Russia' or 'the war against Russia' were most common and a plaque on the reverse of the 1861 Crimean

<sup>1</sup> James Gibson, *Memoirs of the Brave* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1855), p.19.

<sup>2</sup> *The War, or Voices from the Ranks* (London: George Routledge and Co., 1855) universalised the British soldier as a responsible family man, with a wife and children at home, p.184.

<sup>3</sup> Winfried Baumgart, *The Crimean War 1853-1856* (London and New York: Arnold and Oxford University Press, 1999), p.15. Michael Paris views the mid-1850s as a formative period for Britain's role as an 'aggressive warfare state' and for popular militarism, contrary to the belief that it was only in the 1890s that 'jingoism' was widespread. See *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture 1850-2000* (London: Reaktion Books, 2000), pp.8-13.

<sup>4</sup> Andrew Lambert, *The Crimean War: British Grand Strategy Against Russia, 1853-56* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), pp. xvi-xvii.

Guards Memorial at Waterloo Place, London, records a dedication to the 2162 officers, non-commissioned officers and privates ‘who fell during the war with Russia.’<sup>5</sup> On 14 January 1915, the Office of Works rejected calls for Waterloo Place, London, to be re-named ‘Crimea Place’. The calls were prompted by the installation of a statue of Florence Nightingale and Sidney Herbert, Secretary of State for War, in front of the existing Crimean Guards Memorial.<sup>6</sup>

This reasoning drew in part on diplomatic sensitivities at a time when Russia was no longer the enemy but an ally.<sup>7</sup> However, the rejection of ‘Crimea Place’ was less about the implications of ‘Crimea’ for foreign relations and more about its meaning for British identity. Lionel Earle, of the Office of Works, surmised that it ‘may not be politic to adopt that name at all’ and when calls were resumed in 1919 they were resisted.<sup>8</sup> Implicit in Earle’s verdict is the troubling status of the Crimean War as a whole in the public imagination. Earle’s unease with endorsing ‘Crimea’ as an expression of civic pride echoed others before him.<sup>9</sup> The Crimean War has instead been located in iconic components; Alma, The Thin Red Line, the Lady with a Lamp, the Russian Bear, administrative and managerial incompetency and the Charge of the Light Brigade. What has endured from the pages of early commemorative histories is public recognition of the regular soldier. ‘Crimea’ was not a trophy the British could easily claim, but British soldiers and those working on behalf of soldiers were given new-found status and, in the case of the Guards Memorial grouping, wreaths of victory.

This collaborative project between the University of Leicester and NAM seeks to understand how the Crimean War has registered in British consciousness over 160 years of representation. Therefore, ‘curating’ alludes primarily to the ambitious aim of understanding how the War has been actively shaped and re-interpreted from the outset to the present day. This thesis attempts to reconcile influential perceptions of the conflict and its actors in the mid-nineteenth century with the narrow, yet powerful, legacy that exists today. Despite mid-nineteenth century interest in the War and a wealth of contemporary information, British involvement in the Crimean War is now

<sup>5</sup> The title of one of the first published histories of the War adopts ‘the war against Russia’. Edward Nolan, *The History of the War against Russia*, 2 vols (London: Virtue, 1857)

<sup>6</sup> The National Archives (TNA), WORK 20/103

<sup>7</sup> TNA, WORK 20/103

<sup>8</sup> TNA, WORK 20/103

<sup>9</sup> In 1870, town officials authorised the removal of a Russian gun displayed on Maidstone High Street, since ‘it was no credit to commemorate the costly victory which had been obtained over Russia’. *Huddersfield Chronicle*, 26 March 1870, p.3.

understood largely through the Charge of the Light Brigade and the omnipresent figure of Nightingale. Thus, Chapters 2 and 4 are devoted to exploring the values underpinning these Crimean icons. However, the thesis strives for a balance between addressing dominant features of the War and exploring neglected agents of the War's cultural afterlife. Chapters 1 and 3 therefore provide a wider context for debates around the War, as well as attitudes to class, gender, violence and nationhood.

A key aim of the project is to expose the richness of the Crimean collection at NAM, which is extensive. Owing to the collecting remit of the Imperial War Museum, which begins its coverage at the First World War, NAM provides one of the few dedicated collections on the Crimean War worldwide. The collection consists of objects, prints, drawings, paintings, photographs, archives, sculpture and rare books derived from the Royal United Service Institute, regimental museums, private donations and special purchase. The collaboration with NAM has been of mutual benefit. This project combines extensive use of largely untapped primary evidence with a truly interdisciplinary approach, which reveals the Crimean War's cultural breadth. The research has also increased the Museum's understanding of certain objects, some of which, such as its prints depicting Queen Victoria, are explored for the first time or given a fresh interpretive framework. The role museums and objects play in public understanding of the Crimean War is a unique aspect of this project, but is subsidiary to the much wider objective of identifying the various ways in which the War and its actors have been understood over time.

### **Crimean Engagements: Existing Historiography and Criticism**

In contrast to literature of the First World War, there are few texts probing the cultural afterlives of the Crimean War. Secondary literature on the Crimean War consists mainly of historical surveys and more specialist military, economic and diplomatic histories.<sup>10</sup> The centenary of the War prompted some reflection on its impact on

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<sup>10</sup> Texts of this kind include: H. Temperley, *England and the Near East: The Crimea* (London, Longmans 1936); Gavin Henderson, *Crimean War Diplomacy and Other Historical Essays* (Glasgow: Jackson, Son and Company, 1947); William Pemberton, *Battles of the Crimean War* (London: Batsford, 1962); Olive Anderson, *A Liberal State at War: English Politics and Economics during the Crimean War* (London: Macmillan, 1967); Philip Warner, *The Crimean War: A Re-appraisal* (London: Arthur Baker, 1972); John Curtiss, *Russia's Crimean War* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1979); Winfried Baumgart, *The Peace of Paris 1856* (Oxford: Clio Press, 1981); Norman Rich, *Why the Crimean War? A Cautionary Tale* (Lebanon: University Press of New England, 1985); Hew Strachan, *From*

national and international politics, particularly with regard to the European balance of power.<sup>11</sup> These scholars have maximised the benefit of hindsight by suggesting that the Crimean War led indirectly to the First World War, as a result of its impact on Italian unification and the development of Germany as a powerful nation state. More recently, scholars have utilised the Crimean War as context for a range of topics, including nineteenth-century attitudes to travel, medicine, gender, sexuality and spirituality.<sup>12</sup> However, there are few monographs dealing with the wider cultural significance of the War and those that have emerged over the past thirty years have focused on either artistic or literary sources. Matthew Lalumia's work on artistic representations of the War provides an excellent survey of Crimean art work and its relationship to the War's class-ridden political debates.<sup>13</sup> Unlike Ulrich Keller's more recent 'visual history' of the War, it gives equal weight to post-war representation.<sup>14</sup> However, Lalumia's chronological approach can make it difficult to discern connections between the ideas that emerge from his readings and the Crimean War is subsidiary to his main aim of demonstrating a British, Realist art movement in the nineteenth century.

A recent publication by Stefanie Markovits claims to be the 'first book devoted to the wider cultural effects of the conflict', though her analysis concentrates upon journalism, poetry and novels contemporary to the War and the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>15</sup> Her book shares similarities with an earlier, less well-known publication by Cynthia Dereli, which focuses on literature of the period 1854-55.<sup>16</sup> Though Markovits does not cite Dereli's work, she revives Dereli's analysis of Charles Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* and Elizabeth

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*Waterloo to Balaclava: Tactics, Technology and the British Army* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); J. Connacher, *Britain and the Crimea 1855-56: Problems of War and Peace* (Hampshire: Macmillan, 1987); John Sweetman, *The Crimean War* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2001); Trevor Royle, *Crimea: The Great Crimean War 1854-56* (New York: Abacus, 2004); Orlando Figes, *Crimea* (London: Penguin, 2011).

<sup>11</sup> Asa Briggs, 'The Crimean Centenary', *Virginia Quarterly Review*, 30 (1954), 542-55; A.J.P. Taylor, *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954).

<sup>12</sup> Natalie Houston, 'Reading the Victorian Souvenir: Sonnets and Photographs of the Crimean War', *Yale Journal of Criticism*, 14 (2001), 353-83; Michael Brown, "'Like a Devoted Army": Medicine, Heroic Masculinity, and the Military Paradigm in Victorian Britain', *Journal of British Studies*, 49 (2010), 592-622; Kathleen Rogers, 'Embodied Sympathy and Divine Detachment in Crimean War Medical Poetry', *War, Literature, and the Arts: An International Journal of the Humanities*, 25 (2013), 1-19.

<sup>13</sup> Matthew Lalumia, *Realism and Politics in Victorian art of the Crimean War* (Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1984).

<sup>14</sup> Ulrich Keller, *The Ultimate Spectacle: A Visual History of the Crimean War* (Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach, 2001).

<sup>15</sup> Stefanie Markovits, *The Crimean War in the British Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p.6. The Afterword turns briefly to Elizabeth Butler's post-war art.

<sup>16</sup> Cynthia Dereli, *A War Culture in Action: A Study of the Literature of the Crimean War* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2003).

Gaskell's *North and South*, as well as canonical poems by Tennyson. Neither author makes convincing war readings of *North and South*, which has tangential links to the Crimean War. However, a distinguishing feature and strength of Markovits' work is her detailed analysis of the role of newspapers and public opinion during the War.<sup>17</sup> At times she takes for granted key ideas about the War, noting early-on that it was 'distinguished more by blunder than glory' and that it was a 'tragic farce' without acknowledging the development and entrenchment of these emotive concepts after the War.<sup>18</sup> There are also some notable omissions regarding the cultural effects of the War. There is no discussion of the role of the monarchy and, more surprisingly, there is limited analysis of Nightingale's public reputation. Dereli devotes her final chapter to the role of women in the War, but it reads as an abrupt addition to the rest of the work and makes commonplace claims about Nightingale. For example, Dereli concludes that it was not so much what Nightingale did that was important to contemporaries but what she represented, yet provides little analysis of what Nightingale represented.<sup>19</sup> Whilst gender is an important consideration in terms of how Nightingale and Queen Victoria were represented by artists and writers, it will be shown how their figures also addressed a wider relationship between civilian and combatant. This thesis offers a sustained analysis of both Nightingale's and Queen Victoria's popular appeal, whilst attempting to understand the development of an incompetency principle and its role in the twenty-first century.

## Reading War

By foregrounding NAM's collection, the project demands an interdisciplinary methodology, which has drawn upon the military, historical, literary and cultural expertise of both supervisors and the author's art historical background. Strategies of close reading and attention to narrative derived from literary studies are more broadly applied to the stories surrounding an object, text or art. The difficulty of favouring one genre over another, as a more subtle and meaningful form of cultural representation, is addressed in Chapter 3 in relation to the difficult subject of war wounding.

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<sup>17</sup> Her chapter, 'Rushing into Print', outlines the ways in which private communication combined with public comment. pp.12-62.

<sup>18</sup> Markovits, p.2.

<sup>19</sup> Dereli, p.181.

Pertinent to this study of the War's afterlives and the notion of 'curating' interpretation, or, creating significance, is the study of myth, memory and war. Roland Barthes defines myth as a mode of signification that is nevertheless 'partial, incomplete, limited', aligning it with a misleading form of history, a view which reoccurs in relation to 'relics' in Chapter 4.<sup>20</sup> Yet, other scholars have re-negotiated the role of myth, or what might be alternatively described as 'popular memory' in historical narrative by embracing it as an important means of connecting past and present.

Popular memory has been defined as: 'the cultural significance of the past in the present, produced through the interaction of the particular "private" memoirs of individuals and social groups and the generalized "public" memories issuing from the state, political parties and cultural industries'.<sup>21</sup> The interaction of public and private narrative as forms of recollection is particularly pertinent to discussion of the War's enduring cultural icons in Chapters 2 and 4. Popular memory is utilised in Raphael Samuel's ground-breaking work on the historical uses of memory, myth and tradition, in which he realigns popular memory not as distinct from history, but as an unofficial branch of history that emphasises readerships, what is known in literary criticism as 'reception theory'.<sup>22</sup> These interpretations of myth and popular memory inform this project's utilisation of 'afterlife', not simply as a means of identifying constant concepts and narratives over time, but as a way of charting the mutation, even disruption of ideas as they are received and re-fashioned by new audiences. Samuel reflects elsewhere that: 'All recollections are told from the standpoint in the present. In telling they need to make sense of the past'.<sup>23</sup> He powerfully argues the case for re-contextualisation, which complements scholarly writing on Victorian afterlives as the interaction of present with past.<sup>24</sup> The structure of the thesis allows for a rich historical layering of ideas. The thesis adopts a thematic approach for the chapters and a chronological approach within the themes, to give a sense of continuity and change over time. As the opening to this Introduction illustrates, it is important to distinguish between the War's immediate

<sup>20</sup> Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (London: Vintage, 1993), pp.109-43.

<sup>21</sup> Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p.3.

<sup>22</sup> Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, 2 vols (London: Verso, 1994), I, 6-8.

<sup>23</sup> Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson, *The Myths we Live By* (London: Routledge, 1990), p.8.

<sup>24</sup> *Victorian Afterlife: Postmodern Culture Rewrites the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by John Kusich and Diane Sadof (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), p.28. See also Simon Joyce, *The Victorians in the Rearview Mirror* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2007) and Cora Kaplan, *Victoriana: Histories, Fictions Criticism* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2007).

afterlife, which occurred at its outset, owing to the rapid communications between home and front, and its reception over time.

The thesis also participates in an identified ‘cultural turn’ in military history and the study of warfare, which emphasises the role of perception and the extent to which war is culturally conditioned.<sup>25</sup> This cultural turn extends to growing interest in battlefield emotions and war as a ‘crucible of sensory experience’ for soldiers and civilians endeavouring to relate to it.<sup>26</sup> For Romantic scholar, Mary Favret, it is wartime, or ‘war mediated’, that dominates civilian experience, not a governing idea of war itself, which remains imperceptible and at a distance.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, Stuart Simmel explores the paradoxical nature of civilian attempts to commune with war and its actors in his analysis of battlefield tourism and collecting around Waterloo.<sup>28</sup> This thesis draws upon a discourse of proximity and detachment, demonstrating the number of ways in which mid-Victorians and their descendants made connections between home and war, via press reports, celebrated war correspondents, paintings, poetry, objects and the unifying media incarnations of the Queen and Nightingale.

### **A Brief History of the Crimean Campaign**

While the scale and objects of the conflicts differed, the familiar stories marking popular understanding of the First World War are all features of the Crimean War sixty years earlier. These features include suffering in the trenches, misguided optimism for a quick victory, military bungling, the horrors of war, fears about the balance of European power and the need to combat a ‘bullying’ enemy. What distinguishes the Crimean War is the extent of cultivation of public opinion on many of these matters through the mouth-piece of an uncensored press endeavouring to speak on behalf of its readership

<sup>25</sup> Jeremy Black, *Re-thinking Military History* (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 233-35.

<sup>26</sup> Mary Favret, ‘Coming Home: The Public Spaces of War’, *Studies in Romanticism*, 33 (1994), 539-48; *Sensing War* (June 2014), international conference hosted by the University of Portsmouth; *Battlefield Emotions 1500-1900* (January 2013), international conference hosted by the Amsterdam Centre for Cross-Disciplinary Emotion and Sensory Studies (ACCESS). Holly Furneaux, *Military Men of Feeling: Emotion, Touch and Masculinity in the Crimean War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2016); Julia Welland, ‘Compassionate Soldiering and the Violent Logics of War’ in *Emotions, Politics and War*, ed. by Linda Ahall and Thomas Gregory (London: Routledge, forthcoming)

<sup>27</sup> Mary Favret, *War at a Distance* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2010), pp.11-40.

<sup>28</sup> Stuart Simmel, ‘Reading the Tangible Past: British Tourism, Collecting and Memory after Waterloo’, *Representations*, 69 (2000), 9-37.

and frequently the nation.<sup>29</sup> This, combined with other well-known media breakthroughs, including rapid communications through the use of electric telegraphs and use of photography, gave a detailed impression of the British Army on campaign.

The Army's direct involvement in the War from September 1854 onwards can be divided into two periods: the field battle phase in the months leading up to winter 1854 and the post-winter phase when attempts in earnest were made to capture the fortresses defending Sevastopol. In Autumn 1854, Britain and France participated in three battles launched by the Russians to ward off the invading armies. The first, the Battle of Alma was claimed as a victory for the British, who caused a rout of the Russian troops. Literary treatments of this battle form part of the discussion in Chapter 1 as a means of identifying the stylistic and ideological predispositions of two key narrators of the War. The Battle of Balaclava followed a month after Alma, on 25 October 1854, and this was much less certain in its success. Shifting public fascination with one tragic aspect of it, the Charge of the Light Brigade, is discussed in Chapter 2.

The final, most prolonged battle was Inkerman, noted for its foggy conditions, which meant men were fighting in small clusters with little direction. Whilst the allies held off the superior number of Russian forces, the battle depleted the strength of the British Army and prolonged moves against Sevastopol's formidable forts. A hurricane in November 1854 added to the already difficult prospect of weathering a Crimean winter, destroying much of the Army's supplies of warm clothing and food. The Army thus laboured to construct trenches and keep watch before Sevastopol, without adequate clothing or shelter. In the months that followed, uncensored reporting on the front line exposed camp life and the Army's medical inadequacies, leading to public censure and the government's collapse in February 1855. This period of political and emotional upheaval plays a large part in the War's cultural afterlife: it revealed the power of civilian judgement on the War's management, the effects of which are explored in Chapter 1; it boosted critical readings of the Light Brigade's fate over time and motivated Tennyson to refine an increasingly symbolic tribute to its actors' heroism, as explored in Chapter 2; it politicised the suffering, wounded soldier as a victim of mismanagement, leading to publicised expressions of royal concern for the Army, as demonstrated in Chapter 3; and it defined Nightingale's image as the War's calming

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<sup>29</sup> Markovits notes the use of an editorial 'we' in *The Times*, p.24.



restorer, which as Chapter 4 outlines, continued to inform perceptions of women's contributions to war in the twentieth century.

Between March and September 1855, a series of bombardments were made on Sevastopol's outer defences. On 18 June, a joint allied attack on the fortifications known as the Redan and Malakoff resulted in defeat and heavy loss of life. The Russians, enlisting Sevastopol's civilian population under the direction of General Todleben, re-built the damaged walls swiftly. So long as the forts remained intact, the Russians had a deadly advantage, enabling them to kill the advancing French and British at close range. On 8 September 1855, the attack was repeated and the British failed to gain a proper foothold on the Redan. However, the French managed a breakthrough during their assault on the Malakoff, causing the Russians to retreat from Sevastopol. This action precipitated the end of the War and the signing of the Treaty of Paris in March 1856. The end of the War was an anti-climax for the British and so royal investment in returning soldiers and personal deeds of valour, as outlined in Chapter 3, helped to alleviate national sensitivities.

## **Chapter Outline**

Chapter 1 accounts for the divergent reception of two major chroniclers of the War, the historian Alexander Kinglake and journalist William Russell, both of whom had first-hand experience of the front. By contrasting the justificatory writings of Kinglake and the condemnatory writings of Russell, an understanding is gained not only of the differing ways in which these men presented soldiering and warfare but also how they shaped views on the War's controversies. Following an analysis of their differing narrative voices and techniques in relation to the Battle of Alma, the chapter establishes Russell's and Kinglake's competing testimony on British military performance on and off the field, namely: the working-relationship of the Alliance, the privations of the troops during the first winter of 1854-55 and the effectiveness of military command and civil authorities in addressing them. NAM's military correspondence, a signed photograph of Russell and a sketch of a haunted Lord Raglan provide the basis for readings of press power and civilian confidence in judging military performance. By assessing Russell's less well-known post-war writings against Kinglake's multi-volume history of the Crimean War, it is possible to see how Russell intensified and

consolidated his wartime position. The chapter demonstrates how the War's intellectual debates were rehearsed with renewed vigour well after it ended, and how the opposing views of both authors influenced twentieth century historiography.

Chapter 2 accounts for the exceptional status of the Charge of the Light Brigade, tracing its afterlife to the turn of the twentieth century. It charts a wartime shift in commemoration between transient celebration of individual heroism, in the figure of the Brigade's commander, the Earl of Cardigan and Alfred Tennyson's lasting poetic vision of collective heroism. This shift is framed against domestic anxieties about the 'falsity of the age'. An unpublished poem held at NAM, 'The Charge of the Six Hundred at Balaklava', written by an officer, illustrates neatly a commemorative predicament as a result of changing ideals of heroism. Using NAM's archival material documenting the first, major anniversary events commemorating the charge in the 1870s, the chapter goes on to explore an increasingly celebratory vision of the action in the late nineteenth-century. Excepting Elizabeth Thompson's painting *Balaclava*, which offers a more balanced appraisal of the psychological effects of warfare, it is argued that these patriotic assessments gradually eroded the tragedy and futility of the affair in the national consciousness. The emphasis placed upon aiding and celebrating the Light Brigade veteran in this period is also seen as an effort towards national reparation. In the final section of the chapter, which is informed by NAM's painting by Richard Caton-Woodville, the Charge's role in fulfilling an imperial agenda at the turn of the century is revealed, which inspired boys with an active model of martial masculinity and unquestioning obedience.

Chapter 3 deals with the prominent, yet under-explored, role of the monarchy in the aftermath of the War. It traces a number of matriarchal royal interventions in relation to the welfare of the regular soldier in response to political events and the renown of Nightingale. These interventions arose not just from Queen Victoria's personal regard for the Army, but to reassure a critical public and reassert royal prerogative over military affairs. NAM's correspondence between Lord Raglan and the Queen makes explicit this political battle between Crown and Parliament. Very public royal acts of benevolence, such as published letters declaring the over-riding feeling and concern of the Queen for 'her' troops, visits to military hospitals, royal touch at military ceremonies, the championing of a new military hospital at Netley and the establishment of the Victoria Cross, are contextualised against a hidden struggle for control. The

chapter addresses the motives and success of the monarchy's publicity campaign from contemporary press reports, which, with the exception of republican newspapers, responded with enthusiasm to the Queen's maternal image. It also utilises previously unseen prints held at NAM capturing the intimacy of royal-military ceremony and discusses in detail a set of vivid photographs of wounded soldiers held at NAM and at Windsor, which raise troubling questions about royal memorialisation of bodily suffering. The chapter questions egalitarian projection of royal acts through touch, sentiment and royal recognition of the humbler ranks. These acts coincided with broader moves to slow the pace of army reform and limit parliamentary influence.

Continuing to reflect upon patriotic projects of womanly sympathy, Chapter 4 explores hero-worship of Nightingale, predominantly through uncharted territory of public art, gifts and everyday objects associated with her. The chapter begins by outlining the nature and effects of Victorian investment in Nightingale as a sympathetic and benevolent army presence, as epitomised in NAM's 'Nightingale brooch', gifted to Nightingale by the Queen and Prince Albert, and the effects this had on public understanding of her work. The rest of the chapter assesses posthumous responses to Nightingale's figure in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Continuing public investment in Nightingale is shown to be acute during the World Wars, in spite of Lytton Strachey's contribution critiquing her hero-worship. The chapter reveals how Arthur Walker's Waterloo Place statue and his frieze of Nightingale at St Paul's Cathedral inspired women's contributions to the First World War effort and how Nightingale's Crimean carriage became a focus for nation-building and personal reconciliation during the Second World War. The chapter explores other personal objects associated with Nightingale, the messages they invoke and their appropriateness as a tribute to Nightingale's war work. Considerations of her longstanding sanctified status are balanced with contemporary ambivalence about Nightingale, an uncertainty created by trenchant readings of her personality in academic circles and the media.

All four chapters deal with the 'mismanagement', or the 'misconduct' of war. Chapter 1 deals with the origins and development of mismanagement as a mode of viewing the War, Chapter 2 its most popular military expression in readings of the Charge, Chapter 3 with royal anxiety as a result of anti-establishment feeling and Chapter 4 with the nation's chief, mythical restorer of good conduct, Nightingale. The effect of this figuring of the War is surmised by Jacky Bratton, who remarks that mismanagement

caused more damage to national pride than ‘the enemy’.<sup>30</sup> The War was branded as ‘a most desperate undertaking’ by one senior army official and the quote was used for the title of a seminal, special anniversary exhibition held at the NAM in 2004, which provided new insights into the fragility of national alliances and life on campaign. The choice of exhibition title shows that ‘Crimea’ continues to evoke strong feeling in the twenty-first century, a by-word for official neglect. The War’s impact on the military reputations of individuals is therefore of particular significance. In his survey of manliness and masculinities in the nineteenth century, John Tosh overlooks soldiers of the Crimean War altogether. He states that ‘the first military figure to seize the public imagination since Wellington was Sir Henry Havelock of Indian Mutiny fame’.<sup>31</sup> Chapters 1 and 2 complicate the ‘first’ of this large claim, showing that the Crimea’s Commander-in-Chief seized the public imagination in unexpected ways as a personification of military neglect, whilst the Earl of Cardigan was the subject of intense but transient adulation.

This thesis addresses the multiple ways in which the Crimean War increased civil-military relations, contrasting suffering with the Queen and Nightingale, who served as figures of domestic harmony; raising on one level the public status of the regular soldier; enabling civilians to appraise military tactics and governance and producing lasting fascination with certain Crimean objects as dynamic mediators not just of the Crimean War but of subsequent wars. However, the contingent nature of these war mediations, embedded in ideological, political and emotional conflicts, become equally apparent in this project.

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<sup>30</sup> Jacky Bratton, ‘Theatre of War: the Crimea on the London Stage’, *Performance and Politics in Popular Drama*, ed. by David Bradby, Louis James and Bernard Sharratt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p.134.

<sup>31</sup> John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2005), p.66.

## Chapter 1

### 'Knights of the Quill':<sup>1</sup> Russell, Kinglake and the (Re-) Writing of War

Kinglake's *Invasion of the Crimea* is extravagantly elaborate, highly idiosyncratic, often prejudiced and sometimes wrong. But it is a work of art; and, I think, the greatest military history written in English.<sup>2</sup>

He has produced a gallery of battle-pictures painted without exaggeration [...] Mr Russell is the first who ever made a distant public almost spectators of a contest in progress.<sup>3</sup>

Alexander Kinglake's *Invasion of the Crimea*, the first, large-scale history of the Crimean War, is an important response to the War's political and cultural anxieties. Writing to his prospective publisher, Blackwood and Sons, Kinglake saw his mission as redressing 'all the wrongs' and throwing a 'new light' on the War.<sup>4</sup> The first of Kinglake's eight volumes appeared in 1863, prompting a fresh round of debate amongst those involved in the campaign. Kinglake's contribution to the War's legacy was controversial, tarnishing his previously good reputation as a travel writer. In contrast, William Russell rose to fame as special correspondent for *The Times* throughout the course of an uncensored war. The most widely read of the correspondents writing from the front line, serving a readership averaging 55,000, Russell became a popular Victorian figure and subsequently published three books based upon his dispatches.<sup>5</sup> In contrast to the 'grand narrative' style of Kinglake's work, described as 'epic', Russell amended and embellished his dispatches sent from the front line.<sup>6</sup> Russell's post-war publications frustrated the attempts of Kinglake and others to produce an uncontested history of the Crimean War.

<sup>1</sup> 'Literature of the War', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 12 November 1854, p.7.

<sup>2</sup> Christopher Hibbert, *The Destruction of Lord Raglan* (London: Longmans, 1961), p.11.

<sup>3</sup> 'Book Review', *Athenaeum*, 4 October 1856, p.1212.

<sup>4</sup> *Annals of a Publishing House: William Blackwood and his Sons*, ed. by Mrs Oliphant, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 2 vols (London and Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1897), II, 452.

<sup>5</sup> William Russell, *The War: from the landing at Gallipoli to the Death of Lord Raglan*, 2 vols (London: Routledge and Co., 1855-1856); *The British Expedition to the Crimea* (London: Routledge, 1858) and *The Great War with Russia* (London: Routledge and Co., 1895). The circulation of *The Times* was double that of its main rivals combined together. Rupert Furneaux, *The First War Correspondent: William Howard Russell* (London: Cassell and Company Limited, 1944), p.9.

<sup>6</sup> Rev. William Tuckwell, *A.W. Kinglake: A Biographical and Literary Study* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1902), p.59.

A comparison of Russell and Kinglake's writing and its impact introduces some of the debates surrounding the War, which re-occur throughout this thesis, namely: its national allegiances and animosities, the influence of the press upon public opinion, the civilian-military balance of power and the heroism conferred upon commanders and their men. Kinglake and Russell evince a tension surrounding patrician ideology, apparent in Britain during the Napoleonic era, and the cult of its military heroes.<sup>7</sup> Olive Anderson registers feelings of 'overt class bitterness and impatience with prevailing institutions' during the Crimean War and middle-class agitation against aristocratic command is explored in Matthew Lalumia's work.<sup>8</sup> This chapter contrasts middle-class attempts to destabilise a close-knit elite of the British Commander-in-Chief, Lord Raglan, with Kinglake's exoneration of aristocratic command, and traces a legacy for later accounts of the War. Whilst it would be convenient to categorise Russell and Kinglake's writing as respectively condemnatory and apologetic, care must be taken over the sense in which these descriptors are applied. It will be demonstrated that Kinglake justified the conduct of military command operating in a disjointed system of governance, but was uncomfortable with Britain's alliance with France. Russell was condemnatory of the conduct of the War and particularly the military authorities, but not of the legitimacy of the War itself.

Russell and Kinglake's writing more broadly revolves around the loaded term 'progress', a term crucial for considerations of the place of the Crimean War in history and society. As Anderson observes, opinion makers in England were divided between those judging the War by looking to the past and those judging it by looking to the future.<sup>9</sup> Russell exemplifies a desire for administrative change, for greater 'efficiency' and Kinglake the preservation of traditional values and systems. In an anonymous and derogatory review of the *Invasion*, the archaeologist and Radical MP Austen Henry Layard restated the positive results of the War, including the reforms to Britain's military administration in accordance with the 'progress of the age'.<sup>10</sup> Layard viewed the War as a manifestation of a new order. Kinglake's history, he implies, is

<sup>7</sup> Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (London: Pimlico, 1992), p.154.

<sup>8</sup> Olive Anderson, *A Liberal State at War: English Politics and Economics during the Crimean War* (New York, St Martin's Press, 1967), p.97; Matthew Lalumia, 'Realism and Anti-Aristocratic Sentiment in Victorian Depictions of the Crimean War', *Victorian Studies*, 27 (1983), 25-51.

<sup>9</sup> Anderson, *A Liberal State at War*, p.1.

<sup>10</sup> Austen Henry Layard, 'Kinglake's Crimea', *Quarterly Review*, 113 (1863), p.570. A proof of Layard's review is held at the National Army Museum, NAM: 1956-02-51-2)

counterproductive to progress. Layard's role as lobbyist has been underestimated in accounts of recriminatory feeling during the War. It will be shown how Layard contributed to wider agitation beyond what Markovits has characterised as 'Mr Russell's War'.<sup>11</sup>

High level public interest and investment in Russell is apparent from early responses to his work. *Punch* was especially appreciative, arguing Russell was deserving of formal recognition, a 'pen of diamonds', to reward his chronicling of the War, '[...] for can the Euxine itself contain greater treasures than William Russell has drawn from his Crimean ink bottle, his own Black Sea?'<sup>12</sup> On his return to England in 1856, Trinity College awarded him an honorary degree and Russell built upon his popularity with a lucrative lecture tour.<sup>13</sup> Despite the attempt of *The Times* proprietor, Mowbray Morris, to temper his distinction, Vanity Fair's 'Men of the Day' series conferred public ownership upon Russell in 1875, describing him as 'Our War Correspondent'.<sup>14</sup> By this time, he had reported the Indian Mutiny, the American Civil War, the Austro-Prussian and Franco-Prussian wars.<sup>15</sup> Russell is shown confidently and humorously meeting the viewer's gaze, matching the description of him as a 'big, bluff, and genial Irishman, a *bon vivant*, [...] with an infinite capacity for winning friendship with all sorts of men [...]'<sup>16</sup> In contrast to Kinglake, Russell achieved lasting public affection, earning him the inscription the 'first and greatest of war correspondents' on a commemorative plaque at St Paul's Cathedral.<sup>17</sup> The plaque, initiated soon after his death by a committee of war correspondents and military men, was unveiled by his friend, Field Marshal Evelyn Wood.<sup>18</sup> The elevation of Russell will be linked to the considerable reach of *The Times* and his own powers of immediacy to a civilian audience which, as the *Athenaeum* reflected above, made them 'spectators of a contest in progress'.

<sup>11</sup> Markovits, p.25. As Phillip Knightley points out, Russell's fame also overshadowed the work of other war correspondents, such as Thomas Chenery, the Constantinople correspondent for *The Times* and Edwin Godkin of the *Daily News*. Phillip Knightley, *The First Casualty: From the Crimea to Vietnam: The War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist and Myth Maker* (London: Quartet Books, 1982), pp.4-13.

<sup>12</sup> 'The Pen and the Sword', *Punch*, 2 February 1856, p.49.

<sup>13</sup> John Atkins, *The Life of Sir William Howard Russell*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1911), I, 111.

<sup>14</sup> 'Men of the Day', *Vanity Fair*, 16 January 1875. Morris refused an invitation on Russell's behalf to attend a civic reception in Russell's honour in 1856. *The History of the Times*, 'The Tradition Established 1841-1884', 6 vols (London: Times Publishing Company, 1935-1993), II (1939), 274.

<sup>15</sup> Trevor Royle, *Crimea* (London: Little, Brown and Company, 1999), p.511.

<sup>16</sup> *History of the Times*, II, 171.

<sup>17</sup> Used also for a biography by Rupert Furneaux, *The First War Correspondent: William Howard Russell* (London: Cassell and Company Limited, 1944)

<sup>18</sup> Furneaux, p.217.

Whilst Russell rose from relative obscurity as a result of his involvement with *The Times*, Kinglake's reputation was soundly established at the outbreak of the War. His literary renown rested upon *Eothen* (1844), a narrative of his travels in Turkey: 'Probably no book of travel [...] ever gained more celebrity for its writer'.<sup>19</sup> Yet, under no illusion about the furore the first two volumes of the *Invasion* caused in 1863, Kinglake's biographer recorded that the military and political conclusions drawn 'provoked no small bitterness', his cousin, Mrs Serjeant Kinglake, met with 'almost affronting coldness in society at the time, under the impression that she was A.W Kinglake's wife'.<sup>20</sup> The length of Kinglake's history was a frequent point of criticism in reviews. *Fraser's Magazine* declared: 'His philosophical history is too biographical, his biography too imaginative, and his military history too diffuse'.<sup>21</sup> The biographical aspect of the *Invasion* attracted a satirical piece in *Punch*, which unflinchingly described Kinglake's 'invented' process 'entirely dispensing with natural light' enabling the representation of sitters 'either in total shadow, or under the effect of green, rose-coloured, or other artificial media'.<sup>22</sup> Like *The Times*, *Punch* adopted a highly condemnatory view of the operations of the War, echoing the sentiments of figures like Layard, who in the same review in which he referred to the 'progress of the age', positioned Kinglake's grandiose style as an unsuccessful attempt at outmoded superiority: 'the attempt at lofty display is sometimes so absurd as to excite laughter'.<sup>23</sup> This notion of Kinglake's aloofness and removal from his readership is reinforced by an unflattering *Vanity Fair* cartoon of 1872 (Fig.2), which depicts him sitting side-ways on to the viewer. 'Not an MP', which appears to be a satirical interpretation of the thoughtful pose adopted for a photograph taken two years previously (Fig.3), focuses on Kinglake's unsuccessful political career as a Liberal MP for Bridgewater, published three years after he was unseated on charges of electoral bribery.<sup>24</sup> Kinglake is depicted in a delusionary, dream-like state, indicating the 'shy aloofness' which his first biographer attributed to him: 'He would never play the raconteur in general company [...]'<sup>25</sup> His dangling spectacles, alluding to his known physical short-sightedness, is

<sup>19</sup> 'Alexander William Kinglake', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 149 (1891), p.303.

<sup>20</sup> Tuckwell, pp.48-49.

<sup>21</sup> 'Mr. Kinglake and the Two Pamphlets', *Fraser's Magazine*, 68 (1863), p.63.

<sup>22</sup> 'Mr Kinglake's Newly Opened Photographic Establishment', *Punch*, 7 February 1863, p.59.

<sup>23</sup> Layard, 'Kinglake's Crimea', p.515.

<sup>24</sup> Tuckwell, p.41.

<sup>25</sup> Tuckwell, pp.128-129.



likely to be a satirical statement upon a metaphorical ‘near-sightedness’ too.<sup>26</sup> This chapter will question, and go some way to account for, the strength of feeling expressed against Kinglake in Victorian periodicals and journals.

However, it is not the aim of this chapter to champion either Kinglake or Russell, but to discuss the distinct agenda and influences governing both writers. The opening epigraphs demonstrate that both were seen to produce strikingly ‘visual’ and impressionistic writing. Kinglake’s history is a ‘work of art’, whilst Russell ‘produced a gallery of battle pictures’. These visual metaphors neatly sum-up the holistic quality of Kinglake’s history and the serialised nature of Russell’s war reporting. The following analysis of Russell and Kinglake’s accounts of the Battle of Alma, the allies’ first engagement and victory, will provide an understanding of their depiction of warfare. The chapter then reveals how both writers relied heavily on an unlikely alliance with France to bolster their views on British command and Lord Raglan in particular. The figure of Raglan is a central concern for both writers. Kinglake’s dedication to Raglan is expressed through narrative structure as well as content. The *Invasion* ends at the point of Raglan’s death and thus renders the rest of the War irrelevant in the absence of its chief. In his post-war writing, Russell comments directly on Raglan’s conduct in a continuing debate upon the role of the press, military ‘science’ and the validity of civilian intervention upon the War. Their writing will be considered alongside a rich material context, including soldiers’ letters, periodicals, commemorative ware, prints and *Punch*, to reveal the far-reaching cultural significance of both authors’ concerns.

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<sup>26</sup> Kinglake’s visual impairment was made infamous in a pamphlet by Francis Head. Head accused Kinglake of hypocrisy for drawing attention to General Sir George Brown’s physical ‘near-sightedness’. Francis Head, *Mr Kinglake* (London: John Murray, 1863), p.13.

## Alma

The Battle of Alma, named after the river where it took place, occurred on 20 September 1854 shortly after the allied forces of Britain and France landed upon the Crimean coast. The battle interrupted an exhausting and deadly march inland and was the only point in the campaign at which Kinglake and Russell were both present, since Kinglake left the Crimea on 18 October 1854. The battle was marked by two separate allied attacks in accordance with a French plan proposed the night before. The English conducted a frontal attack on the main Russian position, whilst the French scaled the steep cliffs on a poorly guarded right flank. The vacillation of Prince Menschikov across two disparate fronts and the firing power of the British Minié rifle resulted in a Russian retreat, despite breaks in Allied co-ordination.<sup>27</sup>

Kinglake's and Russell's experiences at the front were markedly different, highlighting their social standing and profiles amongst military command. The son of a banker, Kinglake attended Eton College followed by Cambridge University in 1828. Uninterested in pursuing a career at the bar, Kinglake became a 'travelling gent', which afforded him many opportunities, not least the indulging of his military interests on embarking for the Crimea. Already acquainted with Raglan, Kinglake was given special permission to accompany headquarters staff from the commencement of the battle and dined with Raglan on the same evening.<sup>28</sup> The importance of this Crimean meeting to Kinglake is summed up in a letter he wrote to Raglan upon his return to England '[...] I shall ever associate my recollections of "the Alma" with the kind and generous reception which I met with at headquarters'.<sup>29</sup>

In contrast, Russell's humbler social status ensured his assignment in the Baltic and thereafter in the Crimea was borne more out of necessity. The son of an unsuccessful Irish businessman, Russell was brought up by his paternal grandfather. He moved to London to pursue a career in law and became involved with *The Times* regularly as a parliamentary reporter to help fund his training at the bar. Like Kinglake, Russell had a personal fascination with military life and his interests had been engaged prior to the

<sup>27</sup> For a reliable and concise account of the battle, see R.L.V. French Blake, *The Crimean War* (London: Sphere Books, 1973), pp.48-61.

<sup>28</sup> Gerald de Gaury, *Travelling Gent: The Life of Alexander Kinglake* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), p.112.

<sup>29</sup> NAM: 1968-07-305, Letter to Raglan, 8 December 1854

Crimea when reporting the Danish Civil War (1848-1850) and the funeral of the Duke of Wellington in 1852.<sup>30</sup> In February 1854, he was approached by his editor, John Delane, who informed him that he was to accompany the Guards to Malta and confidently predicted the Army's return by Easter.<sup>31</sup> Journalists at this time had no established campaign status. Russell expressed his sense of isolation prior to and during the battle of Alma in his despatches. The night before the battle he described looking for his missing baggage and stumbling upon the hospitality of a 'kindly colonel', who lent him a tent.<sup>32</sup> Here, Russell attempts to endear his readership to a determined and resourceful protagonist making the best of a precarious situation.<sup>33</sup> Russell remained with the Army throughout the War, supplying war narrative in detailed instalments to *The Times'* readers at home. As Mary Favret comments in relation to the burgeoning news culture of the Napoleonic Wars, newspaper reading regulated wartime for a literate public, uniting them in a daily rhythm.<sup>34</sup>

As his first battle, Alma had impressed upon Russell the responsibility he held as an eyewitness on behalf of his readership. He noted in his first public despatch to *The Times*, with engaging honesty, that he despaired of 'giving the faintest conception of the terrible conflict which has just been terminated with the greatest honour to our arms [...]'<sup>35</sup> What follows from Russell is a brief and hurried résumé of the events, generically glorifying the 'cool courage' of the British soldier and grandiosely declaring the victory to have 'freed Europe from the dismal chimera which has pressed upon her councils for the last half century'. This notably short despatch prioritises patriotic response and an idea of the War as a revelatory, even revitalising force in the absence of a detailed account of the battle.<sup>36</sup> However, the editor chose to print it together with a further report from Russell, no doubt considering that the mood and excitement of the first was complemented by the more detailed considerations of the second. The second more structured despatch, written on the 21 September, outlines the position of the

<sup>30</sup> Furneaux, pp.15-20.

<sup>31</sup> Atkins, I, 124.

<sup>32</sup> 'The Grand Victory over the Russians,' *The Times*, 10 October 1854, p.7. Russell later revealed the colonel as Lacy Yea of the 7<sup>th</sup> Fusiliers. Russell, *The British Expedition*, p.122.

<sup>33</sup> Russell heightens his vulnerability at Alma in his post-war account, describing sheltering amongst the ruins of the burning village at the foot of Alma's heights, narrowly avoiding shells. Russell, *The British Expedition*, pp.135-36.

<sup>34</sup> Favret, *War at a Distance*, p.60.

<sup>35</sup> 'The Grand Victory over the Russians,' *The Times*, 10 October 1854, p.7

<sup>36</sup> For more on the idea of war as revelation and invested authority in those who 'flesh witness', see Yuval Harari, *The Ultimate Experience: Battlefield Revelations and the Making of Modern War Culture, 1450-2000* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p.8.

armies and the course of the engagement. Russell actively engages a male reader, who is asked to position himself on top of Richmond Hill, to ‘dwarf the Thames in imagination to the size of a Hampshire rivulet, and imagine the lovely hill itself to be deprived of all vegetation and protracted for about four miles along the stream’ in order to form some notion of the Russian position’.<sup>37</sup> The scene of a distant war is thus made familiar to a London and home county audience and by using a non-military descriptor, Russell simultaneously invokes his position representing civilian interest. The harmless vision of a ‘Hampshire rivulet’ also throws into relief an increasingly violent scenario, one in which Russell’s participation is frequently made clear.

Unifying the nation in a distant war, Russell uses ‘we’ and ‘our’ in describing the actions and movements of the British Army, whilst straying into the first person to inform the reader: ‘I heard him [Sir George Brown] give the order for the movement of the artillery [...]’ Another feature of Russell’s first-hand narrative is the pace of the writing, as he describes the Army’s movement towards engagement and the noise and danger of battle. When describing the infantry lying down under Russian fire, he writes: ‘The round shot whizzed in every direction, dashing up the dirt and the sand into the faces of the staff of Lord Raglan [...]’<sup>38</sup> This frank description, unorthodox in its undignified image of headquarters, extends reader participation to incidents which were ignored in military despatches. Eventually, the ‘serried masses’ were ordered to advance: ‘[...] passing through a fearful shower of round, case shot and shell, they dashed into the Alma, and “floundered” through its waters, which were literally torn into foam by the deadly hail’. ‘Direction’ and ‘dashing’ propels the men and the narrative forward. The reeling off of artillery descriptors and the mutation of a ‘fearful shower’ into a ‘deadly hail’ within one short sentence, conveys an increasingly violent onslaught. The words ‘dash’ and ‘dashing’ are used frequently in the account and occupy a dual meaning as a descriptor for movement and as indicative of the manner in which an action is completed. General De Lacy Evans is described as leading the 2<sup>nd</sup> Division ‘in a most dashing manner’. In another reference to style and appearance, Russell praises the line formation of the Guards at the base of the heights, comparing it to the regularity of a parade in Hyde Park, further de-stabilising the boundaries between home and war.

<sup>37</sup> ‘Heights above Alma’, *The Times*, 10 October 1854, p.7.

<sup>38</sup> ‘Heights above Alma’, *The Times*, 10 October 1854, p.7.

Kinglake is also adept at creating atmosphere and in doing so he luxuriates in poetic license and juxtaposition to shape his three hundred page account of Alma. Unlike Russell, silence and immobility create suspense in a narrative which employs a number of symbolic moments to exalt the actions of officers. An uncanny calm is described during the final halt of the Army on its march towards the river, a device to heighten tension: 'The 20<sup>th</sup> September on the Alma was like some remembered day of June in England, for the sun was unclouded, and the soft breeze of the morning had lulled to a breath at noontide, and was creeping faintly along the hills'.<sup>39</sup> 'Soft', 'lulled' and 'breath' evinces a gentleness and quietness that is the antithesis of battle, but the use of 'creeping' in the final clause is a sinister reminder of the Allies falteringly moving towards an engagement. Watching from the Allied fleet, Layard corroborates that it was a moment of deepest anxiety in view of the strength of the Russian position and the inexperience of the Allied troops.<sup>40</sup> For Kinglake, the silence during the halt carried a special meaning, as the 'great nations of Europe were once more meeting for battle'.<sup>41</sup> Like Russell in his first Alma dispatch, Kinglake introduces Alma as a belated meeting of Europe's leading players on the battlefield. Whether or not this was something felt by soldiers, suffering from the unceasing glare of the sun, Kinglake elevates the moment by placing the Crimean War in a long military tradition.

Kinglake punctuates his suspense by recording a 'first' death on the British side, that of an artilleryman struck by a shell, providing a poignant marker of the commencement of battle. The description of this singular and dramatic occurrence, the 'convulsive grasp' of the reins and the 'loud, inarticulate' yell, is in fact borrowed from the diary of Captain Nolan, who famously died leading the Light Brigade.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, a number of vivid observations and descriptions are a re-writing of others. Kinglake's observations on the nature of modern warfare and its effect on soldiers, death coming by 'blind chance', seem to be lifted from the musings of General Codrington.<sup>43</sup> Codrington noted that the most striking aspect of the battle was the '[...] silent way in which death did its

<sup>39</sup> Alexander Kinglake, *The Invasion of the Crimea*, 8 vols (Blackwood and Sons, 1863-1887), II (1874), 258.

<sup>40</sup> Austen Henry Layard, 'Campaign in the Crimea', *Quarterly Review*, 96 (1854), p.214.

<sup>41</sup> Kinglake, II, 258.

<sup>42</sup> Kinglake, II, 269; *Expedition to the Crimea*, ed. by Alan Guy and Alastair Massie (London: National Army Museum, 2010), p.60. Nolan's diary is mentioned elsewhere in Kinglake's footnotes, but the particular observations borrowed from it are not attributed.

<sup>43</sup> Kinglake, II, 269.

work. No sight or sound betrayed the cause [...]<sup>44</sup> Codrington is a favoured figure in Kinglake's account of the battle and so it is likely his papers were drawn upon. Kinglake's desire to view the battle from numerous individual perspectives was problematic for some critics, who perceived his history to be disjointed. Comparing Kinglake's volumes with William Napier's earlier history of the Peninsular wars, the only precedent for a history on such a voluminous scale, the *Pall Mall Gazette* declared: '[...] Napier obtained a comprehensive, professional grasp of his subject, and his larger things included the smaller. Kinglake, on the other hand, has no professional knowledge, no true military critical facility; and he writes upwards [...] from small things to great'.<sup>45</sup> It is possible that the length of the history was perceived as excessive in light of the Crimean War's results. Although the first two volumes sold well, no doubt boosted by the ferocity of reviews, sales figures were not sustained for subsequent volumes following their first month of publication.<sup>46</sup> At the end of the century, *Blackwood's* published an excerpted, single volume version of Kinglake's *Invasion* as a 'Student's Edition', deeming the history fraught with important lessons but too long for military students in its original form.<sup>47</sup> The impact of Russell's serialised accounts on understanding of the Crimean War, which magnified the abject aspects of the soldier's experience, could not be re-written for those who viewed the War as 'fraught' with important lessons.

Russell's writing opened up important aspects of war for civilian consumption, allowing readers to digest accounts of adrenalin-fuelled action, but also a battle's aftermath. Russell's final Alma despatch describes, with characteristic directness, its violated fields. Appealing to his readership using another of London's leisure spaces, the densely covered 'hills of Greenwich Park in fair time', the scale of dead and wounded covering Alma's heights is again made palpable to civilians.<sup>48</sup> Russell describes the 'attitudes of the dead', some of whom were frozen in defensive positions at the point they were shot, forming morbid effigies. Commencing and closing his *Times* narrative, therefore, two powerful associations convey the transformation of the site of battle,

<sup>44</sup> Alastair Massie, *The National Army Museum Book of the Crimean War: The Untold Stories* (London: Pan Books, 2005), p.36.

<sup>45</sup> 'Kinglake's "Invasion of the Crimea"', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 26 September 1868, p.11.

<sup>46</sup> Cambridge University Library (CUL), Add. 7633/5/58, undated statement of payments made to Kinglake between 1863 and 1889.

<sup>47</sup> 'Reviews', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 11 December 1899, p.11.

<sup>48</sup> 'The British Expedition', *The Times*, 11 October 1854, p.7.

beginning with the bare and uninterrupted Richmond Hill and ending with a subversion of a crowded pleasure venue.<sup>49</sup> The two Alma despatches reveal Russell's effectiveness at bridging the distance between a public at home and a 'contest in progress'. Russell's powers of immediacy were not lost on other cultural producers, establishing a precedent for the after-effects of battle in other media. 'The Heights of the Alma - Day After the Battle' (Fig.4), published by Read and Co. a few days after the battle and held at NAM, reveals an affinity with Russell's account. 'The Heights' is a colourful and busy scene, marked with descriptions to focus the viewer upon individual activity, both heartening and discomfiting, such as 'Priest comforting dying Soldier' and 'Sailor appropriating Russian soldier's boots'. The bright use of colour, reminiscent of stage scenery, and the extent of human incident could well have been inspired by Russell's image of Greenwich Fair.

In addition to providing innovative perspectives upon battle, Russell's distinctive and inclusive mode of writing represented a broader trend in war narrative. It is no coincidence that he penned the preface to Mary Seacole's 1857 autobiography, which was published, alongside other initiatives supported by *The Times*, to raise money for the celebrated but bankrupt doctress.<sup>50</sup> Describing the book as 'unique in literature', Russell describes the author as 'no Anna Comnena, who presents us with a verbose history, but a plain truth-speaking woman, who has lived an adventurous life'.<sup>51</sup> There are numerous parallels between Seacole and Russell, as initial outsiders in the Crimea who shared a concern for the troops and who inspired a dedicated following. A review of Russell's career up to 1857 comments 'everybody writes nowadays, and readers multiply as rapidly as books', a situation ascribed to the 'national service performed by Mr Russell'.<sup>52</sup> His publishers, Routledge and Co., published *The War, or Voices from the Ranks* in 1855, which, building upon Russell's reputation as the champion of the common soldiery, 'simple officers and men', produced various letters forming an

<sup>49</sup> War and entertainment was blurred also on the home front. Jacky Bratton discusses the rapid appearance of popular, wartime plays, inspired by fast news reporting, including one entitled 'The Battle of Alma' staged in the interactive environs of Astley's Amphitheatre. Bratton, p.127.

<sup>50</sup> Mary Seacole, *Wonderful Adventures of Mrs Seacole in Many Lands*, ed. by Sara Salih, 5<sup>th</sup> edn (London: Penguin Books, 2005)

<sup>51</sup> The Byzantine princess and historian who wrote a fifteen volume history in 1137.

<sup>52</sup> 'William Howard Russell', *Glasgow Herald*, 16 September 1857, p.2.

account of the campaign as far as the Battle of Inkerman.<sup>53</sup> The volume aimed to interest a 'large class of readers' and commended the immediacy of the letters in comparison to the elaborate composition of history writing.<sup>54</sup> Whilst not mentioning Russell explicitly, no doubt the acclaim of his despatches led to a greater appreciation for serialised war writing. *Voices from the Ranks* may also be, in part, a response to *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, which commented on the proliferation of soldiers' letters in newspaper columns describing the Battle of Alma. The Lloyd's writer, whilst not wanting to diminish the powerful narratives of 'Knights of the Quill' in the Crimea, Russell, Layard and Kinglake, points to the 'feeling, tenderness, and valour' found in colourful accounts written by the common soldier and sailor. It was predicted that a publisher would collect together these 'popular expositions of the war' as evidence that 'man may fight as well as write'.<sup>55</sup>

In contrast, Kinglake's dense narrative aspires to an older, more exclusive mode of viewing the War. The Crimean War led to civilian, as well as military insubordination during its winter troubles and Kinglake attempts to restore a vision of traditional army relations. His description of the aftermath of battle is as direct as Russell's and unexpectedly brutal in describing a lack of respect shown towards the dead. He refers to a 'foul human swarm' transforming the scene from harrowing beauty to harsh vulnerability: 'a field which was speckled and glittering at the close of the battle with the uniforms and prostrate soldiers, is changed of a sudden to a ghastly shamle, with little but maimed or dead horses, and the buff, naked corpses of men, to show where the battle has raged'.<sup>56</sup> The conflation of the naked corpses with the maimed and dead horses presents a blunt vision of man's animalism and disposability that pre-dates First World War disillusionment, as voiced in Wilfred Owen's famous lament 'What passing-bells for those who die as cattle?'.<sup>57</sup> Yet, Kinglake displaces his 'ghastly shamle' onto the actions of opportunistic, local pillagers, thus distancing the effects of war from war itself, which he presents as a noble venture. At this stark juncture, Kinglake maintains that although the sight was of a kind to scar young soldiers, there

<sup>53</sup> In a review of Russell's work, the *Athenaeum* recollected 'What deeds of heroism were achieved, and what mighty wrongs were endured by the noble soldiery-simple officers and men on the fields of Crimean Warfare!' 'Book Review', *Athenaeum*, 4 October 1856, p.1212.

<sup>54</sup> Preface to *The War; or Voices from the Ranks* (London and New York: Routledge and Co., 1855)

<sup>55</sup> 'Literature of the War', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 12 November 1854, p.7.

<sup>56</sup> Kinglake, III, 2-3.

<sup>57</sup> *Wilfred Owen*, ed. by Jon Stallworthy (London: Faber and Faber Ltd, 2004), p.13.



was ‘nothing in the field of the battle which could mar the dignity of war’.<sup>58</sup> A concern for the well-being of impressionable soldiers is converted into the threat such sights posed to the living soldier’s ability to unthinkingly act and obey. Kinglake noted the danger of the soldier’s ‘indulgence’ in ‘sinister criticism’, which threatened his morale in battle.<sup>59</sup> In this telling observation, acts of enquiry and affective responses to the battle-field are rendered superfluous and subversive.

Recalling traditional military ideals, Kinglake promotes a clear divide between superior and subordinates, emphasising that the successful prosecution of war rests upon the unquestioning obedience of the common soldier, whose feelings are expressed in collective terms.<sup>60</sup> In the midst of the chaos and noise of increasing artillery fire, contrasting sharply with the pre-battle description, the men are described as loving strife: ‘[...] a game where death as the forfeit has a strange gloomy charm for them’.<sup>61</sup> Kinglake transforms the tense reality of men ordered to lie down, to reduce their chances of being hit, into a positive experience by claiming the troops took pleasure in their fate, or were, at least, commendably resigned to it. The strongest vision Kinglake provides of compliance is in his description of men warning their mounted officers of approaching shot. This they were happy to do, Kinglake intones, ‘though they themselves [...] lay riveted to the earth by duty’.<sup>62</sup> The relationship between the men and their mounted officers is later compared to fox hunting. Describing one of his heroes in action, Colonel Lacy Yea, Kinglake states: ‘The will of a horseman to move forward [...] is singularly strengthened by the education of the hunting field [...]’<sup>63</sup> The will of Yea is mirrored by the murmur of the ‘masses’ for close fighting. Kinglake’s prior acquaintance with Raglan stemmed from hunts on Raglan’s family estate in Gloucestershire.<sup>64</sup> Following the announcement of the War, *Punch* had published its own commentary on the ‘education of the hunting field’, poking fun at the ignorance of its participants (Fig.5). These references may in part account for Layard’s accusation of Kinglake’s ‘lofty display’. Those, like Layard, who were embroiled in the controversies

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<sup>58</sup> Kinglake, III, 4.

<sup>59</sup> Kinglake, III, 4.

<sup>60</sup> Harari expresses this military ideal in terms of the mind (superior) and body (subordinate), pp.116-24.

<sup>61</sup> Kinglake, II, 273.

<sup>62</sup> Kinglake, II, 273.

<sup>63</sup> Kinglake, II, 334.

<sup>64</sup> Tuckwell, p.39.

of the War found it difficult to subscribe to Kinglake's largely quixotic vision, in which certain events and the actions of a few are enlarged and elevated.

In Kinglake's mythic re-imagining of the storming of a small breastwork, termed the 'Great Redoubt', he describes a 'young Anstruther' rushing to plant the Queen's colours upon the parapet before falling under the crimson silk flag he had been clutching.<sup>65</sup> Not only is this a highly idealised conception of Ensign Henry Anstruther's death, it is an instance of Kinglake's re-writing of an occurrence to compliment the officers over the ranks. In Kinglake's footnotes, he notes an eyewitness who claimed that Anstruther was shot prior to reaching the breastwork, a sergeant planting the colours instead. This discrepancy between Kinglake's text and his footnotes is not resolved in any of the editions of the history consulted. Kinglake emphasises Anstruther's youth, describing the 'small hands' grasping the flagstaff and his exuberance 'fresh from the games of English school-life [...]'<sup>66</sup> Kinglake's account of youthful dedication may well have inspired the illustration that appeared in the patriotic book *Battles of the Nineteenth Century* (Fig.6). Its accompanying written account credits a private with placing the colours on the Redoubt, but Kinglake's idealised vision of a young ensign dying under the regimental colours was an enduring one.<sup>67</sup> Russell also refers to Anstruther's death during the storming of the breastwork, but his description of the colours, hit in seventy-five places and the pole of one 'spliced in two', offers a more violent and tragic appraisal of the youth's death.<sup>68</sup> The Royal Garrison Church in Portsmouth commemorates Anstruther under the heading 'Old Harrovians who fell during the Crimean War'; he is recorded as dying aged eighteen at Alma.<sup>69</sup> *Hart's Army List* corroborates his age, whilst revealing that Anstruther purchased his first commission as second lieutenant in the 23<sup>rd</sup> Regiment at the age of sixteen in 1852.<sup>70</sup> Anstruther's example was not uncommon. John Sweetman records that Raglan had his first commission purchased for him three months before his sixteenth birthday and saw rapid

<sup>65</sup> Kinglake, II, 346.

<sup>66</sup> Kinglake, II, 346.

<sup>67</sup> Archibald Forbes, George Henty and Arthur Griffiths, *Battles of the Nineteenth Century*, 4 vols (Casell and Co. London, 1899), III, 101.

<sup>68</sup> Russell, *British Expedition*, p.41.

<sup>69</sup> 'Memorials and Monuments in Portsmouth', Royal Garrison Church, <[http://www.memorials.inportsmouth.co.uk/churches/royal\\_garrison/index.htm](http://www.memorials.inportsmouth.co.uk/churches/royal_garrison/index.htm)> [accessed 8 July 2012]

<sup>70</sup> *The New Annual Army List*, ed. by Major Henry George Hart (London: John Murray, 1854), p.174.

promotion, but, ‘luckily’ had the right qualities for a soldier.<sup>71</sup> Kinglake’s singling out of Anstruther ignores criticism of the purchase system in the wake of the War, a system whereby wealth and status largely determined rank through the purchase of commissions. For example, *Punch* produced a wartime satire, ‘Shopping!’, which linked military purchase to a shop encounter. It depicts a plump mother deciding the level of purchase for her young son, whilst a wounded soldier expresses his desire for promotion but is unable to afford the asking price (Fig.7). A woman arbitrarily choosing commissions for her child would have made the purchase system seem especially ludicrous to *Punch*’s readers, since both figures convey unfamiliarity and inexperience with soldiering and war. Kinglake also presents Anstruther’s enthusiastic participation in war as an extension of a sportive, prestigious education. At the time of Kinglake’s writing in 1863, team sports in public schools were on the rise, as a means of instilling obedience to orders.<sup>72</sup>

John Peck notes that traditional war writing of the Napoleonic era presents battles as an epic struggle, a play, during which opposing forces led by exemplary generals engage in dramatic confrontations.<sup>73</sup> Kinglake makes explicit his rejuvenation and celebration of an older, Napoleonic vision of warfare in his description of the turning point of the battle. At this juncture, the morale of the soldier and his clarity of purpose are deemed more important than tactics and weapons. Kinglake emphasises the determination of the soldier accompanied by divine providence and superior spirituality when narrating the final stage of fighting, the point at which the Highlanders advanced and fired into the Russian columns. Taking a detour from the action, he describes a mystical experience as the ‘Angel of Light’ bestows ‘valour to lighten the path to victory’, whilst the ‘Angel of Darkness’ plants fear, despair and therefore error in the opposing side: for ‘the turning point of a fight is a moment of trial for the soul and not the body [...]’<sup>74</sup> Contained within Kinglake’s correspondence is a 1888 memorandum recording a ‘Great Tradition’ in relation to the battle tactics employed at Alma, a term referring to the Duke of Wellington’s wish that Britain should remember her prerogative of mastering columns of infantry by fighting in line.<sup>75</sup> In his account of Alma, Kinglake draws upon

<sup>71</sup> John Sweetman, *Raglan: From the Peninsula to the Crimea* (London: Arms and Armour, 1993), p.17.

<sup>72</sup> John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2005), p.198.

<sup>73</sup> John Peck, *The War, the Army and Victorian Literature* (London: MacMillan, 1998), p.30.

<sup>74</sup> Kinglake, II, 484-85.

<sup>75</sup> CUL, Ad. 7633/5/76

this battle tactic repeatedly, describing the grey, ‘shadowy’ columns of Russian infantry, afflicted by the ‘Angel of Darkness’. Fighting in line against column was aided greatly by the Minié rifle at Alma, but Kinglake’s focus on fluctuating supremacy and fortunes in a grand ‘play’, spiritual intervention and individual bravery renders his account a monument to a bygone age.

Whilst Kinglake has been dismissed as fanciful, many assess Russell’s despatches as revealing the ‘true conditions of the war’, thus eliding any biases, devices, or exclusions in his work.<sup>76</sup> In a later pamphlet reflecting on his own role in the War, Russell himself wrote that he ‘selected such facts and topics as I thought interesting’.<sup>77</sup> Both Kinglake and Russell espoused different forms of hero-worship, neither more accurate than the other, which becomes more evident when comparing Russell’s later and more analytical publications. His neglected post-war publications, *The British Expedition to the Crimea* (1858) and *The Great War with Russia* (1895), add to and adapt the original despatches to a much greater extent. These embellishments reveal important developments in Russell’s thinking on some of the major debates surrounding the War, namely, the role of the French and the stature of Lord Raglan.

### **That ‘intermittent thing: the French Empire’**

Kinglake’s *Invasion* and Russell’s retrospective accounts of the War differ greatly in their analysis of the Anglo-French alliance. Both during and after the War, Russell’s praise for the French Army acted as a powerful critique of British military capability, whilst Kinglake’s denigration of French command worked to excuse or extoll the actions of the British. For Kinglake, Britain’s ‘fatal’ error was in drawing closer to France in the lead-up to war.<sup>78</sup> Anti-French feeling in Kinglake’s work further attests to his affinity with the Napoleonic era. Shifting perceptions of France from enemy to ally in the British national consciousness was a considerable challenge for the State at the outbreak of the War, as evinced by the remarks of Lord Raglan’s great-nephew, Major Kingscote. Writing from headquarters on 15 May 1854, he disclosed he ‘hated’ the French and St Arnaud’s staff, and taunted their appearance as monkey-like, ‘girthed up

<sup>76</sup> Orlando Figes, *Crimea* (London: Penguin Books, 2011), p.308.

<sup>77</sup> William Russell, *The Crimea 1854-55* (London: Ridgway, 1881), p.17.

<sup>78</sup> Kinglake, I, 330.

as tight as they can be and sticking out above and below like balloons'.<sup>79</sup> The Strand theatre responded to the challenge with its play 'The United Service of England and France', which redefined attitudes to the Frenchman by presenting the alliance as an example of British progress, alongside railways and steamers.<sup>80</sup> Commentators like Layard used the Anglo-French alliance to present the War as a welcome break with the past.

The Strand's title for its play was likely inspired by *Punch*'s image entitled 'The United Service (Fig.8).<sup>81</sup> *Punch* played a significant role in promoting the pro-war faction of government, notably Lord Palmerston, and therefore it was quick to celebrate the alliance as a means of accomplishing Britain's war aims. Its sketch featured a British guardsman, *Punch*'s favoured representative of the British infantry soldier, convivially facing a French rifleman, both reaching out an arm to the other whilst maintaining a disciplined distance. Commemorating a friendly but formal alliance, the image projects the British soldier as the dominant partner, his legs placed firmly and confidently apart, towering over the more effeminately postured Frenchman. This subtle image communicates both intimacy and reserve, underscoring the national partnership whilst maintaining distinct national identities. *Punch*'s tribute was replicated on a bronze medal stamped to commemorate the alliance, held at NAM (Fig.8). Combining both the aggressive impetus and moralistic rationale for the War, the medal's reverse bears the inscription 'England and France united to defend the oppressed and avenge insulted Europe'. Behind the rhetoric lay a formulation of manpower and prestige, with Britain requiring additional resources to fulfil her martial aims against Russia and Louis Napoleon seeking to assert France on a world stage.

Russell's post-war accounts of Alma consolidate the increasingly overt pro-French stance he adopted during the War. The role of the French at Alma is alluded to summarily in his *Times* despatches due to his difficulty in concentrating on more than one aspect of the battle. In any case, the press at home was quick to claim the battle as a victory for the British infantry, who had passed their first test, though historians have since debated whether the allies should have pursued the Russians.<sup>82</sup> *Punch* stated that

<sup>79</sup> NAM: 1973-11-70. See A. Massie, *Untold Stories*, p.12.

<sup>80</sup> Bratton, p.123.

<sup>81</sup> 'The United Service', *Punch*, 4 March 1854, p.86.

<sup>82</sup> Peter Gibb, *The Battle of the Alma* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1963), p.169.

‘Alma’ struck as ‘perfection’ in all its senses: as a pretty name, derived from the Latin word for ‘gentle’, and as the memorial to a brilliant victory.<sup>83</sup> Yet, as the War progressed and its mismanagement was promoted, Russell frequently described the supply systems of the French as superior, supporting *The Times*’ polemic on British inefficiency off the field. Recent scholarship has shown how the presumption of French superiority was in fact mis-leading, especially during the latter half of the War, further attesting to Russell’s bias in favour of a domestic agenda exposing British incompetence.<sup>84</sup> By the end of the War, Russell was reporting on French supremacy in battle, not just the camps. He dealt a surprising insult to British pride when reporting the disastrous British assault on the Redan on the 8 September 1855, part of a joint Anglo-French attack on Sevastopol’s defences. Russell contrasted the swiftness of the French attack, ‘drifting as quietly as autumn leaves on the wind’ with the ‘spray’ of British soldiery that ‘fretted’ at the Russian edge.<sup>85</sup> Since the French assault ultimately secured the surrendering of Sevastopol and the end of the War, the ineffective and tragic British attack on the Redan was felt acutely.<sup>86</sup> By presenting the British soldier as faltering, which ignored strategic failures and the dreadful intensity of Russian artillery fire discharged from the Redan, Russell heightened national sensitivities. Russell’s biographer has explained his daringly pro-French stance in terms of his enlightened world outlook. Patriot though Russell was, Atkins concludes, he considered himself a ‘citizen of the world’ and was not affected by anti-French resentment.<sup>87</sup> True as this may be, Russell’s systematic juxtaposition of British inefficiency with French efficiency was a rhetorical ploy to enact ‘progress’ and far-reaching reforms.

The strength of Russell’s position on the French at the end of the War anticipates his surprising pursuit of French superiority in *The British Expedition to the Crimea*. By the time Russell’s *British Expedition* was published in 1858, Anglo-French relations had broken down considerably. Renewed fears of a French invasion were building, climaxing with the establishment of a defence Volunteer Corps in 1859. Yet, in Russell’s revised account of Alma, the five hour delay in assaulting Alma’s heights and

<sup>83</sup> ‘Alma’, *Punch*, 21 October 1854, p.158.

<sup>84</sup> Anthony Dawson, ‘The French Army and British Army Crimean War Reforms’, *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 20 (2015)  
<<http://www.19.bbk.ac.uk/articles/10.16995/ntn.707/>> [accessed 2 September 2015]

<sup>85</sup> ‘The Fall of Sebastopol’, *The Times*, 26 September 1855, p.7.

<sup>86</sup> Winfried Baumgart, *The Peace of Paris 1856* (Oxford: Clío Press, 1981), p.28.

<sup>87</sup> Atkins, II, 369.

the lack of co-ordination between French and British troops is attributed to a failure of communication on the British side. British ineffectiveness is contrasted to the French commander, Marshal St Arnaud, who, according to Russell, ‘exercised a far greater influence over the order of the battle, and sent several orders to his generals of division which materially conduced to the result of the day’.<sup>88</sup> Far from reconsidering his unwavering praise of the French, Russell reinforced his privileged wartime position as an enlightened and progressive chronicler. Russell fortified his wartime rhetoric by drawing upon Baron de Bazancourt’s history of the War, even though it had proven unpopular with British readers.<sup>89</sup> Bazancourt was tasked, by the French Minister of Public Instruction, with gathering together evidence necessary for a history in 1855 and granted access to all documentary records of the campaign.<sup>90</sup> Against a backdrop of disgruntlement over the French taking chief credit for the victory at Sevastopol, the publication of Bazancourt’s history, eulogising French participation in the campaign to the discredit of its British allies, seemed a betrayal of the ‘entente cordial’. Sir John Burgoyne noted his surprise, in an anonymous review for *Blackwood’s Magazine*, that the politic Louis Napoleon sanctioned Bazancourt’s publication at such an ‘ill-chosen juncture’.<sup>91</sup>

If the British and Turks were secondary to the French in Bazancourt’s account, then in Kinglake’s *Invasion*, the British contribution to the battle was hampered by the French. According to Kinglake’s version of events, the French chose an ‘empty’ flank and in underestimating the difficulty of the terrain, held up the British who were forced eventually to carry out the bulk of the fighting whilst the French infantry cowered in the absence of their artillery.<sup>92</sup> The French casualty figures were, according to Kinglake, grossly exaggerated, whilst the Russians had underestimated their loss at primarily British hands.<sup>93</sup> Although the diversion created by the French had been an important turning point in the battle, Kinglake concluded that the power that had fought alongside Britain was ‘[...] not mighty France but that intermittent thing, The French Empire’.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Russell, *British Expedition*, p.150.

<sup>89</sup> Baron de Bazancourt, *L’expédition de Crimée jusqu’à la prise de Sébastopol : chronique de la guerre d’Orient* (Paris: Amyot, 1856)

<sup>90</sup> Edward Bruce Hamley, ‘De Bazancourt’s narrative of the campaign’, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, 79 (1856), p.486.

<sup>91</sup> Hamley, ‘De Bazancourt’s narrative of the campaign’, p.486.

<sup>92</sup> Kinglake, II, 534-35.

<sup>93</sup> Kinglake, II, 531.

<sup>94</sup> Kinglake, II, 543.

Since the French Army was led by those who were involved in the ‘December plot’, ending the Second Republic, Kinglake frequently questioned their integrity in the Crimea.

It is indicative of the strength of feeling against Kinglake’s history that in spite of the unpopularity of Bazancourt’s history, the *Invasion* still attracted criticism for its anti-French bias. Even *Blackwood’s Magazine*, who marketed the *Invasion* as a riposte to Bazancourt, was unable to shield him from stark criticism.<sup>95</sup> Writing anonymously in *Blackwood’s*, the Army officer Edward Bruce Hamley deplored Kinglake’s representation of the French Emperor, despairing: ‘the diabolical caricature of despotism haunts the narrative at every turn’.<sup>96</sup> Apart from the *Saturday Review*, which viewed Kinglake as the defender of European freedom against French despotism, other reviewers found his treatment of the French objectionable.<sup>97</sup> The author of a highly critical anonymous review is George Villiers, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Clarendon, who had a vested interest in questioning Kinglake’s judgements.<sup>98</sup> As Foreign Secretary under Aberdeen and subsequently Palmerston, Clarendon was instrumental in developing and maintaining a close relationship with the French leading up to and throughout the War. In his review, Clarendon sought to re-establish British agency in steering policy, tackling Kinglake’s argument that the scheming Louis Napoleon, Kinglake’s hated figure of the 1852 *coup d’etat*, accelerated the War. He scorned Kinglake for wielding his ‘invective’ pen against the ally and not the enemy, and reduced the volumes to the ‘lively retort of a man struggling to make a reputation in a contentious debate’.<sup>99</sup>

Kinglake’s history prompted comment not only on his prejudice, but renewed praise of French conduct. At Alma, the journalist Matthew Higgins, writing under the pseudonym Jacob Omnium, defended the decision of the French to hold back their troops whilst waiting for their artillery to reach the heights. The resulting loss of life, he surmised, would otherwise have been commensurate with that of the British under men

<sup>95</sup> Edward Bruce Hamley, ‘Kinglake’s Invasion of the Crimea’, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, 93 (1863), p.371.

<sup>96</sup> Hamley, ‘Kinglake’s Invasion of the Crimea’, p.357.

<sup>97</sup> ‘The Friends and Foes of Imperialism’, *Saturday Review*, 14 February 1863, p.198.

<sup>98</sup> *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals*, <<http://wellesley.chadwyck.co.uk>> [accessed 8 January 2012]

<sup>99</sup> Clarendon argued Russia was the aggressor, with Britain playing an instrumental role in diplomacy. He also argued that the expedition to the Crimea and Sevastopol was jointly approved and not coerced upon Raglan as Kinglake portrays. ‘Kinglake’s “Invasion of the Crimea”’, *Edinburgh Review*, 117 (1863), pp.307-16.



such as Brown and Codrington: '[...] these officers preferred "trusting to the spirit and individual courage of the troops" [...] with what cost of life and limb, English homes will not easily forget'.<sup>100</sup> In contrast to Kinglake, Higgins viewed the comparatively few French lives lost at Alma as a triumph of humane strategy, rather than evidence of cowardice. Higgins' commentary on the French also highlights the weakness of British commanding officers, a clear debt to Russell. Russell's use of Bazancourt gave some historical basis for the conduct of the French, particularly in battle, but more importantly, it sustained wartime debates around reform and military leadership. Ultimately, Russell's praise of French conduct in *The British Expedition* dealt a severe blow to the posthumous reputation of Lord Raglan.

### **An 'irreversible verdict'? The Trials of a Maligned Commander**

Even civilians are as good judges as military men of the grand operations of war although they may be ignorant of details, and of the modes by which those operations have been effected. The reputation of all great military men, after all, is created by civilian, and not by professional opinion [...] there were many men who "had no great opinion" of either General Wellesley or General Bonaparte; but the results and course of events justify and carry with them the weight of an irreversible verdict [...]<sup>101</sup>

Russell's remarks reveal an important re-weighting of the civilian-military balance of power during the Crimean War, which was boosted in favour of civilian judgement provided by Russell, *The Times* and radical politicians. The events of the War ensured that Russell was able to say with confidence in 1858 that 'civilians are as good judges as military men' and his commentary on Raglan aimed to secure the 'irreversible verdict' which he, rather self-importantly, implied he controlled and which Kinglake and others later challenged. Russell's Crimean fame enabled him to take an active role in military affairs during peacetime. A photographic print held at NAM (Fig.9), deceptively entitled 'W. H. Russell: The Times Correspondent in the Crimea' was clearly taken on Russell's return from the Crimea in October 1855, in the comfortable surround of a photographic studio. Illustrating neatly the interaction of domestic-military boundaries, it shows Russell in the quasi-military dress he adopted whilst on campaign. In the absence of full dress uniform, the military-style jacket symbolises the

<sup>100</sup> Matthew Higgins, 'The French at the Alma – Todleben', *Cornhill Magazine*, 10 (1864), p.297.

<sup>101</sup> Russell, *British Expedition*, p.150.

unique occupation he held as wartime mediator. He is shown resting his hand on a pile of books, which lends authority and authenticity to his narrative of the War. The photograph frames Russell's experimental presence at the front as a success.

Russell was acutely aware of his public status in later life. He recollected the Crimean expedition purely in professional terms, boasting that out of four civilians who visited the Crimea early in the campaign, Delane, Layard, Kinglake and himself, he was the only one with 'any actual business' there. He derided Kinglake's motivation as 'feminine' curiosity, showing how gender could be used as a weapon in debates about what it meant to witness war.<sup>102</sup> Despite widespread praise for Florence Nightingale's work, explored in Chapter 4, Russell endorses war as an exclusively masculine theatre in which only newspaper correspondents have a legitimate claim to see war at first-hand. Therefore, Russell both critiques and reinforces what Yuval Harari has described as the mystique of the battlefield for curious civilians.<sup>103</sup> He derides a desire to 'see' a distant war and therefore gain new knowledge, but also establishes an authority around his own personal experience. Russell's dominant positioning of himself is at odds with his first-hand reports discussed earlier, which convey his marginalisation early-on in the campaign. The following will, in part, account for Russell's confident persona as an industrious public servant, revealing the importance of public opinion in shaping the War's afterlife. An important outcome of public involvement in the prosecution of war was a lack of confidence in Lord Raglan and his staff, which became a key concern for both Russell and Kinglake in their post-war writing.

The power of the *The Times* during the Crimean War is well documented and as one historian remarks, Russell's name is not only well remembered because of the vividness of his writing but because of his association with *The Times*.<sup>104</sup> During the War, censorship was at the discretion of newspaper editors and the government had no real powers to suppress information. In response to concerns about the disclosure of information to the enemy, the Under-Secretary for War, Sidney Herbert, could do little more than sympathise with Lord Raglan that the press were 'a reckless race & the long habit of news-gathering & publishing in any way & at any price altogether dull their

<sup>102</sup> Russell, *The Crimea 1854-55*, p.2.

<sup>103</sup> Harari, pp.6-9.

<sup>104</sup> Robert Wilkinson-Latham, *From Our Special War Correspondent: Victorian War Correspondents and their Campaigns* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1979), p.61.

sense of right & wrong'.<sup>105</sup> A lack of censorship led to unprecedented civilian interest in the Army on campaign. This was demonstrated in resounding condemnation of the winter privations of 1854-1855, when troops were exposed to a harsh winter from want of clothing, food and shelter, and the subsequent downfall of Lord Aberdeen's coalition government. Russell first hinted at his frustration with army command following the Battle of Inkerman, during the onset of the harsh Crimean winter. Decrying a failure to strengthen an exposed position at Inkerman, Russell attributed blame on those whose 'indifference' and 'neglect' had failed to prevent the attack.<sup>106</sup> Whilst not naming Raglan specifically, it is clear that Russell directs blame upon British military strategy, concluding 'we have nothing to rejoice over in the battle of Inkerman'. Russell's language was magnified exactly a month later by his friend and editor, John Delane, in a well-documented editorial attacking British military command and its 'aristocratic hauteur'. Harnessing junior officers and privates as abettors in its assertions following a period of inaction and low morale after Inkerman, the editorial accused Raglan of being invisible, his staff nonchalant and devoid of experience or sympathy.<sup>107</sup> Raglan's earliest defenders in print, Lieutenant Somerset Calthorpe and Kinglake, point to this unequivocal editorial as the point at which the press demonstrated its power over military command.

In January 1855, *The Times* continued its attack by printing letters from disgruntled officers to the editor, some of which were a ruse for other grudges and agendas. On the 4<sup>th</sup>, an officer of the Guards expressed his anger with Raglan for failing to extol the role of the Guards at Inkerman in his official dispatch, but finished the letter by quoting high death rates at Scutari Hospital and attributing them to Raglan's neglect: 'It was within his means, but he does not care'.<sup>108</sup> The switching of tenses is significant here, imputing to Raglan a failure to act in the past and a continuing indifference. By publishing such letters on a daily basis, even if representative of a minority view, *The Times* created the impression of increasing discontent amongst the ranks. Public and parliamentary agitation led to the rapid establishment of a public enquiry, the Sevastopol Committee, which in turn precipitated a change of government. Robert Lowe, a lead writer for *The Times*, strongly backed Palmerston's bid for power,

<sup>105</sup> NAM: 1968-07-289-3, Letter from Herbert to Raglan, 8 December 1854

<sup>106</sup> 'The Battle of Inkermann', *The Times*, 23 November 1854, p.6.

<sup>107</sup> Leader, *The Times*, 23 December 1854, p.9.

<sup>108</sup> 'Letters from the Crimea', *The Times*, 4 January 1855, p.7.

believing he was the best man to win the War and Lowe's loyalty was secured later that year by the new executive with a vice-presidency on the Board of Trade.<sup>109</sup> The censorious public climate is well illustrated by Sir Peter Benson Maxwell's publication, entitled *Whom Shall We Hang?* Maxwell, a colonial official, was highly critical of the Sevastopol Committee in his pamphlet, labelling it a sham.<sup>110</sup> He accused the inquiry of selectivity and a tendency to accept false accusations over evidence available.<sup>111</sup> Maxwell's title thus satirizes the press' appetite for a scapegoat that led to blinkered condemnation.

Radical politicians, notably Layard, encouraged a climate of dissent. Layard anticipated *The Times* on the question of Raglan and his staff and may well have inspired its class-based commentary. As early as 8 October 1854, he painted a vivid picture of a redundant elite weighed down by apathy. He wrote to his parliamentary colleague and friend, H. A. Bruce, from the Crimea: 'There are a number of red waistcoated gentleman, with their hands in their pockets [...] idling about. Men of undoubted gallantry, but without a spark of enthusiasm or energy, all voting the thing a great bore and longing for Pall Mall'.<sup>112</sup> Layard's description of Raglan's staff, including his nephews, indicted men who owed their command to privileged connection. Like Russell, Layard felt maltreated by the military authorities, complaining to Herbert on his return to England that favour had been shown to Kinglake in the distribution of rations, whilst he, under the mistaken impression that he was a *Times* correspondent, was refused.<sup>113</sup> Layard must have known that his protest to Bruce and Herbert might lead to discussion in Parliament, but his speech made on 12 December 1854 openly condemned the conduct of the War. Summing up, Layard emphasised the importance of progress. Criticising the government's tendency to assess the condition of the troops according to the standards of the past and to use service in the Peninsula as a benchmark for command, he enquired: 'Has no progress been made in the space of 50 years?'<sup>114</sup> This published speech projected a commercial, middle-class re-writing of the War,

<sup>109</sup> Jonathan Parry, 'Lowe, Robert, Viscount Sherbrooke (1811–1892)', *Dictionary of National Biography*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com>> [accessed 6 October 2012]

<sup>110</sup> Sir Peter Benson Maxwell, *Whom Shall We Hang? The Sevastopol Inquiry* (London: John Ridgway, 1855), p.23.

<sup>111</sup> Maxwell, pp.21–26.

<sup>112</sup> NAM: 1956-02-51-03, see also A. Massie, *Untold Stories*, p.65.

<sup>113</sup> NAM: 1968-07-289-3, Letter from Herbert to Raglan, 8 December 1854

<sup>114</sup> *The Prospects and Conduct of the War. Speech Delivered in the House of Commons on 12 December 1854 by Austen Henry Layard on 12 December 1854* (London: John Murray, 1854)

preparing the way for Parliamentary action, but it also demonstrated an anxiety to move beyond a time-honoured past and the tight control of Wellington's sphere of influence. In referring to 'service in the Peninsula', Layard directly questioned Raglan's legitimacy, since Raglan had served with Wellington during the Peninsular Wars. As John Sweetman remarks, Raglan demonstrated the qualities of duty and loyalty expected of a late-eighteenth century officer and gentleman that fifty years on were less acceptable to liberals and radicals.<sup>115</sup> Layard, Lowe and *The Times* repeatedly made clear that they were 'sick of those who had the conduct of the War', not of the objects of the War.<sup>116</sup> Yet, there was a contradiction amongst vocal critics of the conduct of the War. They rejected the elite, military tradition of Wellington, which had resisted major army reforms, but often undermined Raglan by reminding their audience of the greatness of the Duke, as demonstrated below. Since Raglan had served as Wellington's military secretary and Wellington's state funeral of 1852 was relatively fresh in the public memory, he was often judged against his popular master.

A striking watercolour by Colonel George Cadogan of the Grenadier Guards, shows Raglan caught between an older model of power, founded on personal influence and the newer, pervasive and equally powerful voice of the press, stamping its comment upon public consciousness. 'A Day Dream Before Sevastopol' shows a dejected Raglan holding a copy of *The Times*, whilst being lectured by the ghost of the Duke of Wellington on the twin imperatives of 'duty' and 'sacrifice' (Fig.10). General Airey, a member of Raglan's staff, maintained great faith in Raglan's inherited sense of duty. In the closing remarks of his own defence to a later Board of Inquiry at Chelsea in 1856, he declared that, in the 'spirit' of the Duke of Wellington's school, '[...] my Chief was able to bear all, and to stand firm by the Army in its time of need, because he simply cast away every thought of self, and remembered [...] his "duty to his Queen"'.<sup>117</sup> Foregrounded is an allegorical figure of the press, positioned between the two commanders and shown cowering under the figure of Wellington. The image, a comment on Raglan's personal battle with the press, elides simple interpretation. On the one hand, Wellington can be seen as a rallying figure, encouraging his former

<sup>115</sup> John Sweetman, *Raglan: From the Peninsula to the Crimea* (London: Arms and Armour, 1993), p.347.

<sup>116</sup> Speech made by Layard in 1855, quoted in J. B. Conacher, *Britain and the Crimea 1855-1856: Problems of War and Peace* (London: Macmillan Press, 1987), p.53.

<sup>117</sup> *Opening Address of Major-General Sir Richard Airey KCB before the Board of General Officers Assembled at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea* (London: John Murray, 1856), pp.212-13.

military secretary in light of the attacks of *The Times*. Yet, the juxtaposition of an authoritative, upright Wellington next to Raglan's beleaguered figure also carries a more painful symbolism. It powerfully conveys the burden of public service in the spotlight of the press and Wellington's untarnished reputation. Raglan is shown haunted by his renowned predecessor, to who even the allegorical figure of the press succumbs. *The Times* could not resist a comparison with Wellington following Raglan's death. It stated that although Raglan exceeded him in 'unrivalled tact and kindness', these faculties were not sufficient to form a 'first-rate' general.<sup>118</sup> It is perhaps symptomatic of a lack of public regard for Raglan's Crimean premiership that the commemorative medal stamped to mark his demise bore the wrong date of death, the 23 June 1855 as opposed to the 28 June 1855.<sup>119</sup> Although the government provided financial support to Raglan's family, calls for a public monument were dropped in 1857, leaving commemoration to soldiers, individuals and his family.<sup>120</sup>

Kinglake's history can be seen as a monument to Raglan, an attempt to rehabilitate him in the public consciousness. Those who came into contact with Raglan during the War exhibited strong loyalty and affection towards him and the degree of Kinglake's esteem is expressed in an early letter to Raglan written at the height of the winter troubles, in which he prophesises his literary mission: 'It was in your presence that I have passed the most interesting moments of my life [...] If it occurs to you that I can ever be of use to you either by the pen or in any other way, I hope you will freely command my services'.<sup>121</sup> Kinglake's affection was returned, Raglan remarking in a letter to Herbert a few days later: 'I delight in Mr Kinglake – I never saw a more amiable man or one whose manner were more attractive'.<sup>122</sup> Kinglake's history fulfils this mutual warmth, reading as an apologia for military command and raising the profile of Raglan to that of a great leader. In contrast, Russell's post-war accounts consolidate the views of those who had doubted Raglan's fitness for command in the Crimea.

Paralleling his assessments of the French at Alma, there is a discernible intensification of feeling towards Raglan in Russell's book publications when compared to his

<sup>118</sup> 'The Death of Lord Raglan', *The Times*, 2 July 1855, p.11.

<sup>119</sup> *A Most Desperate Undertaking: The British Army in the Crimea 1854-56*, ed. by Alastair Massie (London: National Army Museum, 2003), p.301.

<sup>120</sup> Sweetman, p.335.

<sup>121</sup> NAM: 1968-07-35, Letter to Raglan, 8 December 1854

<sup>122</sup> NAM: 1968-07-289-3, Letter to Sidney Herbert, 24 December 1854

newspaper despatches. In the early stages of the campaign, ideological positions were not fully developed and so Russell initially praised Raglan's 'sagacity and military skill' in minimising loss of life.<sup>123</sup> Yet, in the *British Expedition*, Russell prepares the reader for a different assessment of Raglan's conduct at Alma, praising his personal characteristics but doubting his military ability: 'He was a fine English gentleman – a splendid soldier – perhaps an unexceptionable lieutenant under a great chief; but that he was a great chief, or even a moderately able general, I have every reason to doubt [...]'<sup>124</sup> Raglan's death in 1855 enabled freer comment, but Russell may also have been compensating for the government's inability to intervene on military matters during the War. When Palmerston's new government attempted to instigate personnel changes at Army Headquarters, it failed. The appointment of a new Chief-of-Staff, General Simpson, to report on the conduct of Raglan and Army Headquarters, did not provide evidence of misconduct. On the contrary, Simpson's report of April 1855, declared solidarity with Raglan and praised his staff as 'a very good set of fellows' with a high sense of duty, which pervaded all ranks except the 'low and grovelling correspondents of *The Times*'.<sup>125</sup> The testimony of a respected soldier, independent from proceedings in the Crimea, did much to quieten criticism from London. Simpson's report demonstrates a closing of ranks that was commensurate with royal and military fears about undue public interference in army affairs, fears which are explored in detail in Chapter 3. Additionally, although the report of the Sevastopol Committee, presented to Parliament on 18 June 1855, implicated Raglan in operational and administrative failure, many shared Maxwell's views that the investigation was biased and deficient.<sup>126</sup> Russell's analysis of Raglan's conduct in his post-war writing thus justifies the position of *The Times* during the War.

The publication of Lieutenant Calthorpe's *Letters from Headquarters* in 1856, which reached a third edition by 1858, may also have prompted Russell's harsher commentary on Raglan in *The British Expedition* and later in *The Great War*. Calthorpe was one of Raglan's nephews and aides-de-camp and his *Letters* challenge the calumnies levelled at his uncle. The moderate Conservative Whitwell Elwin, described it as 'the most important account which has yet appeared of the war in the Crimea', due to Calthorpe's

<sup>123</sup> 'The Grand Victory over the Russians', *The Times*, 10 October 1854, p.7.

<sup>124</sup> Russell, *The British Expedition*, p.130.

<sup>125</sup> Royle, pp.331-32.

<sup>126</sup> Conacher, p.17.

close ties with Raglan.<sup>127</sup> In his account of Alma, Russell includes a notable inter-textual reference to Calthorpe's work, deriding Raglan's bold movements in front of the Army amid a shower of cannon balls 'just as if he were riding down Rotten Row'.<sup>128</sup> Russell subverts Calthorpe's original analogy, which was used in admiration of Raglan's personal bravery.<sup>129</sup> In doing so, Russell not only de-stabilised a heroic disregard for personal safety, as Higgins did with regard to Brown and Codrington, he satirised one of the first published accounts written from the perspective of Army Headquarters. Participating in the re-writing of this one aspect of the War, Kinglake remodelled Raglan's movements at Alma as exemplary. In the spirit of Calthorpe's devotion, Kinglake presents the movement of Raglan and his staff at Alma behind enemy lines as an important turning point of the battle, the knoll they occupied all-commanding and Raglan's serenity an inspiration to others. Raglan is portrayed as a Romantic 'genius of sensibility', who is able to react instinctively to the battle through his senses and remain attune to the smallest changes.<sup>130</sup> Kinglake wrote: 'By the stir and joyous animation of the moment, Lord Raglan was led on into a part of the field which he would not have sought to reach in cold blood'.<sup>131</sup> The focus on feeling, impulse and excitement driving action, is another indicator of Kinglake's character-driven, Romantic view of warfare in contrast to Russell's emphasis on tactic and skill.

Russell undermined Raglan's conduct in battle by championing General De Lacy Evans, a divisional commander. Russell's praise of Evans demonstrates that he favoured individuals and was not exempt from partisan interest in commenting upon allied command. Evans was a fellow Irishman, who had extended hospitality to Russell on the voyage out to the Crimea.<sup>132</sup> Upon his retirement from the Crimea in January 1855, *The Times* had presented Evans as the exception to the rule in army command: 'It is not for the sake of a soft pillow and a brilliant Mayfair drawing room that the brave old man has abandoned his brethren in arms'.<sup>133</sup> *The Times* exempts Evans specifically from the wartime scandal of 'urgent private affairs', the vague pretext upon which some

<sup>127</sup> Whitwell Elwin, 'Lord Raglan', *Quarterly Review*, 101 (1857), p.169.

<sup>128</sup> Russell, *British Expedition*, p.150.

<sup>129</sup> 'He [...] might just as well have been riding in Rotten Row in Hyde Park'. Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset Calthorpe, *Letter from Headquarters, or, the Realities of the War in the Crimea*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn (London: John Murray, 1858), p.73.

<sup>130</sup> Harari, p.158.

<sup>131</sup> Kinglake, II, 393.

<sup>132</sup> *Men of the Time: A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Living Characters* (London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1865), p.714.

<sup>133</sup> Leader, *The Times*, 2 January 1855, p.6.



officers obtained leave from the front.<sup>134</sup> In *The British Expedition*, Russell extends Evans' public distinction by elevating him in terms that point to the practical deficiencies of Raglan. The language used to describe Evans' merits emphasises experience and ability: '[...] familiar with hard-fought fields [...] Evans did not neglect the use of his artillery, or send his men to certain death without cover or supports. On the contrary, he availed himself with energy and professional knowledge [...]'<sup>135</sup> Anderson has shown how the War distilled arguments about merit over birth-right, citing the establishment of the Administrative Reform Association to lobby for reform of the civil service, the catchphrase of which was 'the Right Man in the Right Place'.<sup>136</sup> The cross-currency of ideas, between home and front, about proven ability and competency is a key feature of the War, a legacy of Layard, Russell and the press.

The extent of civilian engagement with war waging can be discerned in the writing of long-serving officers, who raised a shield around army expertise. Both John Burgoyne, chief engineer and advisor to Raglan, and Hamley, a respected artillery officer, wrote anonymous articles a month apart from one another in *Blackwood's Magazine* addressing the subject of civilian expertise, or lack-of it. Burgoyne, as well as noting the attacks on the aristocracy of the Army as a 'convenient handle', bemoaned the 'quackery' and new-found universal judgement on military matters.<sup>137</sup> Hamley viewed the effect of civilian censure as 'suicidal' in lowering the country's military prestige and achievements.<sup>138</sup> Yet, Russell continued to promote civilian interest in military operations. A year after publishing the *British Expedition*, he became the editor of the weekly *Army and Navy Gazette*, which was established by the proprietors of *Punch* and the *Daily News*.<sup>139</sup> As a vocal reforming soldier and political radical, Evans was consulted on content.<sup>140</sup> Russell used the weekly as a platform for his views, on topics such as the establishment of a regular force to match European standards, the introduction of conscription to meet the requirements of Empire and the abolition of

<sup>134</sup> Markovits, p.194.

<sup>135</sup> Russell, *British Expedition*, p.145.

<sup>136</sup> Anderson, *A Liberal State at War*, pp.106-08.

<sup>137</sup> John Fox Burgoyne, 'On the State of the British Army, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 79 (1856), p.115.

<sup>138</sup> Edward Bruce Hamley, 'Lessons from the War', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 79 (1856), p.241.

<sup>139</sup> Russell was keen to capitalise on interest in the military as a result of the Crimean War, Indian Mutiny and the establishment of a Volunteer Corps. Atkins, I, 382-83.

<sup>140</sup> Atkins, II, 360.

purchase.<sup>141</sup> For Russell, it was legitimate to comment on such matters, as in spite of the troubled relationship of the press with the military establishment, the press had done the Army a great service in glorifying the fighting power of the British soldier.<sup>142</sup> Early war commentary and the Battle of Balaclava in particular elevated the collective courage of soldiers, as discussed in Chapter 2. Russell promoted the press as a political agitator, which worked for the benefit of the common soldier.

The publication of Kinglake's sixth volume in 1880, dealing with the sensitive topic of the winter difficulties of 1854-55, resurrected the debate about military competency and Raglan's ability in particular. It coincided with Russell's later publications on the Crimean War, instigating a direct dialogue between the two writers. Kinglake's primary concern was to exonerate Raglan from blame for loss of life, but he offered a surprisingly balanced account of press influence. Criticising editors, not correspondents, he praised Russell's social gifts, his ability to extract information by befriending officers as well as the accuracy and power of his writing: 'By the natural play of a humour thus genial and taking, he thawed a great deal of reserve [...]',<sup>143</sup> Kinglake's admiration for Russell is clear from his eagerness to seek his approval for the volume's contents. Whilst recognising that they were on 'opposite sides', he forwarded a copy of his book to Russell in the hope he could find satisfaction with it. However, this gesture of goodwill was not reciprocated and Russell responded: 'I should have valued it more had it borne in the fly page some of the kindly expressions in your note, if it were only to show that men may differ [...] in their appreciation of the characters, facts of others and retain nevertheless their possession of a ship of neutral ground'.<sup>144</sup> Russell went on to admonish Kinglake for positioning them on opposite sides, yet Russell's own writing went on to engage in debate, not concession. Two days after sending his response to Kinglake, Russell published the first of three articles in the *Army and Navy Gazette* outlining his perspective on Raglan and the winter crisis.<sup>145</sup> He then used these articles as a basis for his pamphlet, *The Crimea 1854-55* (1881), to counter-act what he saw as Kinglake's "Apology" for the winter troubles.

<sup>141</sup> Leader, *Army and Navy Gazette*, 7 January 1860, p.2.

<sup>142</sup> Leader, *Army and Navy Gazette*, 7 January 1860, p.2.

<sup>143</sup> Kinglake, VI, 238.

<sup>144</sup> CUL, Add. 7633/5/125, Letter from W.H Russell to Kinglake, 25 October 1880

<sup>145</sup> Russell's response is spread across three issues of the *Gazette* on 27 October 1880, 6 November 1880 and 13 November 1880.

Russell's pamphlet emphasises the communicative power of the press, contrasting his own exposure of the harsh realities of the winter difficulties with Raglan's closure on the subject.<sup>146</sup> Ultimately, Russell argued, the publicity concerning the winter privations reversed the fortunes of the Army for the better and had Raglan 'cast aside the official veil', his and Kinglake's writings on the subject would be unnecessary.<sup>147</sup> Here, Russell acknowledges that his estimation of Raglan is the primary point of debate with Kinglake and the prism through which he judges the sufferings of the campaign. The Raglan debate rests not so much on whether the privations could have been eliminated but whether they could have been eased. Russell thought weak command and strategic errors, such as the decision to march South of Sevastopol and the selection of Balaclava as a base for the British, played a significant part in prolonging an ill-equipped campaign. In contrast, Kinglake removes Raglan from responsibility by blaming all extraneous circumstances: the supply system, the weather and the sacrifices necessary to maintain good relations with the French. Whilst Russell sought sympathy for government ministers dealing with Raglan, Kinglake emphasised the difficulties of military command in a distant, foreign climate. Evocatively reasserting Raglan's silence, Russell defended the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Panmure as 'maddened' in a storm of public indignation by the 'divine calm of an oracle who could not speak'.<sup>148</sup> Russell's figuring of Raglan as military censor is particularly powerful in the context of a war that operated at new heights of communication, pioneering the use of the electric telegraph. Russell's last book, *The Great War with Russia*, builds on his pamphlet as a full right of reply to Kinglake on all aspects of the War, indicating the responsibility he had assigned himself as a chronicler of the War and its leading personalities.

Russell, in a letter to Layard of 1887, referred to Kinglake's history as the 'Raglaniad 1854-55', demonstrating the persistence of the War's ideological viewpoints.<sup>149</sup> Kinglake's bias had become the subject of a shared, private joke, which positioned Raglan as an unlikely hero for a Homeric epic. Layard viewed Kinglake's defence of Raglan as 'absurd', particularly a lack of action ascribed to the risk of offending gentlemanly honour and the French.<sup>150</sup> A fine line between Raglan's dedicated

<sup>146</sup> Russell, *The Crimea 1854-55*, pp.26-29.

<sup>147</sup> Russell, *The Crimea 1854-55*, p.65.

<sup>148</sup> Russell, *The Crimea 1854-55*, pp.71-72.

<sup>149</sup> British Library, MS Add.58167 f.86, Letter from W. H Russell to A. H Layard, 12 March 1887

<sup>150</sup> Layard, 'Kinglake's Crimea', p.537.

diplomacy and his indecision has been blurred by others, with John Sweetman emphasising his fluency in French and his experience as a diplomat as important attributes for command in the Crimea.<sup>151</sup> In a review of Kinglake's final volume, *The Times* ventured to praise Raglan's tact in maintaining the Anglo-French alliance even if he could not always control his colleagues. The review ends with the bullish Pelissier's incongruous tribute to his ally, who reportedly stood beside Raglan's deathbed for upwards of an hour crying 'like a child'.<sup>152</sup> Yet, *The Times*' final image of an emotional French farewell is an implicit criticism of Kinglake's approach in his *Invasion*, which unwittingly compromises Raglan's diplomatic labours in its fierce criticism of the French.

Raglan's twentieth-century defenders have been more convincing in challenging dominant assessments of British command. The historian and ex-army officer, Christopher Hibbert, drew inspiration from Kinglake's history in his acclaimed *The Destruction of Lord Raglan* (1961).<sup>153</sup> In a similar interaction of condemnatory and apologetic responses to military operations, Hibbert's book can also be seen as a response to Cecil Woodham Smith's critically acclaimed *The Reason Why* (1953). Woodham-Smith revived convincingly Russell's and Layard's analysis of Raglan to account for the infamous and culturally charged action of the Light Brigade at Balaclava. In a narrative that relies heavily on the foibles and frictions of the key characters involved, Woodham-Smith denounced the appointment of Raglan in the strongest terms: 'It was an evil chance which placed such a man in command of Lord Cardigan and Lord Lucan'.<sup>154</sup> Not only did Woodham-Smith position the Charge of the Light Brigade as the pinnacle of the Crimean campaign, she rendered it emblematic of the War's mismanagement.<sup>155</sup> Hibbert's biography of Raglan effectively summarises the *Invasion* in one volume. Hibbert's title evokes a persecuted Raglan, mimicking Kinglake's delineation of an anti-Raglan league. Yet, Hibbert does not attempt to portray Raglan as a great general, rather as a hard-working, honourable, but

<sup>151</sup> Sweetman, *Raglan*, p.169.

<sup>152</sup> 'Last Volumes of Mr Kinglake's "Invasion of the Crimea"', *The Times*, 7 December 1887, p.7.

<sup>153</sup> Christopher Hibbert, *The Destruction of Lord Raglan: A Tragedy of the Crimean War 1854-1855* (London, Longmans, 1961)

<sup>154</sup> Cecil Woodham-Smith, *The Reason Why* (London: Penguin Books, 1953), p.162.

<sup>155</sup> Woodham-Smith inspired the psychologist, Norman Dixon, who described an inverse relationship between military responsibility and competency during the Crimean War and concluded that it was one of the most 'ill-managed campaigns' in British history. Norman Dixon, *On the Psychology of Military Incompetence*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (London: Pimlico, 1994), p.36.

unexceptional commander who became a scapegoat for systematic failures. Raglan is portrayed as a victim of a vindictive press campaign, which blamed Army command for its own ends.<sup>156</sup> Hibbert criticises Raglan only for his naivety in resisting any homage paid to him by the troops, in ignoring Russell and the press, in adopting a written and spoken style which played down problems to prevent alarm and in refusing to defend his conduct.<sup>157</sup> These factors left him vulnerable to condemnation and particularly susceptible to the repeated accusations of indifference. The debt to Kinglake's history is strikingly clear at the end of the work, however, borrowing the same device of a 'final farewell' to Raglan's body on board the *Carodoc* to signal the close of the narrative.

Raglan's death on duty provides a powerful rallying point for his defenders, both contemporaries and later commentators. The *Quarterly Review* praised Calthorpe's ability to demonstrate the extent of injustice done to the 'martyr who died in the service of his country'.<sup>158</sup> Sweetman incorporated a description of Raglan's death and the mournful funeral procession in the preface to his biography. His revised entry for Raglan in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (DNB), which draws upon the accounts of Calthorpe, Kinglake and Hibbert, emphasises that his death was caused by a 'broken heart', rather than sickness.<sup>159</sup> Commentary on Raglan's emotional state derives from the accounts of Calthorpe and Kinglake. Kinglake sought clarity on the circumstances surrounding Raglan's death from Sir Henry Fowle-Smith, Raglan's medical attendant, in preparation for his last volume in 1877. Smith's letter discredited dysentery as the true cause of death, as outlined in *The Times*' 1855 obituary, and instead reflected upon Raglan's mental anguish throughout the Crimean campaign, from the initial strain on the Army at Varna to the failure of the allied attacks on Sevastopol on 18 June 1855 and finally, the death of his chief aide and beloved friend, General Estcourt, a few days prior to his death.<sup>160</sup> He concluded Raglan's demise was 'a case of great mental anguish, producing first great depression and subsequently complete exhaustion of the hearts action'. Kinglake's emphasis on Raglan's state of mind, his 'bitter affliction' and 'excessive' grief, in his final days can therefore be attributed to Smith's testimony.<sup>161</sup> It

<sup>156</sup> Hibbert, p.159.

<sup>157</sup> Hibbert, p.156; p.221.

<sup>158</sup> Elwin, 'Lord Raglan', p.169.

<sup>159</sup> E. M. Lloyd, 'Somerset, FitzRoy James Henry, first Baron Raglan (1788–1855)', rev. John Sweetman, *Dictionary of National Biography*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com>> [accessed 1 July 2012]

<sup>160</sup> NAM: 1963-05-162-1, Copy of a letter from Sir Henry Fowle-Smith to Kinglake, 2 July 1877

<sup>161</sup> Kinglake, VIII, 253-62.

is likely that a combination of dysentery and depression sealed Raglan's fate, but focusing on mental deterioration advances a more sympathetic response to his figure, rendering his death more than just an indiscriminate attack of disease. Even in death therefore, Kinglake advances Raglan as a figure of sensibility and therefore provides a compelling case against the press' repeated accusations of Raglan's pride and indifference.

However, in spite of these attempts to reconfigure Raglan's death as a personal affair, the circumstances surrounding the death of a commander at war was imbued with wider significance. The *ILN* noted the public's tendency to favour a special kind of martyr: 'Had he [Raglan] fallen by the bullets of the foe, in the moment of victory, all Europe would have rung with his name and fame'.<sup>162</sup> Raglan died instead in the shadow of a costly defeat. The *ILN*'s article is accompanied by a prominent print of Raglan on his beloved steed (Fig.11). The print shows Raglan looking old, downcast and troubled, as in Cadogan's private drawing, in the plain uniform he adopted in the Crimea and with his empty sleeve facing the viewer. The legendary 'Raglan sleeve' adds to Raglan's vulnerable aspect in contrast to a deceptive print circulated during the War (Fig.12), showing a young, sprightly Raglan in full dress, this time bearing proudly the empty sleeve that symbolised his personal bravery at Waterloo. Viewed together, the prints evince the swiftness with which public projections of Raglan as an immortal representative of past military glory gave way to time-bound considerations of his figure, contingent on human frailty. The *ILN* image reveals that despite the kinder judgement which accompanied his death, the dominant figuring of Raglan and his Crimean premiership was a pitiful one, echoed in Sir Evelyn Wood's characterisation of Raglan as 'victim of England's unreadiness for war'.<sup>163</sup> Wood blamed Britain's unpreparedness for war on poverty of resource and the government's reduction of the Army in peace-time. If these assessments lessened censure on Raglan's conduct, by recasting him as a victim of others, they did little to soften disillusionment with the War and the incompetency thesis pervading understanding of it.

<sup>162</sup> 'The Late Lord Raglan', *ILN*, 7 July 1855, p.1.

<sup>163</sup> Sir Evelyn Wood, *The Crimea in 1854, and 1894* (London: Chapman and Hall Ltd, 1895), p.335.

## Conclusion

The writing of Russell and Kinglake and its impact illuminate distinct ideological positions within Victorian society about the Crimean War. In a narrowing of the civilian-military spheres, radicals and lobbyists, such as Layard, *The Times*, *Punch* and Russell, were able to promulgate a practical and commercial value system which departed from the unquestioning authority of an elite, personal aura. In doing so, they typified a desire for progress, an ideal which was used to advocate far-reaching change in systems of governance. Kinglake reacted against this instinct in the *Invasion*, in which the qualities of the past are paramount to his perspective, drawing upon what he himself noted as Wellington's 'Great Tradition'. In his battle writing, Kinglake promotes an older, more exclusive mode of warfare, which can be seen from the lengthy format of his work, his alignment of war with fox-hunting and sport, his emphasis on individual heroism and instinct and loyalty to military authority. Whilst his writing is evocative, he is mindful of the Army's hierarchy, championing the actions and testimony of officers and prioritising obedience and subservience on the battle-field. In addition, glorified descriptions of the deaths of young officers, like Anstruther, ignored questions raised about the Army's controversial purchase system and mitigated the violence of war for those who bought into it.

Russell's battle-writing has been characterised as an accessible and dissenting mode of reporting, which combined the theatrical aspects of battle with the more mundane, less glamorous aspects of war. He pioneered new reporting angles to sustain the interest of his distant readership, incorporating vividly the field after battle, using imagery that was recognisable to a metropolitan audience. Russell's position as first-hand witness to an uncensored war, as opposed to being a participant in its prosecution, gave him an enviable public status. His newspaper reports inspired subjects in different media and coincided with a number of publications representing new voices of the War, from the ranks to camp followers. However, whilst Russell can be regarded as a vivid and inclusive writer, his renown as challenger and critic during the Crimean War has been emphasised to the detriment of other civilians, such as Layard. Russell's reputation as an authentic narrator also diverts attention from the way he fashioned his authority as a witness to war as well as the preconceptions present in his work, which became increasingly ingrained in the aftermath of the War.

For Kinglake, *The Invasion* proved his life work, building upon the endeavours of Calthorpe and others to re-balance judgement of the War in favour of Raglan and systematic incoherency, rather than strategic failing. The damage to his own reputation indicate these objectives failed in the shorter term, but his vision of Raglan served as inspiration for more balanced accounts by Hibbert and Sweetman writing in the twentieth century. Reviews of Kinglake were largely unfavourable and scarcely less elaborate and partisan than the text they dissected between 1863 and 1887. Many reviewers, owing to the timing of publication, spoke from positions of vested interest in the War, thus reviving wartime debates. The unexpected realisation of France as ally and the conduct of Raglan shaped commentary on the management of the War, dividing Russell and Kinglake strongly. For both, the French and Raglan were inseparable players in the campaign and embellished two different lines of argument. Russell used Britain's allies to undermine Raglan, employing Bazancourt's controversial French account, whereas Kinglake's dislike of French governance saw him boost the actions of British command. Responding to civilian set-backs after the formation of the Sevastopol Committee and a military closing of ranks, Russell resurrected the Raglan controversy in his post-war writing by emphasising the Commander's inexperience and poor communication. Comparing Raglan and his staff unfavourably with the French and certain British officers, Russell emphasised military ability as part of a wider campaign to promote soldiering and war as a skilled profession.

Russell's foremost legacy becomes clear when dealing with an aspect of the War which cannot be excused by inadequate resource and bureaucratic failure. The focus on poor communication in Russell's post-war analysis of Raglan registers the circumstances surrounding the Charge of the Light Brigade. The near-destruction of the Light Brigade was precipitated by mis-communication filtered down from Raglan's removed, but all-seeing impression upon the heights overlooking Balaclava. The next chapter deals with this most memorable of episodes from the War, which further demonstrates the fragility of individual military reputations, but also considers the emergence of a revised code of martial heroism.



## Chapter 2

### Charged Encounters: The Enduring Appeal of the ‘Noble Six Hundred’

Oh Mr Moffat! Five or six shies with such a whip, and such an arm! For myself, I would sooner join in a second Balaclava gallop than encounter it.<sup>1</sup>

Trollope’s usage of a ‘second Balaclava gallop’ in his 1858 novel *Dr Thorne*, as a preferred alternative punishment to the whip, refers to the Light Cavalry charge that had gripped the Victorian public four years earlier. On 25 October 1854, during the Battle of Balaclava, approximately 673 cavalymen charged a mile and half into the centre of the enemy position in an audacious and mistaken attempt to capture Russian guns. Due to the overwhelming Russian presence, those who made it to the guns were forced to fight their way to a retreat and return up the valley they had advanced down. It resulted in approximately 360 casualties and the loss of 475 horses, though the figures are disputed.<sup>2</sup> The action was contrary to the wishes of the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Raglan, who intended that the Brigade should re-capture British guns in a separate part of the field. Whilst many soldiers, aided in their retreat by the French, would recover to experience post-war renown, a seriously depleted mounted strength followed the engagement. The mistake has been attributed to three key factors: the real objective, the captured British guns, being obscured from the Cavalry Division’s view on the ground; the ambiguous wording of Raglan’s order, and the uncooperative working relationships of the men involved in relaying and receiving it – Captain Nolan, Lord Lucan and the Earl of Cardigan.<sup>3</sup> The deaths of Raglan and of the pivotal figure of Nolan, who died during the Charge itself, have left an air of mystery on the chain of command that day, whilst a tendency to shift blame amongst the Brigade’s commanders has frustrated a clear picture of responsibility ever since.<sup>4</sup> This chapter focuses on the emblematic

<sup>1</sup> Anthony Trollope, *Dr Thorne*, 11<sup>th</sup> edn (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p.258.

<sup>2</sup> John Sweetman, *The Crimean War* (Oxford: Osprey, 2001), p.55. According to official figures, 110 were killed outright, 130 wounded and 58 taken prisoner. The National Archives, WO 1/369 f.685. A mounted strength of 195 returned, but this has been mis-interpreted as the final figure for survivors in accounts enlarging upon the episode as a disaster.

<sup>3</sup> A focus adopted in Cecil Woodham-Smith, *The Reason Why* (London: Penguin, 1953)

<sup>4</sup> The Cavalry Commander, Lord Lucan, was withdrawn from his command during the War, but this was largely due to his attempts to vindicate his name from ‘misconstruing’ the order, rather than accepting the verdict of his superior. The Charge has inspired a number of articles and books venturing

qualities of the Charge and its actors in order to account for its enduring appeal. It will not contribute to speculation on what may or may not have happened on the day of the engagement.

The Crimean War forms the backdrop to *Dr Thorne*, the book's main narrative commencing in 1854. The authorial aside is seemingly applied in jest to undermine the prowess of Trollope's hero, the charismatic, yet impulsive country gentleman, Frank Gresham. The scenario is a revenge plot, hatched by Frank, to corner the unscrupulous Mr Moffat unawares at his Pall Mall club and to whip him for breach of promise to Frank's sister.<sup>5</sup> The reference to the Charge on one level underscores the inevitability of Moffat's fate and his slim chances of emerging unscathed at the hands of impulsive Frank. Yes, the episode pokes more fun at cash-rich Moffat than at Frank. Trollope presents Moffat as a grasping, bland and unlikeable character, who trifles with affections in order to gain the Gresham's support for his election campaign.<sup>6</sup> Earlier in the novel, Trollope writes witheringly that 'England's Honour' was the legend under which Moffat elected to do battle.<sup>7</sup> In view of the subversion of 'England's Honour' in Moffat, the Charge, despite its failings, is referenced almost wistfully as a relief from the commercialisation of British values. In Frank's climatic clash with Moffat, Trollope negotiates values of passion, duty, honour and loyalty, displayed in Frank, comparing these favourably to Moffat's self-interest. Squire Gresham's mixed feelings upon receiving news of the whipping renders a subtle use of 'Balaclava gallop'. The Squire acknowledges Frank's revenge is not within the realm of official justice, but views it as honourable none-the-less. A duality of meaning can further be discerned from Trollope's use of the word 'gallop', which conjures a show of horsemanship but also alludes to the pointless nature of the action: 'charge' implies an objective, whereas 'gallop' is purely descriptive. Trollope's alignment of the Charge with Frank's earnest, if misguided action alludes to contemporary anxiety about the place of chivalric codes

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interpretation about who precipitated the blunder. To a lesser extent the debacle has been attributed to the frustrations of Captain Nolan, who relayed the fateful order from Raglan. Speculation has endured in part due to the sudden death of Nolan at the beginning of the advance and so his intentions and exchanges with senior commanders have never been verified. Notable publications on the episode include: Mark Adkin, *The Charge: Why the Light Brigade was Lost* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 1996); Terry Brighton *Hell Riders* (London: Penguin, 2005); John Harris, *The Gallant Six Hundred: A Tragedy of Obsessions* (London: Hutchinson, 1973)

<sup>5</sup> Trollope, *Dr Thorne*, pp.258-263.

<sup>6</sup> Trollope does not appear to be against 'new money' but grasping natures. There are sympathetic and likeable portrayals of characters with self-made wealth, such as Miss Dunstable.

<sup>7</sup> Trollope, *Dr Thorne*, p.203.

and forms of hero-worship in an age of liberal, commercialism. As will be revealed, the appeal of the Charge was in part driven by domestic discord, rather than the realities of warfare.

Trollope's alignment of the whipping with the Charge evinces confusion about the Light Brigade's fate. On the one hand, it was seen as a tragic and outmoded display of aristocratic honour but also an alluring demonstration of the soldier's strict moral code. This thinking is encapsulated within Trudi Tate's subtle analysis of the Charge's 'problem of interpretation' in mid-Victorian culture.<sup>8</sup> Tate explores the fantasy investment in the Charge and its spectacle of discipline and courage, alongside national upset at the blunder and its futility, foregrounding Alfred Tennyson's famous poem 'The Charge of the Light Brigade' (CLB) as an expression of this ambivalence. Other scholars attentive to the nuances and historical context of Tennyson's poetry argue that the CLB precludes a simplistic critical engagement, which, as Matthew Bevis points out, aligns Victorian representations of war as 'merely' patriotic and jingoistic.<sup>9</sup> Yet, in exploring the enduring cultural significance of the Charge, this chapter assesses the abstract, value-driven messages which were derived from Tennyson's poem and other Charge representations. Here it is argued that Tennyson offered a solution to the Charge's problem of interpretation, by utilising the public's fascination with the event to distinguish between a martial spirit and the Brigade's aristocratic leadership. This chapter also reflects upon Tennyson's poem and the Charge as a key component of the nation's shared narrative, or what has alternatively been described as the nation's 'collective memory'. Joanna Bourke draws attention to the oft-used term, arguing that remembrance is a projected image or 'national script' shaped by political and cultural factors. Its use, she contends, imposes unity on individual experience and overlooks conscious acts of cultural selection.<sup>10</sup> Whilst Chapter 4 of this thesis and the scholarship discussed there takes issue with collective or public memory, precluding meaningful individual, or private, memories, Bourke usefully draws attention to the

<sup>8</sup> Trudi Tate, 'On Not Knowing Why: Memorialising the Light Brigade' in *Literature, Science, Psychoanalysis, 1830-1970: Essays in Honour of Gillian Beer*, ed. by Helen Small and Trudi Tate (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp.163-66.

<sup>9</sup> Matthew Bevis, 'Fighting Talk: Victorian War Poetry' in *The Oxford Handbook of British and Irish War Poetry*, ed. by Tim Kendall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp.8-9; Jerome McGann, *The Beauty of Inflections* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), pp.187-203; Markovits, pp.140-54; Edgar Shannon and Christopher Ricks, "'The Charge of the Light Brigade': The Creation of a Poem", *Studies in Bibliography*, 38 (1985), 1-44; Tate, p. 162.

<sup>10</sup> Joanna Bourke, "'Remembering" War', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 39 (2004), p.473.

cultivated nature of national remembrance. As well as owing a debt to Tate and Bourke, the analysis that follows is attentive to Jenny Macleod's reflections on cultural responses to military failure:

Defeat in battle has the capacity to take on a significance beyond a mere judgement on military efficiency; it can seem to reflect on the defeated society itself [...] The interpretation of defeat thus serves a vital social and political function in explaining and, perhaps, ameliorating the humiliation.<sup>11</sup>

The Charge was less a defeat at the hands of the enemy and more a self-defeating action, rendering it a particularly interesting study for its assimilation into public consciousness. It is contended that the action's inexplicable nature and an increasingly clear divide in representation between the Brigade and its commanders, contributed to a blurring of its status as a victory or defeat in the late-Victorian period. Though absent in secondary assessments of the Charge's afterlife, this period will be explored as a formative one for myth-making, revealing the Charge's social and political uses.<sup>12</sup>

Ineffective cavalry charges have failed to gain the same status over time, such as the rout of the British cavalry at Chillianwala during the second Anglo-Sikh War in 1849. In this instance, the brigade of cavalry were ordered to make a co-ordinated attack with the infantry, but fled after encountering difficult terrain.<sup>13</sup> An undignified flight against those resisting British territorial gains in the Sikh Empire did not possess the ingredients for celebration in misfortune. The actions of the Light Brigade at Balaclava were isolated, however, taking place on a highly visible European stage against a rival aggressor and mediated by newspaper reporters and spectators. These accounts aimed to cultivate public awe in the Charge from the outset, laying the foundations for its cultural eminence. Russell's report is weighted in favour of the discipline of the advance, rather than the chaotic return. His hyperbole conveys the excitable strain of watching the action, 'a more fearful spectacle was never witnessed', he exclaims, by those powerless to act.<sup>14</sup> Although Russell acknowledged that a cavalry attack without artillery or infantry support was contrary to the principles of warfare, he did not

<sup>11</sup> *Defeat and Memory: Cultural Histories of Military Defeat in the Modern Era*, ed. by Jenny Macleod (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), p.9.

<sup>12</sup> In a trans-Atlantic exploration of Tennyson's poem, Daniel Hack argues against viewing the Charge as a 'period piece' too closely tied to its historical moment. See Daniel Hack, 'Wild Charges: The Afro-Haitian "Charge of the Light Brigade"', *Journal of Victorian Studies*, 54 (2012), 199-213.

<sup>13</sup> Marquess of Anglesey, *A History of the British Cavalry 1816-1850*, 7 vols (London: Leo Cooper, 1973), I, 280-81.

<sup>14</sup> 'The Cavalry Action at Balaklava', *The Times*, 14 November 1854, p.7.

diminish the view of an exceptional cavalry. The Brigade's valour compensates for the dire consequence mentioned at the commencement of his report and his description of the advance idolises the horsemen as demi-gods with 'a halo of flashing steel above their heads'.<sup>15</sup> *The Times* leader accompanying Russell's report gave the Charge prominence, relegating the other events of the day as mere 'preliminaries'.<sup>16</sup> These 'preliminaries' included the successful action of Scarlett and the Heavy Brigade against Russian cavalry and Sir Colin Campbell's rout of Russian cavalry with his regiment of Highlanders, popularly known as the 'Thin Red Line'. The *Army and Navy Gazette* offered one of the few Victorian reflections on the neglect of the Heavy Brigade's action in favour of the momentary and futile endeavour of the Light Brigade. It lamented that 'a very noble effort of discipline and courage should have been eclipsed by the blaze of the swords and lances which glittered fitfully and unavailingly for a few moments amid the smoke of the Russian batteries'.<sup>17</sup> Viewed in isolation, the Charge was a military misunderstanding that struggled to resolve a heroic gap. Yet, this chapter explores how the Charge has been redeemed to challenge military leadership, to celebrate the regular soldier and the Light Brigade veteran, and to promote manly fortitude.

### Following the Leader?

The stages of the Light Brigade's movements; the advance, the clash at the guns and the disunited and vulnerable return, have been the focus of differing representations and tropes over time, supporting different models of martial valour. The excitement that accompanied the Charge in the mid-Victorian imagination is further endorsed by the substitution of the Earl of Cardigan, the Light Brigade's commander, for the bravery of the Brigade in the months following the tragedy. Public appreciation of Cardigan relied upon a narrative that initially favoured the advance and individual valour. However, public hero-worship of Cardigan was fleeting, critics exercising an astonishing and influential volte-face on his reputation. This rapid revision of Cardigan is symptomatic of the fragility of military reputations and a struggle to resolve a heroic conundrum. Saul David's military biography of Cardigan, which avoids panegyric and accounts for

<sup>15</sup> 'The Cavalry Action at Balaklava', p.7.

<sup>16</sup> 'The Cavalry Action at Balaklava', p.7.

<sup>17</sup> Leader, *Army and Navy Gazette*, 27 October 1860, p.1.

the weaknesses of his subject, has been an important source for charting Cardigan's fluctuating fortunes, key moments of which are discussed here.<sup>18</sup> However, David's analysis of Cardigan's Crimean War reputation is confined to its impact on his principle subject. The following attempts to place Cardigan's journey, from hero to anti-hero, in a wider material and cultural context and to elaborate on the significance of the shift as a symptom of public mistrust of aristocratic command. James Eli-Adams reveals the importance of two heroic concepts coined by Thomas Carlyle in the Victorian period: the 'dandy' and 'Captains of Industry', which aligned aristocratic with sham and imbued the bourgeois leader with authenticity.<sup>19</sup> According to Adams, the dandy's sole desire is to be 'noticed and seen' and he 'haunts the Carlyean hero less as an emblem of moral indolence or economic parasitism than as an image of the hero as spectacle [...]'<sup>20</sup> A painting by Alfred Frank de Prades highlights the noble status of Cardigan (Fig.13), depicting a pale, slender and opulently dressed figure astride Ronald, who survived the Charge and whose stuffed head and tail is proudly displayed at the Brudenell family seat at Deene Park, Northamptonshire. The pristine, elaborate uniform, tapered waist and curled moustache indicate the importance placed upon appearance and personal aura. Contemporary alertness to artifice and the limits of spectacle is important for understanding Cardigan's rapid rise and fall in the public imagination.

Russell's contemporary reporting of the Charge is also notable for its absence of criticism of command, since in *The Great War* (1895) he reflected on the Charge as symptomatic of the indifference and incompetence of army command throughout the War, describing the appointment of Lucan and Cardigan as 'treason to the army'.<sup>21</sup> However, his report for *The Times* collapsed any wrong-doing on behalf of British command. Rebuke was instead directed towards a 'savage and barbarian' enemy, whose firing upon the retreating 'band of heroes' and their own pursuing Cossacks was deemed an 'atrocious without parallel in the modern warfare of civilised nations'.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, initial public assessments singled out Cardigan's conduct, extolling both his appearance leading the Brigade and his conduct at the guns. In his official dispatch, Raglan bestowed the distinction of substituting Cardigan's conduct for the bravery of

<sup>18</sup> Saul David, *The Homicidal Earl* (London: Little, Brown and Company, 1997), pp.316-44.

<sup>19</sup> James, Eli-Adams, *Dandies and Desert Saints: Styles of Victorian Masculinity* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), p.21.

<sup>20</sup> Eli-Adams, *Dandies*, p.22.

<sup>21</sup> Russell, *The Great War with Russia* (London: Routledge and Sons, 1895), p.118.

<sup>22</sup> 'The Cavalry Action at Balaklava', p.7.

the Brigade, giving the impression he carried out the Charge single-handedly: 'Lord Cardigan charged with the utmost vigour, attacked a battery which was firing upon the advanced squadrons; and having passed beyond it, engaged the Russian cavalry in its rear'.<sup>23</sup> Even Lucan, his arch-antagonist, praised Cardigan as having led the attack in the 'most gallant and intrepid manner'.<sup>24</sup> George Ryan's first account of leading men of the War followed a formula of Cardigan as sole representative of an extraordinary, even precious event. At the close of his profile of Cardigan, he predicted: 'By the latest generation Balaklava will be prized as a jewel of inestimable value; one that can never be filched'.<sup>25</sup> Ryan emphasised Cardigan's vigorous participation in the fighting that dealt little in the way of reciprocal injury: 'he cut down the enemy right and left, and received a wound to the leg'.<sup>26</sup> These assessments are captured on commemorative-ware produced during the War, many of which featured Cardigan as courageous warrior or celebrated his advance at the head of a disciplined Brigade.

A decorative jug shows Cardigan engaging the Russian infantry alone and at the point of landing a fatal blow (Fig.14). This powerful, if crude depiction is juxtaposed with another transfer scene showing unseated soldiers assisting their dead and injured comrades in the valley. A commercial medal commemorating the Battle of Balaklava features a profile view of Cardigan at the head of the first line of lancers tackling the Russian guns (Fig.15). This side view of the Brigade in motion impresses a sense of order and unity at the climatic point of impact, with Cardigan at the helm of the action. The print after William Simpson (Fig.15) shows a panoramic and orderly view of the Brigade advancing in formation down the valley. The viewer is positioned as a spectator to the Brigade's progress down the valley, with Cardigan and his streaming hussar's pelisse a few paces in front of the Brigade. Simpson's print evinces public investment in a view of the action that favoured the suspense of the advance, rather than the disappointment of the return. The scene was reconstructed a few weeks after the event for the lucrative 'Seat of War in the East' print collection, Simpson having been sent out to the Crimea on 15 November 1855.<sup>27</sup> He consulted with Cardigan on board his yacht and so the sketch was made prior to Cardigan's return from the Crimea in

<sup>23</sup> 'Official Despatches', *Examiner*, 18 November 1854, p.735.

<sup>24</sup> 'Official Despatches', p.735.

<sup>25</sup> George Ryan, *Lives of Our Heroes of the Crimea* (London: Routledge and Co., 1855), p.51.

<sup>26</sup> Ryan, pp.47-48.

<sup>27</sup> William Simpson, *The Autobiography of William Simpson R.I.*, ed. by G. Eyre-Todd (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903), p.25.

early December. Simpson's autobiography reveals that three versions of this scene were produced, the first two being unacceptable to Cardigan when presented for inspection. Although 'nettled' by Cardigan's 'vacant stare' and 'cold, haughty' manner, he was anxious to get the sketch approved by the painting's 'principal hero'.<sup>28</sup> The third version was rewarded with the 'warmest praise', which Simpson attributes to his efforts to make 'his Lordship conspicuous in the front of the Brigade'.<sup>29</sup> NAM holds one of the original watercolours as well as the final print (Fig.16). Whilst Cardigan is marginally more identifiable in the final print, what is striking is the clearer composition. The distant figures and horses are more precisely outlined against an attractive backdrop. The heightened angle and full profile view of the action allows for a better delineation of unrealistically straight lines of regiments, all separated by equal distances. The rejected print's lower angle renders the distance between the regiments less apparent and the swift and loose brushwork gives a greater sense of movement and anticipation. The colour harmonies and precision brush-stroke of the final version supports a view of utmost discipline, comparable to a parade or re-enactment. A frequent measure of Cardigan's bravery and leadership, which was a source of personal pride to him, was the order maintained upon advancing down the valley, leading men 'as calmly as if he had been parading them for the monarch'.<sup>30</sup> The published print reinforced public wonder at the discipline of the Brigade, casting Cardigan's devotion to appearance in a positive light.

Since Cardigan was well out in front of the Brigade, contrary to the impression of the medal, he reached the guns first. The physical distance between Cardigan and his men meant that he became separated from them immediately upon entering the Russian battery and he retreated shortly afterwards.<sup>31</sup> According to the testimony of Private Mitchell, Cardigan paused once in returning up the valley to question him as to the whereabouts of his horse.<sup>32</sup> Rather than offering practical assistance, his advice to Mitchell was to return as quickly as possible. Until more details of Cardigan's conduct emerged, the resplendent figure of the charismatic, obsessive and proud Brigade

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<sup>28</sup> Simpson, p.34.

<sup>29</sup> Simpson, p.35.

<sup>30</sup> *The War or Voices from the Ranks* (London: George Routledge and Co., 1855), p.119.

<sup>31</sup> Lord Paget, Cardigan's second in command, recalled his grievous feelings on the day when he had given his 'best support', as instructed, but was abandoned by Cardigan at the guns. George Paget, *The Light Cavalry Brigade in the Crimea* (London: John Murray, 1881), pp.208-09.

<sup>32</sup> Albert Mitchell, *Recollections of One of the Light Brigade* (Canterbury: N. Ginder, 1885), p.85.



commander, leading in an exemplary fashion yet conveniently powerless before higher authority provided a fleeting heroic trope for the War. In spite of the military establishment being lampooned as ‘aristocratic’, incompetent and indifferent, Cardigan enjoyed a kind of stardom. Basking in the glow of public adulation in February 1855, Cardigan felt impelled to state in his speech as special guest at the Mayor’s banquet: ‘My Lord, whatever dangers these men incurred, I shared it with them’.<sup>33</sup> In this way, Cardigan presented himself as an extension of the Brigade and their bravery, providing a counter-point to reports of Raglan’s indifference and Lucan’s ‘look-on’ reputation.<sup>34</sup>

The highly visible nature of Cardigan’s projection of himself as a trusted public figure antagonised those who had seen in him little solidarity in action, nor subsequently after the Charge. Cardigan had applied for sick leave in the worsening climate of November 1854, shortly after receiving numerous letters from cavalry officers deploring the condition of the remnant of the Brigade.<sup>35</sup> The first appearance of Cardigan and Lucan together before the Chelsea Board in 1856 dealt with their management of the cavalry during the winter privations, for which they were both exonerated.<sup>36</sup> The Board did not reflect on Cardigan’s public appearances as the most celebrated participant in the Charge, whilst the remnants of the cavalry suffered from exposure in the Crimea. The challengers to Cardigan’s wartime popularity were fellow officers, who objected not so much to his considerable wealth or even a perceived incompetency, but to Cardigan’s deception and flagrant manipulation of his own image at the expense of others.<sup>37</sup> It is symptomatic of the Charge’s extraordinary status that some of these officers challenged not so much the futility of the Charge or Cardigan’s absence afterwards, but his short-sightedness ‘in withholding from others the meed of praise’.<sup>38</sup> These officers influenced Cardigan’s remarkable and lasting fall from favour, instigating an extraordinary reversal of opinion towards the close of hostilities in the Crimea.

<sup>33</sup> ‘Banquet at the Mansion House’, *The Times*, 7 February 1855, p.10.

<sup>34</sup> *Expedition to the Crimea*, ed. by Alan Guy and Alastair Massie (London: National Army Museum, 2010), p.21.

<sup>35</sup> NAM: 1854-56 (47), *Papers Relating to the Crimean War*, letter from Cardigan to the Assistant Adjutant-General, 29 November 1854. The letters sent to Cardigan, from various cavalry officers, are all dated 16 November 1854.

<sup>36</sup> *Report of the Board of General Officers* (London: George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1856), pp.2-6.

<sup>37</sup> For further examples of officer dissent, see David, pp.338-41.

<sup>38</sup> Paget ascribed this as the cause of all Cardigan’s misfortunes. Paget, p.215.

Ryan altered his early verdict in *Lives of Our Heroes of the Crimea* by producing the pamphlet *Was Lord Cardigan a Hero of Balaklava?* based upon the evidence of a returning officer.<sup>39</sup> The pamphlet was priced at one shilling for wide distribution, counter-acting dutifully laudatory assessments of Cardigan's gallant conduct at Balaclava. It outlined the controversy surrounding Cardigan in peace-time, ranging from disputes over stable jackets, Mess dining table etiquette and social friction with fellow officers, portraying Cardigan's petty and ruthless nature.<sup>40</sup> Crucially, the image of an exemplary leader presented in official reports was challenged. Ryan accused Cardigan of retreating early from the guns and therefore derided Cardigan's use of 'we' whilst describing the attack on the Russian cavalry beyond the guns during a speech in Northampton.<sup>41</sup> The pamphlet's publication coincided with Cardigan being honoured with a KCB on 7 July 1855 and protested against the injustice of its award in evocative terms: 'Insulted chivalry cries out against an outrage on its sanctity [...] Withhold that one insignia – it was made for a knight commander and should not bedeck the person of a braggadocio!'<sup>42</sup> Ryan's sentiments had a direct bearing on other public assessments. The author of "'Brummagem Heroes,'" writing anonymously to the chartist publication *Reynolds's Newspaper*, denounced hero-worship of cowardly and incapable 'imposters' such as Cardigan as a national embarrassment and instead extolled the bravery and skill of the ranks.<sup>43</sup> The article acted as a protest against the purchase system by exposing Cardigan's fraudulent claim to national honour, as the term 'imposters' demonstrates. Both Ryan and the radical author of "Brummagem Heroes" play upon the notion of artifice, reinforcing the idea of the dandy and the aristocracy as a sham establishment.

After the war, during a criminal libel case against similar claims made by Lieutenant Calthorpe in *Letters from Headquarters*, Cardigan did receive support from *The Times* for his role in the Charge. The paper found it difficult to believe that the 'nobleman had sullied his own honour and the lustre of a brilliant feat of arms', revealing the extent to which mainstream, bourgeois assessments sacrificed a political campaign against

<sup>39</sup> George Ryan, *Was Lord Cardigan a Hero at Balaklava?* (London: James Field and Co., August 1855), p.51. See also David, p.335.

<sup>40</sup> These incidents are retold in Woodham-Smith's *The Reason Why* and Tony Richardson's film.

<sup>41</sup> Ryan, *Was Lord Cardigan a Hero*, pp.29-42.

<sup>42</sup> Ryan, *Was Lord Cardigan a Hero*, p.64.

<sup>43</sup> *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 12 August 1855

aristocratic influence to an exemplary view of the action.<sup>44</sup> However, Cardigan's efforts to control the narratives of others did compromise his public image in the longer term. He wrote several letters to Kinglake following the publication of *The Invasion of the Crimea* in 1863 and in the lead-up to the release of the Battle of Balaclava volume of 1868. Initially seeking a re-writing of the account of the Cavalry's conduct following the battle of Alma, Cardigan sent Kinglake the proceedings of the libel case against Calthorpe and later, in anticipation of the Balaclava volume, inundated Kinglake with information and requests to meet to discuss his role in the Charge.<sup>45</sup> Kinglake's wariness of Cardigan is apparent from his letter rejecting Cardigan's gifts: 'I entreat you not to consider me guilty of any stiffness still less discourtesy, if I say I think it best [...] that relations between your Lordship and myself should be those only [...] which subsist between a general officer and a writer'.<sup>46</sup> Kinglake's final assessment of Cardigan's role in the Charge was gentler than Ryan and Calthorpe's, but his disapproval of his conduct upon returning from the Crimea dealt an uncomplimentary final verdict upon Cardigan:

By consenting to be made the too conspicuous and too solitary hero of public ovations [...] by making himself the bitter antagonist of officers, nay, even of regiments, where claims for the least share of glory seemed clashing at all with his own [...] he at length forced the world to distinguish between his brigade and himself.<sup>47</sup>

An early draft of a poem by officer poet Colonel Henry Dunn O'Halloran, held at NAM, reveals a dilemma over how best to do justice to the memory of the Charge. 'The Charge of the Six Hundred' is a patriotic piece, highlighting the scale of the task facing the Brigade and collapsing intervention and thought to simple national duty. The numbers killed are exaggerated at 440 and the famous remark that the Charge was 'magnificent, but not war' is extolled in complimentary terms. However, the poem underwent several revisions, the most significant revision occurring after Cardigan's death in 1868. Whilst Cardigan was alive, O'Halloran had sought his approval, a note to him on the frontispiece to an 1866 version trusting 'it may find more acceptance than

<sup>44</sup> *The Times* supported Cardigan during his criminal libel case against Calthorpe in 1863, details of which can be found in David, p.345.

<sup>45</sup> Cambridge University Library (CUL), Add. 9554/3, Correspondence from Cardigan to Kinglake, 1863-1868

<sup>46</sup> CUL, Add. 7633/5/87, Letter from Kinglake to Cardigan, 11 December 1865

<sup>47</sup> Kinglake, IV, 346.

the original'.<sup>48</sup> Yet, the last verse of this version was crossed-out in 1868, O'Halloran explaining that he did not want to cause offence to those who were critical of the 'late' Earl, and hoped his tribute to the 'gallant Six Hundred' would be 'generally acceptable'.<sup>49</sup> O'Halloran replaced the previously fiery ending rebuking the authors of the 'attempted calumnies of Balaklava', who Cardigan 'may well disdain', with a balanced alternative seeking honour for the 'Six Hundred' and the 'Chief who led'. The 1866 verse effectively acted as a right of reply for an imperfect but bold commander ('What'e'er thy faults, brave Earl,/'), but its alteration after Cardigan's death signals the strength of the volte-face and a perceived need to commemorate collective bravery. In 1868, O'Halloran dedicated the poem to Colonel Rodolph de Salis, who commanded the 8<sup>th</sup> Hussars during the Charge. He was a Light Brigade commander with an altogether different reputation to Cardigan's, having returned from the guns with his horse on foot, carrying a wounded trooper in his saddle.<sup>50</sup>

Despite Cardigan's efforts to build-upon a new-found popularity and accentuate his role in the Charge, his presence was a paradoxical one: conspicuous and yet inconspicuous. At a time when the War lacked a colourful and prominent leader, Cardigan's role in the Charge supported a view which favoured it as an audacious feat of horsemanship and courage. Representations of Cardigan's conduct had fancifully imbued him with qualities that were perceived to be lacking in other leading figures of the War, namely, a shared identity and purpose with his men, vigour and above all, visibility. However, visibility proved his downfall. Cardigan utilised his power to narrate the Charge in an exclusive fashion, appropriating public platforms to enlarge his own importance. Wartime assessments exposed public mistrust of Cardigan's dandified brand of heroism. Though many newspapers were desirous to uphold an ideal of the Charge as a heroic advance, Cardigan's self-promotion was checked firmly by radical instinct for exposing puffery, which continued in subsequent assessments of military heroism. In 1858, *Reynolds's Newspaper* praised the deeds of Major-General Havelock, of Indian Mutiny fame, to damn the 'eternal blunderings committed by our aristocratic incapables in the Crimea' and added: 'Havelock is a real, not a sham soldier'.<sup>51</sup> Tennyson registers the anxiety felt about aristocratic leadership in 'The Charge of the Light Brigade' by

<sup>48</sup> NAM: 1974-12-156, Drafts of 'The Charge of the Six Hundred'

<sup>49</sup> NAM: 1974-12-156

<sup>50</sup> Roy Dutton, *Forgotten Heroes: The Charge of the Light Brigade* (Wirral: InfoDial Ltd, 2007), p.90.

<sup>51</sup> Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, p.109.

looking to the example of the collective soldiery, whose reputation was protected and celebrated. In doing so, he recalibrated notions of the elect body, imbuing the Brigade with the utmost integrity.

### **‘That flower of men’: Tennyson’s Brigade**

The anniversary postage stamps celebrating the 1992 centenary of Tennyson’s death (Fig.18) recalls his famous poem ‘The Charge of the Light Brigade’ (CLB).<sup>52</sup> However, the image chosen for the stamp, showing the vainglorious Earl of Cardigan, seems somewhat inappropriate in view of Tennyson’s focus on shared sacrifice. Tennyson’s poem offered a counter-point to individualistic valour, boosted by privilege and appearance. CLB embodies a cultural shift noticed by Charles Kingsley prior to the outbreak of war. In a review of Matthew Arnold’s poetry, he sorrowfully observed:

Men are not now as colossal for good or for evil, as of old; and even if they were, individual energy, individual character has no longer the same chance of distinction; it is not an aristocratic age, an age of heroes; but a democratic one in which men think and act in masses.<sup>53</sup>

CLB provides a soldier-ideal of purpose, action and selflessness, combining Kingsley’s observation of a democratic model with his desire to see a manly reinvigoration of poetry. Unlike the fluctuating military reputations of commanders, Tennyson focused on bolstering and protecting the reputation of the universal British soldier, whose experience was commensurate with acting in masses. However, Tennyson ensured that ‘character’ still had a prominent role in CLB. As one critic has observed, Tennyson was concerned more with human passions, ideals of chivalry and honour than with the impact of war in his battle poetry.<sup>54</sup> For Tennyson, martial metaphor was a powerful means of capturing the human spirit as a moving, unpublished poem of 1851 testifies, penned in response to the death of his stillborn son. Tennyson refers to him as his ‘little warrior’ who had lost his fight for life.<sup>55</sup> It shall be argued that a growing loss of faith in the management of a very public war and his personal admiration of soldiering led Tennyson to amplify the symbolic significance of the Charge’s collective heroic

<sup>52</sup> NAM: 1993-06-56-1, Commemorative stamp issue

<sup>53</sup> Charles Kingsley, ‘Poems by Matthew Arnold’, *Fraser’s Magazine*, 49 (1854), p.140.

<sup>54</sup> Tim Lovelace argues that Tennyson was inspired by ancient writers, particularly Homer’s *Illiad*. He writes, ‘the subject of Tennyson’s battle poetry is not warfare per se but heroism.’ Lovelace, *The Artistry and Tradition of Tennyson’s Battle Poetry* (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), p.15.

<sup>55</sup> Christopher Ricks, *Tennyson*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Hampshire: Macmillan Press, 1989), p.221.

formula, which avoided the worship of individuals such as Cardigan. However, whilst class struggles informed the creation of Tennyson's poem, it shall be situated in a wider discussion of war as an arena for channelling moral purpose of action.

As Kathryn Ledbetter notes, just as Queen Victoria was the first media monarch, Tennyson was the first media Poet Laureate.<sup>56</sup> When he first published the poem on 9 December 1854 in the *Examiner*, a newspaper with radical leanings, he appealed to public comment. Many scholars have noted the links between Tennyson's poem and the specific language of *The Times* and indeed the Poet Laureate captured the dual positioning of the Charge expressed in editorials and Russell's prose.<sup>57</sup> In addition to the well-documented adoption of the word 'blunder', *The Times* harnessed the potential of a single sentiment expressing the obedience of the collective soldier: 'The British soldier will do his duty, even to certain death, and is not paralysed by feeling that he is the victim of some hideous blunder'.<sup>58</sup> The central message of Tennyson's poem is encapsulated here: the soldier's action is not diminished by the mistakes of superiors, but elevated by it. *The Times* took the regular soldier's obedience for granted, before reflecting on the sacrifices of officers, but Tennyson emphasised the importance of the core martial values of loyalty and obedience.

Tennyson's status as non-combatant and secondary interpreter weighed heavily upon him in enlarging upon the qualities of the British soldier. The note he wrote to accompany a final version of the poem, revised for the benefit of sick and wounded soldiers in August 1855, humbly acknowledges this problem. Whilst a poor imitation of the soldier's glory, he wrote, the poem was testament that those 'who sit at home love and honour them'.<sup>59</sup> He erased any presumption of soldier feeling in this final version, so 'No man was there dismay'd' is substituted for 'Was there a man dismay'd?' As Shannon and Ricks point out, the poem's repeated pronouns in the third person, 'them', 'they' and 'their', emphasise collective action but also the perspective of a removed and reverential interpreter.<sup>60</sup> The acknowledgement of distance between reader and subject is one of many alterations prompted by the request for copies of the poem. The request

<sup>56</sup> Katherine Ledbetter, *Tennyson and Victorian Periodicals: Commodities in Context* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p.100.

<sup>57</sup> Shannon and Ricks, p.1; Ledbetter, p.127; McGann; pp.192-94.

<sup>58</sup> Leader, *The Times*, 13 November 1854, p.6.

<sup>59</sup> Tennyson Research Centre (Lincoln), TRC/P/69, Proof of 'The Charge of the Light Brigade', 1855

<sup>60</sup> Shannon and Ricks, p.17.

signalled the poem's increasing popularity, not as a troubled account of an uncomfortable event, but as a rousing tribute to an elevated Brigade.

The 1855 'soldiers' version', as it was styled by Tennyson, was issued in response to a request from the United Society of the Propagation of the Gospel working at Scutari Hospital, since the poem had proven 'the greatest favourite of the soldiers'.<sup>61</sup> The original request for printed copies can be traced directly to the Rev. C. E. Hadow, who reported the delight of Light Brigade veterans with his hand-written copies of the poem.<sup>62</sup> Tennyson was deeply touched by the request and keen to ensure that it was met promptly. In response to his publisher's suggestion of sending double the stipulated number of copies, he wrote earnestly: '[...] they might be sent now if the printing another 1,000 did not delay sending the first; but I am anxious that the soldiers should have it at once'.<sup>63</sup> The effect of Tennyson's poem on soldiers has been characterised as cathartic. There are tales of the poem reviving soldiers from their sick-beds and inspiring individual story-telling, but accounts stem from those tasked with looking after sick and wounded soldiers, not the soldiers themselves. A nurse working at Scutari recorded the poem's effect on a taciturn patient, who, after its recital, 'at once forgot his pain and entered into a spirited description of the terrific gallop to and from that cannon-crowned height'.<sup>64</sup> It is evident from Hadow's original request that the poem was viewed as a morale booster. His request is preceded by a description of the 'gloom thrown over the whole army' after the British infantry's over-whelming defeat during the first attack on the Redan and the death of Lord Raglan.<sup>65</sup> Incredibly then, Tennyson's poem was appropriated to boost the spirits of an ailing army, as well as to serve a common goal shared amongst many chaplains to improve literacy and provide occupation for sick soldiers. The request is an early indication of the poem's power, whereby representation of the soldier and his 'terrific gallop' became more powerful than the reality of the event as a singularly futile loss and defeat for the British Army.

<sup>61</sup> *The Letters of Alfred Lord Tennyson*, ed. by Cecil Lang and Edgar Shannon, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987) II, 117.

<sup>62</sup> Bodleian Library, USPG Archive, C/CRIMEA/1/f10, Letter from Rev. C.E Hadow to secretary of the USPG, 6 July 1855

<sup>63</sup> *Letters of Alfred Lord Tennyson*, II, 120.

<sup>64</sup> Margaret Goodman, *Experiences of an English Sister of Mercy* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1862), p.96. Charles Tennyson also refers to a letter received from a doctor in Scutari describing the poem's restorative effects on a soldier. Charles Tennyson, *Alfred Tennyson* (London: Macmillan, 1968), p.288.

<sup>65</sup> USPG Archive, C/CRIMEA/1/f10

The chaplain's request, whether driving or responding to the poem's status, is highly significant in prompting other changes to the poem. These revisions accentuated and supported Tennyson's existing focus on the regular soldier, by erasing references that were too historically mooted, superfluous or controversial. 'Someone had blunder'd' is repeated twice in the first *Examiner* version and specifically in relation to the order, but it is reduced to a single instance in the context of the men's unquestioning conduct, 'Theirs not to reason why', in the soldiers' version.<sup>66</sup> Captain Nolan is also mentioned in the *Examiner* as ordering the capture of the guns, but the name is replaced with 'he said' in the soldiers' version. This change both registers contemporary uncertainty about who was responsible for the ambiguous order, issuer, messenger or receiver, and Nolan the messenger was vindicated from 'hasty' blame by the *ILN*.<sup>67</sup> The use of 'he said' is also in keeping with the anonymity of the stark line 'Someone had blundered' (Line 12), serving to contrast a removed, mysterious command, whose actions are based on hearsay, with the unequivocal devotion of the Brigade. Jerome McGann has argued for signs of aristocratic support in Tennyson's poem, pointing to the elite status of the cavalry regiments over the infantry and to 'noble six hundred' as a reference to class as well as character.<sup>68</sup> Yet, cavalry regiments, whilst enjoying more privileges than the infantry, were still composed of men chiefly from the rank and file. Only approximately 7% of those who took part in the Charge were officers and the rest of the Light Brigade represented the proletarian poor, many previously employed as labourers, servants and artisans.<sup>69</sup> Tennyson inscribes a new kind of nobility on the whole of the Brigade, an all-embracing 'six hundred'.

In producing his homage to the British soldier, Tennyson was not only motivated by the soldier as critic, but also by the winter privations which had come to light between the poem's first publication in the *Examiner* in 1854 and August 1855. At the height of the winter troubles, the privations of the regular soldier became the focus of the public's benevolence, a point explored in more detail in Chapter 3. *Punch* reflected on the term

<sup>66</sup> Comparison of the *Examiner*, 9 December 1854 and the revision for soldiers, as printed in *The Poems of Tennyson in Three Volumes*, ed. by Christopher Ricks (London: Longman, 1987), II, 511-13, Line 14.

<sup>67</sup> 'Captain Lewis Edward Nolan', *ILN*, 25 November 1854, p.528.

<sup>68</sup> McGann, p.195.

<sup>69</sup> Analysis of occupations given in Roy Dutton's *Forgotten Heroes*, comprised of biographical summaries of 562 chargers, shows that labourers represented the largest occupation prior to enlistment, followed by servants, shoemakers, clerks, blacksmiths and tailors. There are a few exceptions, with 8 men previously employed as chemists, engineers and veterinary surgeons. For a more general picture, see Marquess of Anglesey, I, 115-16.



‘private’ as paradoxical in describing the regular soldier, since the soldier was effectively ‘public’ property, in contrast to the officer-gentleman: ‘A private gentleman may monopolise his shrubbery, but a soldier must generally share his laurels with his comrades’.<sup>70</sup> Cardigan’s example had proven this point and Tennyson’s own response to the winter troubles reveals a touching and paternalistic regard for the Army as a collective, public body: ‘[...] my heart almost bursts with indignation at the accursed mismanagement of our noble little army, that flower of men’.<sup>71</sup> As Bevis points out, Tennyson’s indignation can be detected in the poem, which is by no means straightforward glorification, with the word ‘erred’ echoed in ‘blundered’, ‘wondered’, ‘shattered’ and ‘sundered’.<sup>72</sup> Yet equally important is Tennyson’s reference to a revered, vulnerable ‘little army’, a ‘flower of men’ as a balm for the conduct of the War. The metaphor ‘flower of men’ was utilised by Ben Jonson in his allegorical masque *Love Restored* (1612) to describe an elect of superior men chosen by Cupid, who work in harmony and display honour, courtesy, valour, urbanity, confidence, alacrity, promptness, ability, reality and industry.<sup>73</sup> The soldiers’ version of the poem maximised the Brigade’s collective and moral bearing as a counter-point to vanity, uncertainty and weakness. Thus, Tennyson’s ‘noble’ gathering is marked more by shared values than shared status.

Unlike ‘Maud’, Tennyson’s other Crimean War poem, CLB attracted little critical debate in its dealings with an amorphous body of men whose purpose and assumptions were unclouded and unquestionable. Even the version that attracted criticism in *Maud and Other Poems* (1855) for its altered and unambiguous final stanza, ‘Long shall the tale be told’, was held up as a poem of vital importance by Kingsley writing in *Fraser’s Magazine*: ‘All honour be to it, if it help to keep alive in our army a noble emulation of the most striking moral deed of our day [...] the infinite moral use whereof, paradoxical as it may seem, is the immediate consequence of its physical uselessness’.<sup>74</sup> This ‘infinite moral’ hinged upon the Brigade’s self-sacrifice, which, ‘without question of

<sup>70</sup> ‘The Public Warrior’, *Punch*, 27 January 1855, p.40.

<sup>71</sup> *Letters of Alfred Lord Tennyson*, II, 104. Letter to unidentified individual (possibly the poet Sydney Dobbell), 23 [or 29?] January 1855.

<sup>72</sup> Bevis, p.16.

<sup>73</sup> ‘Reality’ is used in the sense of loyalty or devotion. *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. by David Bevington, Martin Butler and Ian Donaldson, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), IV, 210.

<sup>74</sup> Charles Kingsley, ‘Tennyson’s “Maud”’, *Fraser’s Magazine*, 52 (1855), p.273.

gain or result', was rejoiced in despite sorrow for 'the fallen'.<sup>75</sup> CLB makes repeated references to 'death' as an abstract noun to remind the reader of the soldier's likely fate at every stage of their movement. This fate is reinforced with the imperative 'do and die' in verse two, a conscious choice over the more common 'do or die'.<sup>76</sup> Kingsley configures Tennyson's subject-matter as redemptive, as an articulation of the ultimate sacrifice. For Tennyson and other writers, the War was much more than a platform for disgruntlement with outmoded aristocratic influence. As Adams observes, CLB expresses a commitment to value beyond the world of exchange.<sup>77</sup> CLB expresses a formula for heroism in selflessness, regardless of gain or failure, thus marking out the soldier in opposition to merchants and profiteers. Tennyson provides an antidote to what Kingsley referred to as the 'emasculating tendencies of Mammonism' in his review of Arnold's poetry.<sup>78</sup> Tennyson questions the important concept of 'progress', as outlined in Chapter 1, if dominated by greed and deception and he was not alone in commenting upon the degradation of the human spirit. Charles Dickens' *Hard Times*, published in 1854, rallies against the harsh mechanics of an age driven by facts, not feeling.<sup>79</sup> Tennyson's glimpse of the Charge as a manly, moral imperative, contrary to the pursuit of wealth and weakness of character, is echoed by Trollope in *Dr Thorne*. Tennyson also addressed martial outlets for passion and violence against a backdrop of greed and snobbery in 'Maud', which charts the protagonist's transformation from morbid self-involvement to outward resolution.

Like Frank Gresham in *Dr Thorne*, the protagonist of 'Maud' lives with the consequences of his father's naivety in falling victim to a 'vast speculation' and is ridden with a crisis of status.<sup>80</sup> Kingsley's 'mammonism' lies behind the troubled protagonist's most disturbing vision of society at war with itself:

When a Mammonite mother kills her babe for a burial fee,  
And Timour-Mammon grins on a pile of children's bones,  
Is it peace or war? better, war! loud war by land and by sea,  
War with a thousand battles, and shaking a hundred thrones.

(Part 1, Lines 45-48)

<sup>75</sup> Kingsley, 'Tennyson's "Maud"', p.273.

<sup>76</sup> Ricks, *Tennyson*, p.226.

<sup>77</sup> James Eli Adams, *A History of Victorian Literature* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), p.159.

<sup>78</sup> Kingsley, 'Poems of Matthew Arnold', p.140.

<sup>79</sup> See Michael Adams, 'Tennyson's Crimean War Poetry: A Cross-Cultural Approach', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 40 (1979), pp.412-13.

<sup>80</sup> Alfred Tennyson, 'Maud', in *The Poems of Tennyson*, ed. by Ricks, II, 519-84 (Part 1, Line 9).

The first line refers to a mother killing her child in order to claim a lump sum from her funeral insurers. The personification of a grinning ‘Timour-Mammon’, an image of a dystopian society, combines ‘Timur’, spirit of avarice, with Mammon, Syrian god of wealth, to reinforce greed’s influence, looming over the innocent dead. The last two lines of the verse explore war’s potential for transformation. It is animated as ‘loud’, it is envisaged on a grand-scale, ‘a thousand battles’, and its impact extends to shaking ‘a hundred thrones’.<sup>81</sup> Whilst the verse might demonstrate the excesses of the speaker, the idea of the soldier and war embodying action and open participation, in contrast to the underhand dealings of society, is a recurring theme throughout the poem, providing moments of clarity amid the wandering content and structure characterising the poem. Half-way through Part 1, the speaker hears Maud singing. The song is described as a passionate, martial song and praise for Maud and her beauty is inter-mingled with the speaker’s praise for the soldier. The soldier is described reverently, displaying inner and outer purpose, ‘ready in heart and ready in hand’, thus providing a model of harmony between thought and deed (Part 1, Line 170). There appears to be a direct correlation at times between the anticipation of the soldier’s vocation in ‘Maud’ and its realisation in CLB.<sup>82</sup> Maud’s song prompts the speaker to reflect on legitimate death and enduring honour: ‘Singing of Death, and of honour that cannot die’, which answers the rhetorical question ‘When can their glory fade?’ in CLB (Part 1, Line 177).<sup>83</sup> The end of ‘Maud’ speaks to an elevated view of the soldier and the Crimean War’s ideological causes. Upon enlistment as a soldier, the speaker is able to describe society as ‘noble’ and feel a sense of nationhood for the first time: ‘I am one with my kind’ (Part 3, Line 58). The hero’s final resignation to war as an unpleasant fate, ‘the doom assign’d’, unites him with the Light Brigade (Part 3, Line 59).

Not all critics were in favour of this resolution, but Kingsley thought it fitting and there were other writers who identified with war as an active and purifying counter-force to the political complexities of ‘peace’.<sup>84</sup> Tennyson avoids, however, imposing this view,

<sup>81</sup> Following this verse, the musings are interrupted with: ‘What! am I raging alone as my father raged in his mood?’ (Part 1, Line 53)

<sup>82</sup> ‘Maud’ was begun prior to CLB, but it was completed after CLB was first published in December 1854. It is important to think of these two poems inter-acting with one another.

<sup>83</sup> Markovits and Douglas-Fairhurst have noted other parallels. See Robert Douglas-Fairhurst, *Victorian Afterlives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p.197; Markovits, p.163.

<sup>84</sup> Thomas de Quincey’s ‘On War’, republished in 1854, *Thomas De Quincey’s Collected Writings*, ed. by David Mason, 14 vols (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1890), VIII, 368-97; George Swayne, ‘Peace and War: A Dialogue’, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, 76 (1854), 589-98. See also Ingrid

by emphasising the speaker's personal experience. The speaker reflects that he 'cleaved' to a cause that I 'felt to be pure and true' (Part 3, Line 31). The word choice here, 'cleaved' and 'felt' foregrounds the speaker's subjective feeling as well as his desperation to belong. Encapsulating debates about societal degeneration, 'Maud' outlines the unifying prospect of war for a dislocated individual, not the actual experience of war itself.

Whilst it is right to point to CLB's poignant expression of military failure and public shock, Tennyson's final version is one of many poems in support of soldiering as a worthy cause. Whilst he was outraged by the conduct of the Crimean War, the post-script to his little-known poem 'The Charge of the Heavy Brigade' demonstrates his appreciation of soldiering. In a dialogue between a personification of peace and the poet, Tennyson writes:

And who loves War for War's own sake,  
Is fool, or crazed, or worse;  
But let the patriot-soldier take  
His meed of fame in verse;<sup>85</sup>

CLB places the soldier in a selfless tradition of chivalry, whose fighting prowess, 'they that had fought so well' (Line 45) and resolution is admirable. The Brigade advance and return through biblical and medieval abstractions, the 'valley of Death' and the 'mouth of hell', Tennyson situating them in a long tradition of testing encounters. The universalisation and possession of the Brigade as a collective body inscribes a recognisable and knowable morality and identity upon its men. Tennyson challenges the reader directly to 'Honour' the Light Brigade (Line 53), which, as Bevis points out, signals the need not only for remembrance but also for an answering action.<sup>86</sup> This can be seen to be motivated in part by a sense of national guilt. In a favourable review of the poem, *Fraser's Magazine* hoped that others would erect their 'monument' to the Charge, 'the only reparation now possible for the great wrong done to those brave men'.<sup>87</sup> 'Honour' can also be interpreted as an imperative to embrace the martial values Tennyson promotes. In consolidating outward support for the regular soldier as worthy

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Hanson's discussion of William Morris' corporal knighthood tales of 1856: 'The Measured Music of our Meeting Swords: William Morris' Early Romances and the Transformative Touch of Violence', *The Review of English Studies*, 61 (2010), 435-54.

<sup>85</sup> Alfred Tennyson, 'Epilogue: The Charge of the Heavy Brigade', in *The Poems of Tennyson*, ed. by Ricks, III, 95-97 (Lines 29-32).

<sup>86</sup> Bevis, p.15.

<sup>87</sup> Kingsley, 'Tennyson's Maud', p.273.

of national recognition, Tennyson's legacy can be seen in twenty-first century assessments, which offset appreciation of the soldier's sacrifice despite criticism of the legitimacy of war. Many of those against the recent wars in Iraq and Afghanistan demonstrated respect for the British soldier. A blurred photograph of the funeral procession of one of the Light Brigade veterans, Sergeant Frederick Peake (Fig.19), nevertheless reveals a public reverence comparable with the Royal Wootton Bassett repatriations of deceased servicemen and women in the twenty-first century. Tennyson's poem, along with the Charge, assumed an unprecedented status in the latter half of the nineteenth-century as veterans were increasingly appropriated for national honouring and celebration.

### **In Pursuit of the Light Brigade**

Tennyson's verse, more than any other in the Victorian era, sustained a reverence around the soldier, at least in the public imagination. Despite Tennyson's focus on sacrifice and death, the poem also came to represent the interests of and speak for Light Brigade veterans. Many published memoirs of the late Victorian period, just one facet of this generation's fascination with the Charge, subscribed to an all-embracing 'Six Hundred' in their titles and a part to whole association. Titles such as 'One of Six Hundred', 'Left of Six Hundred' and 'One of the Light Brigade' were common, registering a sense that the veterans themselves were prized relics of an increasingly recognisable event.<sup>88</sup> Tennyson's language did not just headline memoirs of Light Brigade veterans but became part of a wider lexicon for describing the challenges of war. Pre-dating the terrible suspense and slaughter on the Western Front of the First World War, Sergeant Timothy Gowing recalled his foreboding whilst waiting in the trenches prior to the final assault on the Redan. Identifying with the sense of doom accompanying the Light Brigade's fate, Tennyson's metaphor is re-cycled to describe the gravity of the situation: 'the attack seemed to be a rush into the very jaws of death'.<sup>89</sup> Tennyson's poem will be considered alongside other cultural references to the

<sup>88</sup> For example, William Pennington, *Left of Six Hundred* (London: Waterloo and Sons Ltd, 1887); J. Nunnerley, *Short Sketch of the Life of Sergeant-Major J. I. Nunnerley, Late of the Lancashire Hussars, and Formerly Sergeant of the "Death Or Glory Boys" (17th Lancers), and One of the "Six Hundred"* (Ormskirk: P. Draper and Sons, 1890); Albert Mitchell, *Recollections of One of the Light Brigade* (Canterbury: N. Ginder, 1885)

<sup>89</sup> *Voice from the Ranks: A Personal Narrative of the Crimean Campaign by a Sergeant*, ed. by Kenneth Fenwick (London: The Folio Society, 1954), p.119.

Charge in the late-Victorian era, many of which reveal the extent to which the Light Brigade veteran became a media category.

The 1870s was a significant phase in perpetuating the Charge as a moment of national significance, fulfilling early reactions to it as a worthy subject of tribute. Lalumia has shown how the Charge re-occurred in political debates of the late 1860s and early 1870s to both support and detract from arguments in favour of men of wealth being able to buy their command.<sup>90</sup> Traditionalists attempted to exploit the discipline and panache of the Brigade's action as attributable to the exemplary lead of distinguished officers and gentlemen like Cardigan. Conversely, reformers pointed to the blunder and the futile nature of the action, caused by a system which prioritised wealth over talent.<sup>91</sup> The abolition of the purchase system in 1871 under the Gladstone government gave impetus to narratives giving prominence to the regular soldier in subsequent re-enactments of the Charge, a variety of which, written, visual and oratorical, are considered here.

The Balaclava Banquet of 1875 was an important development in the afterlife of the Charge. It inspired further activity, such as the establishment of the Balaklava Commemoration Society in 1877, and bolstered the success and interest in Elizabeth Thompson's painting *Balaclava* (1876). These three interventions are linked by their substitution of 'Balaclava' for the actions of the Light Brigade, thus eclipsing the other participants in the Battle of Balaclava for national honouring. Light Brigade veteran, William Pennington, attributes the Banquet's origins to an informal gathering of veterans in Manchester in 1875.<sup>92</sup> However, he notes a journalist in attendance, who championed the survivors' claims as of 'no ordinary kind'.<sup>93</sup> Here again is reiterated the idea of a special importance attached to the Light Brigade over other soldiers who partook in the War, arguably equally deserving of eulogy. An article in the *Manchester Guardian* corroborates Pennington's account, stating that the Banquet had been inspired by veterans wanting to be reunited with comrades, but the event was realised with the help of publicity and subscriptions 'from all quarters'.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Mathew Lalumia, 'Realism and Anti-Aristocratic Sentiment in Victorian Depictions of the Crimean War', *Victorian Studies*, 27 (1983), p.50.

<sup>91</sup> Lalumia, 'Realism and Anti-Aristocratic Sentiment', p.50.

<sup>92</sup> William Pennington, *Sea, Camp and Stage: Incidents in the Life of a Survivor of the Balaclava Light Brigade* (Bristol and London: J.W Arrowsmith, 1906), pp.143-44.

<sup>93</sup> Pennington, *Sea, Camp and Stage*, pp.143-44.

<sup>94</sup> 'The Battle of Balaclava', *Manchester Guardian*, 26 October 1875, p.5.

The Banquet was marked by a self-styled ‘fête’ day of public activities and followed by a special dinner at the newly refurbished Alexandra Palace. The fête attracted 25,000 visitors and was designed to appeal to people of all classes, the organisers charging a shilling for entry.<sup>95</sup> The public were entertained with musical recitals and theatre performances, attended an unveiling of the ‘Balaklava Trophy’ and feasted their eyes on a display of British and Russian objects from the battle-field.<sup>96</sup> A temporary exhibition (Fig.20) of publicly and privately loaned items, included the gruesome, sentimental and the bizarre. In the central hall were battle-field trophies, representing the campaign as a whole, composed of drums, broken sabres and coats perforated with shot.<sup>97</sup> As well as objects of conquest, there were more personal exhibits demonstrating the domesticated, human side of war. The quaint smoking pipe in the shape of a dog, number five on the *ILN* illustration, was one of three animal themed exhibits. The stuffed head of Cardigan’s charger, Ronald, loaned by the Countess of Cardigan and number eleven on the *ILN* illustration, was pointedly upstaged by a live horse. An Arab charger, belonging to Colonel Kent, survived active service in the Crimea and subsequent campaigns, providing the public with an unusually interactive testament to past glories. The varied exhibits supported overt patriotism, when tensions were building towards the outbreak of a second Russo-Turkish war, but also a more subtle patriotism that emphasised the humane qualities of soldiers.

A striking feature of the 1875 anniversary coverage was an *ILN* double-page spread of closely observed vignettes of individual veterans, with all but three representing the rank and file (Fig.21). The fidelity of these portraits, showing various countenances and styles of dress, reveals a trend in the visual arts for ‘realistic’ portrayals of veterans. In the same year, Herbert Herkomer’s *The Last Muster, Sunday at the Royal Hospital Chelsea* (Fig.22) was exhibited at the Royal Academy, showing veterans seated in the hospital chapel. The title of the painting evocatively alludes to the peaceful death of the near-central figure, whose pulse is being felt by his neighbour. Herkomer’s painting was popular, with critics commenting upon the ‘realism’ of the picture and the individuality of the approximately seventy faces.<sup>98</sup> The Royal Military Hospital at

<sup>95</sup> ‘The Balaklava Commemoration’, *The Times*, 26 October 1875, p.6; ‘The Balaclava Banquet’, *Glasgow Herald*, 26 October 1875, p.5.

<sup>96</sup> NAM: 1964-11-55-2, Fête programme

<sup>97</sup> ‘The Battle of Balaclava’, *Manchester Guardian*, 26 October 1875, p.5.

<sup>98</sup> Lee McCormick Edwards, *Herkomer: A Victorian Artist* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp.68-70.

Chelsea was one of the few official institutions of support for ex-soldiers, and in the decades after Waterloo, it had become a popular venue for tourists.<sup>99</sup> This painting presents charitable concern and a vogue to exert a moral influence on veterans, in this case manifested in their department of prayer. The Banquet can therefore be seen in the context of projections of the state's munificent treatment of war veterans, which saw them worthy of individual recognition.

A focus on veterans at the Banquet also produced a focus on survival, which was given a significance transcending mere good fortune. The veterans were toasted under the banner of 'Survivors of the Six Hundred', which was described as 'the toast of the evening' and took precedence over a toast to the 'Memory of the Dead'.<sup>100</sup> Whilst the number of survivors far outweighed those who died in the valley, the fate of those unable to reach British lines was an uncomfortable reminder of the event's indeterminate outcome.<sup>101</sup> The British were unable to bury the dead due to rules over the possession of ground, as an officer writing to his father disclosed: 'we have not been able to gain any information about the missing, or to bury the dead, they being actually in the enemy's lines. It was a terrible affair and had no good result'.<sup>102</sup> The bodies would have been unceremoniously stripped of valuables, boots, socks and kit, a customary action for both sides during the War, before being buried hastily by the Russians.<sup>103</sup> The abject nature of the scene was recorded by Lieutenant Henry Crealock and his private sketchbook, upon visiting the site months after the Charge. Crealock's annotated title 'All that was Left of Them, Left of 600' (Fig.23) cleverly invokes Tennyson's reference to survivors by presenting the skeletal remains of a Light Brigade soldier lying next to his horse, revealing the multivalent uses of CLB for heroic and anti-heroic presentations of the War. However, grim allusions to undignified death and bodily decay were antithetical to the Banquet's energetic and patriotic revival of the episode. In addition to Tennyson's CLB, the only other poem recited out loud on the day was Richard Chandler's 'Balaclava', a spirited piece formed of heroic couplets, which, above all, enlarges the actions of a select few as a result of the havoc wrought:

<sup>99</sup> Joan Hichberger, *Images of the Army: The Military in British Art 1815-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p.142.

<sup>100</sup> 'The Banquet to the Light Brigade', *Daily News*, 26 October 1875, p.2; NAM: 1964-11-55-2

<sup>101</sup> Survivors totalled approximately 540. Adkin, p.9.

<sup>102</sup> NAM: 1979-07-148, Letter from Hedworth Hylton Jolliffe to his father, 28 October 1854

<sup>103</sup> Gavin Hughes and Jonathan Trigg, 'Remembering the Charge of the Light Brigade: Its Commemoration, War Memorials and Memory', *Journal of Conflict Archaeology*, 4 (2008), p.44.



‘To learn the result ask the Russ what he thought,/Count the labyrinth’d legions that studded the track/Where a regiment swept forth, and a troop struggled back’.<sup>104</sup> The troop who ‘struggled back’ are the focus of the poem and the narrative is told through their eyes (‘Front and flank were our foemen, behind us our dead’), thus emphasising endurance over loss.

The marked popularity of the two recitals of CLB on the Balaclava fête day reveal its association with an increasingly limited narrative of the Charge, supporting an agenda of reparation that rendered the mistakes of high command irrelevant.<sup>105</sup> The Banquet was carefully planned to alleviate speculation, debate and discomfort. The survivors present were exposed to a version of events which had been, as Mark Giroud has appositely termed it, ‘improved in the telling’.<sup>106</sup> As *The Times* remarked: ‘On this occasion no difference was made between them and those who led them in the desperate charge. There were no tables on a dais for specially favoured guests, and “no seats below the salt” for the humbler heroes of the rank and file’.<sup>107</sup> Indeed, the question of how to subordinate the majority of the Light Brigade to their military superiors, controversial figures such as the Earl of Lucan, was avoided altogether. Some officers were invited by the committee, but the rest dined separately at Willis’s Rooms, St James Square, and were presided over by Lucan.<sup>108</sup> The officers’ dinner was covered briefly as an appendage to the main event in most newspaper reports. The Banquet was designed to flatter and give weight to rank and file veterans, who could carry forward the Charge into the realm of national legend without attracting critical comment.

In enlarging upon the moral example of the Charge, Sir Edward Lee, director of the Palace, reiterated the sentiments expressed by Tennyson in a letter to the Secretary of the Committee: that the nation should be grateful for the Charge, since it proved the superiority of England’s soldiers.<sup>109</sup> The speech given by Lee collapsed the blunder into deeds of a ‘chivalrous exploit’, beyond Greek and Roman fame.<sup>110</sup> The idea of the Charge transcending ancient conquest complemented the Banquet’s overtly patriotic

<sup>104</sup> NAM: 1964-11-55-2

<sup>105</sup> ‘The Banquet to the Light Brigade’, *Daily News*, 26 October 1875, p.2.

<sup>106</sup> Mark Giroud, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), p.14.

<sup>107</sup> ‘The Balaklava Commemoration’, *The Times*, 26 October 1875, p.6.

<sup>108</sup> ‘The Balaclava Anniversary Festival’, *ILN*, 30 October 1875, p.438.

<sup>109</sup> ‘The Balaclava Anniversary Festival’, p.438. Tennyson’s short letter to the committee, apologising for his absence, is printed in the programme, NAM: 1964-11-55-2

<sup>110</sup> ‘The Balaclava Anniversary Festival’, p.438.

focus on English gains from the medieval period onwards. The organisers capitalised on the coincidence of the Battle of Agincourt having taken place on the same calendar day, 25 October 1415, by displaying medieval armour around the banquet hall.<sup>111</sup> The medieval references were not lost on reporters. In a flattering article ‘The Prowess of the Light Brigade’, one commentator observed: ‘It is the fashion to say that chivalry is past, that it has been slain by pipeclay and modern science. Balaclava proved the contrary’.<sup>112</sup> As in *Dr Thorne* and arguably Tennyson’s CLB, the Charge is viewed as a nostalgic event, recalling an earlier age of chivalry.

Giroud notes how many tragic events in British culture have been shaped by focusing on bravery, in order to distract attention from the intelligent forethought rendering heroism unnecessary.<sup>113</sup> The Banquet’s complimentary interpretation of the Charge worked as part of a larger displacement of strategic failure, a point not lost on *Punch*: it commented upon the paradoxical nature of the Banquet and a fashion for anniversaries with a piece utilising different meanings of the word ‘charge’ to present various scenarios for absurdly inappropriate commendation.<sup>114</sup> These fictional scenarios revolved around inflated bills, abused responsibility (‘in his charge’) and a quantity of gunpowder (‘a charge of powder’). It also printed a parody of Tennyson’s poem to mark the Banquet, poking fun at the lucrative opportunity for Alexandra Palace, the passive status of the veterans (‘Theirs not to speechify, Still less to make reply’) and the rowdy atmosphere arising from the novelty of a fine dining experience. Whilst the parody may have unfairly stereotyped the ‘Jolly Two Hundred’ in attendance, ‘Big with old lark and joke’, it ultimately questioned the taste in which Tennyson’s desire for homage had been realised. In spite of *Punch*’s criticism, exclusive anniversary dinners followed the Balaclava Banquet under the banner of the ‘Balaklava Commemoration Society’.

Established in 1877, the Balaklava Commemoration Society hosted reunion dinners over a thirty-eight year period until 1913. A vote at an 1876 dinner, in response to Sergeant-Major Purvis’ concern about oversight of the Heavy Brigade, sealed the direction of the Society as a special club for Light Brigade survivors. The vote saw

<sup>111</sup> ‘The Battle of Balaclava’, *Manchester Guardian*, 26 October 1875, p.5.

<sup>112</sup> ‘The Balaklava Banquet’, *Leicester Chronicle and the Leicestershire Mercury*, 30 October 1875, p.5.

<sup>113</sup> Giroud, p.14.

<sup>114</sup> “‘Charge, Chester, Charge!’”, *Punch*, 6 November 1875, p.191.

only three in favour of a proposition to unite the Light Brigade with the Heavy Brigade at future events.<sup>115</sup> As well as preserving the Society for Light Brigade veterans, the Society rules stipulated that only those people who rode in the Charge were allowed to join as members.<sup>116</sup> A vetting process rid the Society of ‘bogus’ individuals, such as Sergeant John Breese whose face is etched for posterity on the *ILN* coverage of the Balaclava Banquet but who was later removed from the Society’s membership list.<sup>117</sup> Breese was a Brigade veteran of the 11<sup>th</sup> Hussars, but was alleged not to have taken part in the Charge. The details of his de-motion from the Society are not known, but Breese was no stranger to danger, having lost his right arm at the Battle of Inkerman on picket duty.<sup>118</sup> The strict rules governing membership of the Society may have been one of the reasons why veteran Sergeant Frederick Peake made alterations to his original coatee, enabling him to wear it in old age at Society dinners as a badge of bravery.<sup>119</sup> The right sleeve of the coatee is cut off (Fig.24), since Peake’s right arm was broken by canister shot during the Charge. The uniform compellingly verifies Peake’s battlefield presence, the stunted sleeve materially representing the cleaved arm. The weight of commemoration in favour of Light Brigade survivors and an increasingly prescriptive branding of their courage, which honoured their participation in the Charge, blurred the Charge’s status as a blunder.

Coverage of the Balaklava Banquet may well have inspired the detailed evocation of character in Elizabeth Thompson’s important tribute to the Charge’s survivors, *Balaclava* (Fig.25), but the painting achieves a different emotional tone. Exhibited at the Fine Art Society in April 1876, it was Thompson’s second painting to derive inspiration from the Crimean War after the tremendous acclaim of *The Roll Call* in 1874.<sup>120</sup> *Balaclava* sustained Thompson’s remarkable career as a female battle artist, a critical and commercial success that built-upon the interest in Charge survivors. The painting’s tour around the country, with fifty thousand visitors flocking to see it in

<sup>115</sup> ‘Anniversary of Balaklava’, *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper*, 29 October 1876, p.8. It is not clear how many people were present. Lucan and Paget had also expressed regret at the neglect of the Heavy Brigade at the officers’ dinner following the first Balaclava Banquet. ‘The Balaclava Anniversary Festival’, *ILN*, 30 October 1875, p.438.

<sup>116</sup> NAM: 1988-06-107-1, Rules of the Balaklava Commemoration Society

<sup>117</sup> NAM: 1986-02-38, Notes compiled by William Lummis

<sup>118</sup> NAM: 1968-02-38

<sup>119</sup> A photograph of Peake shows him in old age wearing his original dress jacket. NAM: 1956-10-47-7

<sup>120</sup> Paul Usherwood and Jenny Spencer-Smith, *Lady Butler: Battle Artist 1846-1933* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1989), p.64. The painting now resides at Manchester Art Gallery.

London alone, is evidence of eager anticipation amongst the viewing public.<sup>121</sup> The focus of *Balaclava* is once again survival, but this time the chaotic return of survivors in a strikingly detailed vision, for which Thompson used veterans for the main figures and conducted detailed uniform studies. Her autobiography also records a visit to Lady Raglan in 1873, where she met Kinglake and held discussions with him on the War.<sup>122</sup> It is possible to identify from Kinglake's history a basis for Thompson's narrative in *Balaclava*. At the time of the Brigade's return on the slopes facing southwards towards Balaclava, Kinglake describes a 'sense of havoc' at what had occurred, with stragglers and rider-less chargers coming in at intervals.<sup>123</sup> Thompson's scene visualises this moment, showing survivors and horses in various states of injury and distress joining equally dishevelled figures mustering upon a hill. However, by straying from depicting the excitement of the advance and preserving this aspect of the Charge for posterity, it is questionable whether Thompson endorsed Kinglake's reflections on the legacy of the debacle. Kinglake viewed the Charge as an act of splendour and duty and predicted, with the passing of time, people would cease from deploring the errors that marked it.<sup>124</sup> Thompson's *Balaclava* is politically astute, depicting the bodily rupture of the rank and file, whilst transferring initiative and leadership to the NCOs seated on horse-back. The responsibility assigned to the NCOs is signified by their position at the top of a double pyramidal composition imposed on the left and centre-right of the canvas.

The NCOs add a paternalistic aspect to the scene in the painting and depict actual Charge veterans. In the centre-right of the composition is Corporal James Nunnerley of the 17<sup>th</sup> Lancers, who is shown holding a wounded trumpeter in his saddle.<sup>125</sup> Thompson's portrayal of him fits with accounts that once he was clear of the Russians, he returned to the battlefield and helped a seriously wounded trumpeter. The mounted figure rallying survivors on the left of the composition is Sergeant-Major George Loy Smith of the 11th Hussars, who is referenced as posing for *Balaclava* in William Lummis' compilation of all those involved in the advance.<sup>126</sup> He is described as strict and smart, eventually becoming a Yeoman of the Guard in 1859. This description

<sup>121</sup> Usherwood and Spencer-Smith, p.66.

<sup>122</sup> Elizabeth Butler, *An Autobiography* (Sevenoaks: Fisher Press, 1993), p.92.

<sup>123</sup> Kinglake, V, 325.

<sup>124</sup> Kinglake, V, 337.

<sup>125</sup> Curatorial file, Manchester Art Gallery

<sup>126</sup> William Lummis and Kenneth Wynn, *Honour the Light Brigade* (London: J B Hayward and Son, 1973), p.134.

correlates with Thompson's portrayal of him, as although he is shown with a boot missing, he remains upright and alert in his seat. He is one of two soldiers gesturing towards the focal figure standing in shocked wonderment, Private William Pennington. Many Victorian viewers would have recognised Pennington's face, since he became a well-known Shakespearean actor after his stint in the Army and was a favourite performer of Gladstone's.<sup>127</sup> Pennington was also given the privilege of reciting 'The Charge of the Light Brigade' at the Balaklava Banquet, which Thompson attended and most likely witnessed.<sup>128</sup> The photograph provided in Pennington's memoir *Left of Six Hundred* (Fig.26) testifies to Thompson's skill as a portraitist. Pennington and his troubled gaze are central to the composition and to Thompson's cultivation of pathos in the viewer.

Pennington, with his blood-stained shirt, blood-tipped sword and terror-stricken expression, is a particularly daring study. His wide-eyed gaze is echoed in the horse directly confronting the viewer to the left of the composition. His expression recalls a study Thompson completed for the *Roll Call*, of a wounded Guardsman with furrowed brow and troubled gaze (Fig.27). Pennington's face unusually shows signs of psychological disturbance and his bewilderment personifies Tennyson's refrain 'All the world wonder'd', creating a powerful relationship between subject and viewer. At a private view of *Balaclava* for family and friends, the composer Virginia Gabriel allegedly left the room in tears.<sup>129</sup> Reviewers commented specifically on the uniqueness of the composition in depicting war's unpleasantness, *The Manchester City News* identifying Thompson's strength in rendering the scene with a 'terrible reality'.<sup>130</sup> Whilst the painting might seem tame to the twentieth-century viewer, there is an attempt to imagine the aftermath of battle. This becomes clear when *Balaclava* is compared to a rival exhibit of 1876, Thomas Barker's *The Return through the Valley of Death: Lord George Paget bringing out of Action the Remnant of the 11<sup>th</sup> Hussars and 4<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons*, which was displayed in the more prestigious setting of the Royal Academy.<sup>131</sup> Barker specialised in scenes depicting episodes from the Napoleonic and

<sup>127</sup> Lummis and Wynn, p.175.

<sup>128</sup> William Pennington, *Sea, Camp and Stage*, pp.145-47.

<sup>129</sup> Butler, p.121.

<sup>130</sup> 'Miss Thompson's 'Balaclava'', *The Manchester City News*, 10 February 1877, p.8.

<sup>131</sup> In addition to Barker's *The Return through the Valley of Death*, Felix Phillippoteaux's *Charge of the Heavy Brigade* was exhibited in the same year as *Balaclava*. *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts: The One Hundred and Eighth* (London: The Academy, 1876), p.6.

Crimean Wars, the Indian Mutiny and society portraits.<sup>132</sup> From an engraving of Barker's lost painting (Fig.28), it is clear that his preference is another panoramic view, capturing a stylised view of the Charge in action, replete with horses in formation and gesturing officers. The picture is aggressive, indicated by the snorting horses, and forms a sharp contrast with the sense of haphazard depletion in *Balaclava*. Using a low viewpoint, Thompson leads the eye across various incidents amongst the figures who dominate the canvas at the expense of the setting. The collapsed figure in the far right of the foreground of *Balaclava*, a variation on the reclining soldier in *The Roll Call*, is far more suggestive than the equivalent figure in Barker's painting. Barker's peaceful body is attractively sprawled across the ground, in a strikingly casual pose designed to highlight the slender frame of the dead soldier. The soldier in *Balaclava* is shown clutching his fist and clasp his chest in pain.

*Balaclava* forms one of the more nuanced tributes of the 1870s, eschewing the 'celebratory' nature of the Balaklava Banquet for a more sombre eulogy. Thompson's choice of moment allows the viewer to consider the human impact of war. However, it is important to consider the painting's widespread appeal and Thompson's commercial capital in the Crimean veteran. Thompson's paintings made large sums of money for the print trade and holders of copyright, in this case the Fine Art Society. The net profit from copyrights of the prints of *The Roll Call*, *Quatre Bras* and *Balaclava* were recorded at £45,000 by the end of 1878, which equates to approximately £4,536,000 today.<sup>133</sup> Pennington's expression of mental angst is indicative of Thompson's courage in pushing the boundaries of conventional military painting. Yet, it also points to a licence of depiction as a result of her subject's modest status. It is highly improbable that Thompson could have depicted an officer as showing signs of mental disturbance. By using veterans from the ranks, Thompson was freer to craft her own vision of the scene. Her vision of Pennington strays from his own recollection of being unable to stand on return to British lines, owing to an injury to his leg, but he praised the power of the painting nonetheless.<sup>134</sup> The absence of officers in the painting may well be a

<sup>132</sup> Iain McCallum, *Thomas Barker of Bath: The Artist and his Circle* (Bath: Millstream Books, 2003), p.148.

<sup>133</sup> Tim Wilcox, 'Painting and Public, Print and Profit', in *Visual Delights: Essays on the Popular and Projected Image in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, ed. by Simon Popple and Vanessa Toulmin (Trowbridge: Flicks Books, 2000), pp.131-32. The Bank of England inflation calculator was used for an estimate of current value.

<sup>134</sup> Pennington, *Left of Six Hundred*, pp.13-17.

gesture to the abolition of the purchase system in 1871, as Lalumia has pointed out.<sup>135</sup> There is evidence to suggest Thompson sympathised with this move, as her future husband, whom she married a year after *Balaclava* was exhibited, was a reforming soldier who spoke out about being purchased over by officers many years his junior.<sup>136</sup> In addition, enthusiastic purchasers of Thompson's work were often wealthy businessmen of a politically Liberal stance. The purchaser of *Balaclava* was a Mr John Whitehead of Manchester, a factory owner.<sup>137</sup> Yet, Thompson may also have been wary of detracting from her daring yet affirming vision of battle-field affect in the ranks. As in Tennyson's poem, her memorialisation of the Brigade is strengthened by absent command; the soldiers rally in spite of their ordeal.

Exhibition audiences were encouraged to draw parallels between Thompson's painting and Tennyson's verse. The Fine Art Society catalogue accompanying the exhibition of *Balaclava* printed the poem, both art forms seen as a fitting tribute to a 'heroic', yet 'deplorable' act.<sup>138</sup> A critic of *The Manchester City News* echoed this duality aptly in viewing *Balaclava* as a memorial to the grandest and to the saddest piece of heroism in recent history.<sup>139</sup> Thompson herself occupied a multiple position concerning war, which recognised its basest impulses but also believed in a duty to look for something virtuous amongst the fracas, as seen in the supportive gestures of many of the figures in *Balaclava*.<sup>140</sup> The caring gesture of Nunnerley embracing a wounded trumpeter augments the many narratives of camaraderie amongst the rest of the soldiers. Building upon Jonathan Parry's identification of a liberal, humanitarian rhetoric informing British foreign policy in the second half of the nineteenth century, Holly Furneaux's work explores how Victorian scenes of the nurturing, humane soldier acted to erase his primary function in war and to make him personable to civilians.<sup>141</sup> Thompson presents the Light Brigade as 'liberal warriors' and reviews testify to her success in providing a perspective on war that bridged civilian-military understanding. *The Times* noted that

<sup>135</sup> Lalumia, *Realism and Politics*, p.143.

<sup>136</sup> Edward Spiers, *The Army and Society 1815-1914* (London and New York: Longman, 1980), p.21.

<sup>137</sup> Butler, p.121.

<sup>138</sup> Miss E. Thompson's *Pictures: The Roll Call, Quatre Bras and Balaclava* (London: Fine Art Society, 1876), pp.3-7.

<sup>139</sup> 'Miss Thompson's 'Balaclava'', *The Manchester City News*, 10 February 1877, p.8.

<sup>140</sup> Usherwood and Spencer-Smith, p.23.

<sup>141</sup> Holly Furneaux, *Military Men of Feeling: Emotion, Touch and Masculinity in the Crimean War* (Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2016); Jonathan Parry, *The Politics of Patriotism: English Liberalism, National Identity and Europe 1830-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.6.

what distinguished *Balaclava* from ‘conventional’ battle pictures by Barker and Felix Philippoteaux, was its ‘individuality of homely interest’.<sup>142</sup> Supportive actions in the ranks act as a counter-point to injury and suffering to instil a sense of security and comfort and inspire sympathy. Therefore, a multi-layered perspective, a Tennysonian formula embracing suffering and virtue, shock and comfort, helped to ensure the success of *Balaclava* on a critical, emotional and commercial level. ‘Homely interest’ in the Charge reached new heights when efforts were made to help struggling veterans in the last decade of the nineteenth century. These measures acted as cultural compensation for the blunder and for wider social issues.

### The Nation’s Charge

An 1884 photograph of Private William Pearson represents a special relationship between the humble veteran and, framing his younger self, the words of Tennyson’s verse (Fig.29). Pearson’s photograph reveals the perceived importance of Tennyson’s poem to the status of the Charge veteran. Yet, despite enjoying a kind of stardom in the late-Victorian period, Light Brigade veterans were paradoxically not exempt from hardship. Pennington observed that many Charge survivors had only been spared the poor house as a result of special subscriptions raised.<sup>143</sup> The captions accompanying Pearson’s photograph reveal he was one of the luckier veterans to find employment, working as a doorman at Liverpool’s Empire Theatre.<sup>144</sup> The aforementioned narratives empowering the Charge veteran eschewed the lack of state support for soldiers upon return to civilian life. Herkomer’s homely gathering of Chelsea pensioners represented a limited number of servicemen entitled to institutional care. Little effort was made to help those discharged with good character to find alternative employment, an issue which in the 1880s was gaining prominence.<sup>145</sup> Hichberger highlights the high number of paintings featuring noble, destitute veterans at the Royal Academy in the early 1880s, and notes the establishment of the National Association for the Employment of Ex-Soldiers in 1885, run by a group of retired officers.<sup>146</sup> The first high profile campaign

<sup>142</sup> “‘Balaklava’ and ‘Whitby’”, *The Times*, 17 May 1876, p.6. Cited also in Lalumia, *Realism and Politics*, p.143.

<sup>143</sup> Pennington, *Sea, Camp and Stage*, p.144.

<sup>144</sup> NAM: 1968-01-25-5

<sup>145</sup> Alan Skelley, *The Victorian Army at Home: The Recruitment and Terms and Conditions of the British Regular, 1859-1899* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), p.205.

<sup>146</sup> Hichberger, *Images of the Army*, pp.149-50.



to support struggling Light Brigade veterans was the Light Brigade Relief Fund of 1890, sponsored by the *St James' Gazette*, championed by Tennyson and promoted by another poet, Rudyard Kipling.

Tennyson's contribution to the Fund involved a recital of his poem on Edison's newly invented phonograph machine in the presence of veterans.<sup>147</sup> This and a host of public events that year arguably spurred Kipling's poem 'The Last of the Light Brigade', published in *St James' Gazette* on 28 April 1890 in response to an article recording a meagre £24 response to the Fund's appeal.<sup>148</sup> Whilst Tennyson's solemn recital of the poem conveys the tragedy of the Charge, Kipling's heroic couplets mock the limitations of his revered 'Master-Singer' in translating public affection into public action.<sup>149</sup> The limited support from the 'thirty million English who talk of England's might' (Line 1) towards the regular soldier is more famously outlined in Kipling's later poems, 'Tommy' and 'The Absent-Minded Beggar', which emerged from the Boer Wars. However, it is 'The Last of the Light Brigade' which first highlighted the gap between unifying, national narratives and individual experiences. Whilst readers might interpret the poem as antagonistic towards Tennyson's verse, Kipling's protest poem mocks the interpretation of CLB by the nation at large. Kipling seems more concerned with the idea of moment fixing: 'They felt that life was fleeting; they knew not that art was long/That though they were dying of famine, they lived in deathless song' (Lines 5-6). The switch of tenses in the poem from past to present, supported by a direct appeal to the public in the final stanza, 'O thirty million English.../Behold' (Lines 33-44), attempts to disrupt the mythical and entrenched vision of the men on horseback. For Kipling, Tennyson's verse was fuelling a national script of honouring veterans and 'the charge they made' (Line 35), lacking a much needed postscript for the harsh realities of post-war existence.

Though by 1891 the Fund had expanded considerably to £6,750 and was transferred to the administrators of the Royal Patriotic Fund, Kipling's protest was undermined by the Fund's method of distribution. In practice, the neediest veterans were exempted due to

<sup>147</sup> Bennett Maxwell, 'The Steytler Recordings of Alfred Lord Tennyson: A History', *Bulletin*, 3 (1980), pp.150-53.

<sup>148</sup> Patrick Waddington, *Theirs But to Do and Die: The Poetry of the Charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava* (Nottingham: Astra Press, 1995), p.166.

<sup>149</sup> The original recording is available via The Poetry Archive <[www.poetryarchive.org](http://www.poetryarchive.org)> [accessed 17 March 2013]. Rudyard Kipling, 'The Last of the Light Brigade', *Literature Online*, <<http://literature.proquest.com>> [accessed 18 March 2013], Line 14.

ingrained attitudes towards intemperance and the poor and a policy of distributing large lump sums.<sup>150</sup> The committee, composed of powerful figures such as Lord Hartington, Lord Wolseley and Sir Redvers Buller, disclosed that it felt unable to entrust sums to ‘hopeless’ cases, those who were reported drunks or of a dubious character and residing in a workhouse.<sup>151</sup> Whilst drinking was a recreation for officers and civilians alike, it was the soldier who gained a reputation for intemperance. The Light Brigade Relief Fund and its more inclusive successor, the T.H Roberts Fund of 1897, were selective gestures of private charity, which did little to address the wider issue of the soldier’s after-care. One officer described the Light Brigade Relief Fund as ‘ludicrous’ and ‘unjust’ in view of the bloody sacrifice of those all over the Empire equally deserving of help.<sup>152</sup> These token gestures of public concern relieved the national conscience at a time when the Charge and the Crimean War were being invoked to encourage enlistment.

*Boys Own Paper* (BOP) printed ‘A Soldier’s Story’ in the 1880s, which demonstrates how the soldier’s afterlife was circumnavigated ideologically.<sup>153</sup> In a comforting, inter-generational exchange the article’s scenario is a boy questioning his uncle, a veteran of the Crimean War, about becoming a soldier. The advice of the uncle is honest and sage, pointing out the hardships of barrack life and campaign duties and the lack of state support for injured soldiers and their families. However, recalling the protagonist of ‘Maud’ and mid-Victorian feeling, the uncle describes his sense of purpose and responsibility upon enlisting for the war against Russia. In the interval between enlisting and embarking for war, the uncle confides: ‘I seemed to have become a man’. The article appealed to a particular brand of masculinity, which favoured active intervention, a sense of duty, patriotism and an ability to withstand hardship. Whilst the soldiers’ experience might not be desirable or attractive, the young recruit could expect a rite of passage in which he would emerge better and stronger. This narrative disposes of the issue of public responsibility by emphasising personal initiative and war as a revelatory experience. State failures are subtly realigned as a good test of a recruit’s manhood, not as an impediment to recruitment. This ethic complemented

<sup>150</sup> ‘The Light Brigade Relief Fund’, *Morning Post*, 6 April 1891, p.3.

<sup>151</sup> ‘The Light Brigade Relief Fund’, p.3.

<sup>152</sup> ‘The Light Brigade Relief Fund’, *Morning Post*, 22 May 1890, p.5.

<sup>153</sup> *The Best of British Pluck: The Boy’s Own Paper*, ed. by Philip Warner (London: Macdonald and Jane’s, 1976), pp.74-77.

interpretations of the Charge as a model of survival over adversity. The final section of this chapter looks at how representations of the Charge worked to instil codes of fortitude and endurance amongst boys and men to meet the pressing demands of Empire.

The Balaklava Banquet of 1875 managed the astonishing feat of placing the Charge in a long and successful military tradition, one which was used to make Victorians reflect on an extended Empire. During the survivors' speech, Lee reflected on the nation's appreciation of courage 'unsurpassed' and endurance 'which has made the Empire what it is and carried our victorious flag to the uttermost ends of the earth'.<sup>154</sup> The late nineteenth-century marked the heyday of the British Empire, which had expanded by 4,750,000 square miles between 1874 and 1902.<sup>155</sup> Scholars have noted how Empire as a masculine project reached a new phase in the 1880s and 1890s, as fears about maintaining the vast borders of Empire and domestic anxieties about physical and moral degeneration reached a new height.<sup>156</sup> Outlets for these anxieties focused on shaping the outlook and physical wellbeing of the young, who were encouraged to 'play at war' through exposure to sport, adventure literature and increasingly, toys.<sup>157</sup> Building-upon the celebratory focus on the Charge in the 1870s, this period saw increasingly imperious representations of the event designed to shape the masculine identity of a third generation of future warriors. This identity was limited and fictional, eschewing the range of response found in Thompson's *Balaclava*, Tennyson's verse and in soldiers' memoirs.

Joseph Bristow and others have explored how coherent ideals of masculinity were presented in magazines, manuals, story books and pursued through the establishment of the Boys Brigade, the Scout Movement and the Cadet Corps.<sup>158</sup> Whilst recruitment was steady throughout the late-Victorian period, it fell well short of army needs in spite of reforms and the raising of armies on the continent.<sup>159</sup> Deceptive recruiting methods

<sup>154</sup> 'The Balaclava Anniversary Festival', *ILN*, 30 October 1875, p.438.

<sup>155</sup> Giroud, p.222.

<sup>156</sup> John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2005), pp.194-95.

<sup>157</sup> In 1893, Britains Ltd produced the first mass-produced war toys. Dawson, p.235.

<sup>158</sup> Joseph Bristow, *Empire Boys* (London: Harper Collins, 1991); Kelly Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper in Britain* (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003)

<sup>159</sup> Skelley, p.236.

encouraged desertion, which was at its highest rate between 1869 and 1878.<sup>160</sup> BOP was one of many developments aimed at engaging boys with British notions of Empire in the hope that they might enlist in a worthy cause for their country. A sportive allusion to the Charge in this period can be found in the popular, penny illustrated weekly. In the first issue of 18 January 1879, an article entitled ‘My First Football Match’ employed the lexicon of battle and Tennyson’s CLB to describe the feelings and experiences of a boy partaking in his first school match.<sup>161</sup> Written in the first person, the narrator refers to the rival team as ‘the enemy’, the match as a ‘battle’ and dreams of being lionised and having a column in *The Times* devoted to his exploits.<sup>162</sup> Sport thus functions as a simplistic microcosm of war, a physical and tactical combat resulting in gain and loss, winners and losers. However, despite the Charge occupying a nebulous position in this sense, its dramatic appeal is explicitly invoked in the article to describe ‘the solemn do or die feeling’ in which the boy-hero took to ‘the field’ and secured the success of the match:

“Charge at him!” sounds Wright’s voice, as if in answer to my thoughts. I gather up all my remaining force, and charge. There is a flash across my eyes, and a dull shock against my chest. I reel and stagger, and forget where I am. I am being swept along in a torrent; the waters with a roar rush past me and over me...Every moment I get nearer and nearer the fatal edge.<sup>163</sup>

The extract is a striking testament to the durability of Tennyson’s verse and the ease with which it could be re-contextualised for a variety of purposes. The article was written by Talbot Reed under the pseudonym ‘An Old Boy’, a committed Christian and Liberal who, in addition to managing a family printing business, wrote numerous serials and books for boys.<sup>164</sup> He was described by a friend as ‘the very ideal of a chivalrous English gentleman’. His most successful stories were based around school and like the *BOP* article, combined the moralistic and athletic. Team sports became an important part of public school life in the late-Victorian period, seen as effective training for colonial careers.<sup>165</sup> Reed actively employs Tennyson’s verbs, ‘charge’, ‘flash’, ‘reel’, to convey the sheer energy and adrenalin imagined of a cavalry charge. The description of

<sup>160</sup> Skelley, p.132.

<sup>161</sup> Bristow, p.57.

<sup>162</sup> *Best of British Pluck*, ed. by Warner, p.18.

<sup>163</sup> *Best of British Pluck*, ed. by Warner, p.19.

<sup>164</sup> Jeffrey Richards, ‘Reed, Talbot Baines (1852–1893)’, *Dictionary of National Biography*, <[www.oxforddnb.com](http://www.oxforddnb.com)> [accessed 27 March 2013]

<sup>165</sup> Tosh, p.198.

the boy's final action before collapsing is vividly sensory, the 'dull shock' across the chest and the feeling of being swept along recalls a charger's injury, whilst the movement towards the 'fatal edge' imagines the dangerous and imminent target of the Light Brigade as they moved closer to the guns. The diffusion of the Charge as a military failure is strikingly clear here, as it inspires a winning move in a relatively trivial context.

The Charge frequently bolstered an exciting and chivalric view of fighting in this period. George Henty's popular stories traced the annals of imperial history and featured a valiant boy in the company of the bold and the brave.<sup>166</sup> His Crimean story *Jack Archer: A Tale of the Crimea* covers all aspects of the campaign but his re-telling of the Charge is notable for its imperious, boisterous and carnal vision of the Light Brigade at the guns: 'There was a yell, a crash, the clash of sabre on bayonet, the shout of the victor, the scream of the dying, and the British horsemen burst through the Russian line'.<sup>167</sup> Henty describes the Brigade as 'victors' and 'conquerors' and whilst not disguising reciprocal injury, 'wounded', 'weak' and 'bleeding', the Brigade are able to 'dash aside' the Cossacks pursuing them. The more detailed memoirs of Light Brigade survivors reveal a retreat that was not quite so sweeping or straightforward, since the majority of the Brigade was unhorsed at this point. Like Corporal William Bird, they were either taken prisoner at the guns or were exposed to pursuing Cossacks and flanking fire in the valley.<sup>168</sup> Many men, like Private Mitchell, found themselves in the terrifying predicament of being trapped under their horse prior to or upon reaching the guns, rendering them vulnerable to Russians and the hooves of advancing horses.<sup>169</sup> Boyhood accounts of the Charge in the late-Victorian period were comparatively simplistic therefore, imbued with a physicality appealing to fantasy and re-enactment.

One of *BOP*'s most successful illustrators was Richard Caton-Woodville, who was also a well-known graphic artist at the *ILN*.<sup>170</sup> Caton-Woodville exhibited at the Royal Academy from 1879 and specialised in Napoleonic battle scenes and episodes from

<sup>166</sup> Bristow, pp. 146-47.

<sup>167</sup> George Henty, *Jack Archer: A Tale of the Crimea* (New York: A.L. Burt, c.1895), p.109.

<sup>168</sup> 'The Light Brigade: Veterans' Salute', *Daily Mail*, 24 June 1911, p.5.

<sup>169</sup> Mitchell, p.85.

<sup>170</sup> *The Best of British Pluck*, ed. by Warner, p.37.

colonial campaigns in Afghanistan, Egypt and Africa.<sup>171</sup> He produced perhaps the most strikingly domineering visual representation of the Charge in his painting *The Relief of the Light Brigade* (1897). The painting was purchased by NAM in 1989 from Sotheby's, with financial assistance from The Headley Trust and the purchase attracted press interest and acclaim as a worthy prize for the nation.<sup>172</sup> *The Relief of the Light Brigade* is interesting due to the unrealistic viewpoint chosen, placing the viewer at the heart of the Russian guns (Fig.30). The low view-point gives a more imposing view of the Light Brigade waving their sabres at the moment of conquering the guns. In many respects, the immediate viewpoint, the complex figure formations and closely observed detail of uniforms and faces is reminiscent of Thompson's approach to battle art and the painting was popular and widely re-produced. However, the choice of moment, flattering the Brigade at a point of brief dominance and the view of hand-to hand combat with the enemy in close proximity provides a vastly different interpretation of the event. The painting does not cultivate pathos and reflection, but rather offers the dynamic vision of Henty's victors. One Hussar can be seen stabbing a Russian gunner on the left whilst the central figure raises his sabre in readiness to meet his intent rival. The title of the painting implies this was the point at which the Brigade were relieved from their ordeal, whereas in reality the situation beyond the guns proved impossible, as members of the Brigade found themselves trapped on all sides by the Russians and were forced to break through a retreat. Caton-Woodville's view is one of clarity, rather than the reality of confusion and smoke, as described by James Lamb upon recovering consciousness close to the guns.<sup>173</sup> The painting originally appeared as a chromolithograph in a Christmas supplement to *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, a comforting, festive indulgence alongside theatre reviews and sporting features.<sup>174</sup> Its appearance in this light-hearted publication reveals the assimilation of the Charge into mass, popular culture and the erasure of its error.

Caton-Woodville's spirited vision of the Light Brigade surmounting the guns inspired other accounts at the turn of the century. Archibald Forbes' patriotic publication *Battles of the Nineteenth-Century* (1899), which traced major British engagements from

<sup>171</sup> *The Dictionary of Victorian Painters* ed. by Christopher Wood (Suffolk: Antique Collectors Club, 1979)

<sup>172</sup> NAM curatorial file.

<sup>173</sup> James Lamb, 'The Charge of the Light Brigade', *Strand Magazine*, 2 (1891), p.348.

<sup>174</sup> *A Most Desperate Undertaking*, ed. by Massie, p.110.

Hastings onwards to account for the vastness of the British Empire, enlivens the Charge with onomatopoeic excitement, describing the ‘ping’ of a bullet and the ‘whang’ of roundshot.<sup>175</sup> The narrative culminates at the guns and the authors conclude that it would be difficult to find a better example of ‘romantic courage or desperate adventure’. The accompanying illustration bears a striking resemblance to Woodville’s painting (Fig.31), similarly transforming a futile mission into a virile endeavour praising the stoicism of the ‘sons of Empire’.<sup>176</sup> These representations support what Paul Volsik has identified as a certain paradigm of masculinity, a dream of the ardent male focused upon unbridled physical expression.<sup>177</sup> This view of the cavalryman still persists today in cavalry regimental museums, some of which privilege the Charge as a formative aspect of their history. The museum of the King’s Royal Hussars greets the visitor with an imposing model of a Victorian charger waving his sabre (Fig.32), visualising the spirit and character of a regiment, described in the audio introduction, as rooted in the ‘courage, dash and discipline’ of its cavalry ancestors. Fantasies of one-to-one combat and of war as palpable adventure contrast with many published memoirs by Light Brigade veterans, which describe instead reciprocal injury and in some cases their fear. Albert Mitchell unhesitatingly describes being bespattered with the blood and brains of a fellow charger struck by a shell.<sup>178</sup> Loy-Smith’s description of his retreat up the valley as a ‘frightful ordeal’, witnessing comrades being lanced eighty yards behind him, is similarly unequivocal.<sup>179</sup> Whilst some memoirs are conscious of personal legacy, such as Loy-Smith’s claim to being the last man to return up the valley, they more often than not illustrate the frightening predicament of the vanquished troop struggling back. These narratives express keenly a sense of loss and frankly illustrate war’s assault on the senses in contrast to the narratives of Henty, Caton-Woodville and Forbes, which present war as a stimulant and offer lucid visions of masculine drive and stamina.

<sup>175</sup> *Battles of the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Archibald Forbes, George Henty and Arthur Griffiths 4 vols, (Casell and Co. London, 1899), III, 113-15.

<sup>176</sup> *Battles of the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Forbes, Henty and Griffiths, III, 113-15.

<sup>177</sup> Paul Volsik, ‘The Charge of the Light Brigade’, in *Circulation and Transfer of Key Scenes in Nineteenth-Century Literature*, ed. by Sara Thornton (Paris: Universite Paris Diderot Press, 2010), pp.149-50.

<sup>178</sup> Mitchell, p.84.

<sup>179</sup> Sergeant George Loy-Smith, *The Historical Records of the Eleventh Hussars* (London: George Newnes Ltd, 1908), pp.222-23.

The Charge's celebrated virtues of obedience, duty and selfless devotion to country underpinned boys' manuals in the early twentieth-century. Robert Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys* (1908) defined courage in terms of unhesitating action when confronted with danger and obedience was similarly dealt with as an unwavering response to orders, 'even if he gets an order he does not like'.<sup>180</sup> Courage and obedience were thus expressed as twin concepts, a pairing that was reinforced in Baden-Powell's later scouts manual, *Young Knights of the Empire*, which emphasised honour, loyalty and the importance of 'playing the game' i.e. obeying a captain's orders in the 'great game of war'.<sup>181</sup> Baden-Powell had proudly served in regiments of the Light and Heavy cavalry, and the actions of the Light Brigade and Heavy Brigade at Balaclava are described early-on in *Knights* as historic exemplars of loyalty to leaders. However, it is the Charge which inspired the Scouts motto 'Balaclava' to remind Scouts that they were to carry out even boring and dangerous orders 'cheerily and well'.<sup>182</sup> Baden-Powell cultivated boys to act first and ask questions later and outward prowess and appearance was prioritised over the legitimacy of action, which has perhaps contributed to 'stiff upper-lip' stereotypes of manhood.

The power of this ideological stance and its pervasiveness in the other projections of masculine identity explored proved problematic for those unwilling to adopt military codes of conduct, the conscripts branded as 'conscientious objectors' during the First World War. It is easy to see why there was a backlash against Tennyson at this time, as A.C Bradley's published lecture of 1917, *The Reaction Against Tennyson*, reveals.<sup>183</sup> The familiarity of Tennyson's poem to generations of school children prompted both cautious nostalgia and outright cynicism in the period following the First World War.<sup>184</sup> Its scale of devastation prompted a focus on the anti-heroic, with people questioning

<sup>180</sup> Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys* (London: Horace-Cox, 1908), p.50

<sup>181</sup> Robert Baden-Powell, *Young Knights of the Empire: Their Code and Further Scout Yarns* (London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd, 1917), p.32.

<sup>182</sup> Baden-Powell, *Knights*, p.6.

<sup>183</sup> Bradley attempted to rally opinion against criticism based upon time-specific, ideological fashions. Laurence Mazzeno, *Alfred Tennyson: The Critical Legacy* (London: Camden House, 2004), p.57.

<sup>184</sup> In 1910, 'The Charge of the Light Brigade' appeared on elementary reading schemes on both sides of the Atlantic. Catherine Robson, *Heartbeats: Everyday Life and the Memorized Poem* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp.34-37. George Orwell mentions CLB in his essay 'Charles Dickens' (1940), as a poem that 'nearly everyone feels a sneaking affection for' as a result of learning it by heart as a child. He also refers to it as a 'good bad poem' in his essay 'Rudyard Kipling' (1942). For more subversive treatments, see Tate's analysis of Virginia Woolf (p.160) and Ewert Mackintosh's parody *The Charge of the Light Brigade: Brought up to Date* (1918), discussed briefly in Randall Stevenson, *Literature and the Great War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p.163.



more readily the presentation of any virtue in war. The comic, Whig history *1066 and All That* presented the Light Brigade's actions as ridiculous, the men armed with 'Cardigans', a reference to Cardigan and the woollen jackets he popularised, solely to prove that 'someone had thundered the wrong order'.<sup>185</sup> The blunder that had been suppressed in late-Victorian popular culture gained fresh momentum in the twentieth century. Censure has fallen heavily on the figure of Cardigan as the apogee of myopic command, demonstrating the lasting significance of radical Victorian assessments. In her popular account of the Charge, which focuses on the faults of Raglan, Lucan and Cardigan, Woodham-Smith was particularly caustic in her portrayal of Cardigan, describing him as 'unusually stupid' and reducing his outlook to that of an infant: 'Like a child playing in the corner of a nursery with his toys, he was wholly absorbed in himself, the rest of the world was an irrelevance'.<sup>186</sup> Cardigan's military career forms much of the backdrop to Tony Richardson's 1968 film, *The Charge of the Light Brigade*, illustrating the stark class divisions within the Victorian army, its suppression of talent and its maltreatment of the rank and file. Richardson owes a debt to Woodham-Smith's account, but the press material for the film projects its departure from previously 'glorified' accounts of the Charge, emphasising that the Charge emanated from an ambiguous order and occurred 'to save face, not lives'.<sup>187</sup> Following a tense re-enactment of the Charge, the film's final motif is of the commanders inappropriately bickering amongst themselves, exposing their pettiness.

Although recent revisionist literature has attempted to re-write Woodham-Smith's and Richardson's portrayal of the Brigade as victims, by imbuing them with physical and intellectual agency, the strategic failure of the affair is of continued relevance.<sup>188</sup> A star exhibit at NAM is a small piece of paper containing one of the original orders issued in the lead-up to the debacle, demonstrating a fatal lack of specificity. Such objects have supported lively public engagement activities in relation to the Charge, such as the mock-trial hosted in connection with the Museum's special exhibition on the Crimean War in 2004. Members of the public were invited to decide which of the senior

<sup>185</sup> Walter Sellar and Robert Yeatman, *1066 and All That* (London: Methuen and Co., 1930), p.100.

<sup>186</sup> Woodham-Smith, *The Reason Why*, pp.7-35.

<sup>187</sup> NAM: 2007-02-10, Press pack

<sup>188</sup> Small's unreliable analysis suggests that the men were 'hungry for a fight' and that their own objective was to tackle the Russian cavalry, not the guns. Hugh Small, *The Crimean War: Queen Victoria's War with the Russian Tsars* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing, 2007), pp.82-90.

commanders was to blame for the military error based upon evidence put before them. The unresolved questions surrounding the Charge and an ongoing public mistrust of those invested with power and authority, bankers, politicians and bureaucrats, means that it will continue to invoke horror, wonder and speculation.

## Conclusion

The predominance of the actions of the Light Brigade in the popular imagination is as a result of targeted revival in the public arena over the latter half of the nineteenth century. The event and its actors came to represent a edifying piece of mid-Victorian drama, which emphasised to a greater or lesser extent the ineffectiveness of the Brigade's commanders and more consistently, the forbearance of the Light Brigade as a unit. The Charge has served different models of masculinity: individual and collective, aggressive and compassionate, physical and character-driven. It has provided a persistent motif for imaginary ideals of masculinity, from Tennyson's tribute to the Brigade's resoluteness and public commemoration of Cardigan's dashing lead, through to the triumphalist atmosphere of the Balaklava Banquet, the bracing allusions provided in boys' literature and Caton-Woodville's imperious vision at the guns. However, accounts promoting invulnerability have been challenged by Crealock's morbid sketch of the remains of a soldier, soldiers' memoirs and most powerfully by Thompson's painting, which exhibits the soldier's distress offset against male kinship. The Charge has also been rehabilitated in accordance with a number of political and social agendas, notably, questions of purchase, the prospects of veterans and the pressures of Empire.

The worthiness of the Charge as a subject for Tennyson's most famous poem is rooted in its initial reception as an extraordinary event. Although immediate recrimination took place in military circles for the conduct of the Charge, public responses in wartime were softened by its spectacle. Commemorative-ware celebrated individual valour, after initial reports complimented Cardigan's disciplined presence out in front of the Brigade. However, Cardigan's role was deceptive and the public profile he cultivated led to his fall from grace. George Ryan, having lionised Cardigan in *Our Heroes of the Crimea*, executed an extraordinary volte-face as a result of intelligence that Cardigan's leadership had failed him at the guns and he had effectively abandoned his men. Despite Cardigan's efforts to control representations of the Charge and craft his own role in it, Ryan's verdict influenced others and led to a lasting unease with his dandified public presence. The failure to find a suitable hero for the execution of the Charge arguably fuelled and sustained favourable responses to Tennyson's poem. Displaying undoubted artistic license, the final version moved away from historicism to a more universal formula invoking a removed and incompetent command but foregrounding the actions, bravery and selflessness of a classless flower of men. The poem expresses the

speaker's view of soldierly purpose in 'Maud' and both poems advance chivalrous values against a common perception of civil society's hollow mores. The poem's adaptability to late-Victorian eulogy of veterans sealed its status.

The last quarter of the Victorian period saw crucial developments in the afterlife of the Charge, consolidating the renown of the event and its survivors. The Charge was assimilated aesthetically and politically by a second generation, both as a component of national memory and as a realisation of a more democratic vision of war following the abolition of purchase, which championed ordinary veterans. *Balaclava* corresponds to more nuanced interpretations of Tennyson's verse, a visual monument to both the pity and virtue of war: in revealing the body in pain, Thompson also captures a powerful humanitarian impulse amongst soldiers. Whilst a case can be made for the empowerment of the regular soldier in *Balaclava*, coverage of the Balaklava Banquet, the establishment of the Balaclava Commemoration Society and in Tennyson's verse, these cultural representations were heavily mediated. They presented an edifying view of the Light Brigade, working against a problematic social and economic backdrop in which the Victorian soldier at home might be subject to hostility and state indifference. Charitable support for Light Brigade veterans helped to offset these challenges in the national consciousness, though even the Light Brigade Relief Fund was discriminate in its application. An exclusive focus on the Charge and its survivors is due in part to the unresolved, air of mystery surrounding the affair, which led to public responses driven by the need to salvage meaning from it. In the late nineteenth-century, the effect of this was increasingly to displace the Charge's futility and failure onto the admirable bearers of the blunder, which contributed to the reaction against Victorian responses to war following the First World War.

The next chapter considers how images of the British soldier served as royal propaganda. Like many Charge representations, royal publicity channelled the charged emotions of defeat and disillusionment with military strategy into positive appreciation of the regular soldier. Royal images of the soldier as hero and as wounded victim worked in equal measure to address anxiety about the management of the War and to place a feeling Crown at the heart of public interest in the soldier, thus legitimising its contested powers over the Army.

## Chapter 3

### All the Queen's Men? Royal Prerogative and the Power of Sentiment

This chapter explores royal efforts to project a special relationship with the Army and protect its military prerogative, as well as public responses to royal gestures of kinship and the extent to which these responses endorsed royal power. Many texts dealing with public responses to the monarchy and its political power have neglected the Crimean War.<sup>1</sup> Yet, the War occurred during a formative period of what John Plunkett terms the monarchy's 'civic publicness'; in other words, the press-mediated display of public duty to assert its popular constitution.<sup>2</sup> Plunkett's survey of the public profile of the monarchy during the War is valuable in delving beyond the Queen's personal affection for the Army, which is well evidenced in her journal and noted by biographers and historians.<sup>3</sup> The journal shows that royal interest in the War is strong from its outset, but it was during and after the winter troubles of 1854-55 that the Queen's political and emotional investment in the Army was asserted through public channels.

Kinglake attributed the administrative difficulties during the winter troubles to the 'monarchical surface of her [England's] polity'.<sup>4</sup> At this time, the Army was controlled by the Crown and Parliament, each levying influence through the Commander-in-Chief and the Secretary of State at War respectively.<sup>5</sup> The Commander-in-Chief's office, based at Horse Guards, was responsible for appointments, reward, training and discipline. During war, communication between government and Horse Guards was

<sup>1</sup> Frank Hardie, *The Political Influence of Queen Victoria 1861-1901* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1935); Margaret Homans, *Royal Representations: Queen Victoria and British Culture, 1837-1876* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998). An exception is Gavin Henderson's analysis of the moderating influence of the Crown during the War, but he focuses largely on foreign diplomacy and not the Crown's relationship with the Army. See 'The Influence of the Crown 1854-1856', *Juridical Review*, 48 (1936), pp.297-327. Richard Williams discusses the political influence of Prince Albert in the early stages of the war, but his discussion of reverent feeling towards the Queen 1840-1861 concentrates on domestic events, such as the wedding of the Princess Royal in 1858 and the death of Prince Albert. See *The Contentious Crown: Public Discussion of the British Monarchy in the Reign of Queen Victoria* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), pp.190-229.

<sup>2</sup> John Plunkett, *First Media Monarch* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p.14.

<sup>3</sup> Helen Rappaport, *No Place for Ladies: The Untold Story of Women in the Crimean War* (London: Aurum Press, 2007); Christopher Hibbert, *Queen Victoria: A Personal History* (London: HarperCollins, 2000)

<sup>4</sup> Kinglake, VI (1880), 15.

<sup>5</sup> Kinglake, VI, 15-30; Hew Strachan, *The Politics of the British Army* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p.55.

often inadequate, since Horse Guards viewed itself as solely accountable to the Crown.<sup>6</sup> The impractical system dated back to the late eighteenth-century and was upheld in principle by the Duke of Wellington, who viewed the Commander-in-Chief as an apolitical figure and sought to limit Parliamentary interference in Army affairs.<sup>7</sup> The War strengthened the Queen and Prince Albert's resolve to maintain this tradition. In 1855, the Queen wrote to Lord Raglan that control over the Army was one of her 'dearest prerogatives'.<sup>8</sup> The disruption and changes brought about by the winter troubles caused royal anxiety about the continuance of its Army privileges.

Much of the visual material explored in this chapter, mainly covering the period 1855-1860, reveals the extent to which depictions of the royal family supported the ideological commitments of the burgeoning, illustrated press. Royal patronage for prints and paintings was bestowed on artists with strong associations with the press, whilst photographs and other royal commissions were copied as press illustrations. The biographer, Elizabeth Longford, has argued that Queen Victoria was influenced by popular opinion, a view which needs cautious consideration during the Crimean War.<sup>9</sup> Certainly, it would appear that the Queen modified her wary stance on the War as public opinion strengthened in favour of it and later, as will be demonstrated, the monarchy responded to widespread concern for the Army's welfare. Yet, projections of the Queen as a vessel for public feeling should be considered carefully in relation to the Army, an institution in which the monarchy was able to levy influence within the constitutional framework. Victoria and Albert were wary of the press' influence on the War, but public investment in Victoria's figure helped to enforce royal prerogative in Army matters.<sup>10</sup> Whilst Prince Albert's considerable efforts behind the scenes will be alluded to, visual depictions of the monarchy largely focused on Victoria and younger members of the royal family to accentuate a caring and maternal presence.<sup>11</sup> Using the terms of Benedict Anderson's work on nationhood, Plunkett argues that 'the weight of

<sup>6</sup> Strachan, p.55.

<sup>7</sup> Strachan undermines the ideal of the Army as apolitical. Many officers served in government and Wellington himself was Prime Minister whilst holding down the office of Commander-in-Chief. Strachan, pp.57-61.

<sup>8</sup> NAM: 1968-07-280, Letter from the Queen to Lord Raglan, 9 April 1855

<sup>9</sup> Elizabeth Longford, *Victoria* (London: Abacus, 2000), p.260.

<sup>10</sup> Prince Albert did not approve of the press' censorious conduct, 'bent upon punishing all and sundry.' Theodore Martin, *The Life of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1882), Part III, p.36.

<sup>11</sup> Martin credits Prince Albert with a great deal of influence upon Army administration. See Martin, Part III, p.31. Prince Albert wrote over 50 volumes of memoranda during the Crimean War. Carolly Erickson, *Her Little Majesty: The Life of Queen Victoria* (London: Robson Books, 1997), p.136.

reverent royal attention forcibly located Victoria at the heart of an imagined and imaginary community'.<sup>12</sup> This chapter supports this statement, arguing that wartime depictions more often than not emphasised the monarchy as a force for good, embodying national concerns and sensitivities. Anderson's notion of an 'imagined community' extends to the wartime creation of a special relationship between the Queen and a unified People, based upon shared feeling and sentiment towards the Army.

It will be demonstrated how the prominence and public idolisation of another woman, Florence Nightingale, caused unease in royal circles and fed a targeted campaign to demonstrate Queen Victoria's womanly sympathy. In print, paintings and written communication, the recipient of the Queen's attentions was invariably the humble 'invalid', the convalescent soldier physically scarred by war. The politicised figure of the wounded soldier, maimed yet elevated in the public imagination, channelled affective response. In assessing visual representations of female care and in particular a media campaign to present Queen Victoria as 'in touch' with her subjects, this chapter demonstrates that tactility and sentiment had an important role to play during the Crimean War.<sup>13</sup> Royal ceremony explored here builds upon older, royal traditions of employing touch or touch once removed to signal healing, namely the 'laying-on of hands' to cure scrofula and the issuing of special, consecrated rings known as 'cramp rings' to heal muscular pains and epilepsy.<sup>14</sup> Constance Classen writes 'the history of touch [...] is often an inferred history' due to historical oversight of corporal practices and feeling.<sup>15</sup> Yet, this chapter reveals that touch was a celebrated means of expressing royal sympathy with suffering bodies. Heather Tilley highlights that touch was central to discourses on the relationship between the mind and body, and between 'selves and others' in the nineteenth-century.<sup>16</sup> Particularly apt is Tilley's contention that regimes of touch embodied social attitudes: 'Who touched whom, and how, counted in

<sup>12</sup> Plunkett, p.7. Anderson defines nationhood as an imagined communion of people, conveyed and reinforced through cultural artefacts. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (London: Verso, 2006), p.6.

<sup>13</sup> Scholars promoting 'sense-based' analysis contest a Western discourse characterizing sentimentality and tactility as respectively irrational and base. See *Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Cultural Reader*, ed. by David Howes (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2005), pp.4-7.

<sup>14</sup> Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France* (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1973), p.3.

<sup>15</sup> Constance Classen, *The Deepest Sense: A Cultural History of Touch* (Urbana, Springfield and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2012), p.xii.

<sup>16</sup> Heather Tilley, 'Introduction: The Victorian Tactile Imagination', *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 19 (2014) <<http://www.19.bbk.ac.uk/articles/10.16995/ntn.723/>> [accessed 3 September 2015] (para. 20 of 20)

nineteenth-century society'.<sup>17</sup> By looking at key moments during and following the War, beginning with the Queen's leaked letter regarding the wounded, it will be shown how many responses focused upon the presentation of a feeling monarch cutting across political interests and class.

### **Royal Interventions from the Fireside**

As initiatives to improve the care and conditions of soldiers serving in the Crimea gained momentum towards the close of 1854, there was a conscious attempt to position the suffering soldier as a principal subject of public interest. A major precipitator of these initiatives was *The Times*' 'Sick and Wounded Fund' established in October 1854, which encouraged the public to take an active role in providing for the welfare of injured soldiers to compensate for government deficiencies. An emotive plea for £5,000 of comforts for wounded soldiers foregrounded the soldier's claims to the civilian reader, the latter characterised as sitting by the fireside and 'indulging in all the sentiment of the affair' but showing little action.<sup>18</sup> *The Times* leader sought to revise views of soldiers and sailors as 'savage, murderous, ravaging and destroying creatures' by emphasising reciprocal pain and injury and extending public influence to the work of hospitals.<sup>19</sup> Within a few weeks the Fund had reached the impressive figure of £11,957.<sup>20</sup> In an article reporting on the discernible benefits of the 'Sick and Wounded Fund', the correspondent wrote of the special claims of those 'whose wounds and sufferings constitute them as chief actors in the bloody drama' of war.<sup>21</sup> This demonstrates the extent to which mid-Victorians realised the centrality of the body to war, what recent scholarship has characterised as 'politics incarnate, politics written on and experienced through the thinking and feeling bodies of men and women'.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, whilst the soldier's weakened state may have exposed the realities of war to a distant public, sitting by its fireside, it also served as a powerful trope for the positive and active intervention of civilians on matters beyond their direct control.

<sup>17</sup> Tilley, (para. 1 of 1)

<sup>18</sup> Leader, *The Times*, 12 October 1854, p.6.

<sup>19</sup> Leader, *The Times*, 12 October 1854, p.6.

<sup>20</sup> 'Soldiers' Sick and Wounded Fund', *The Times*, 26 October 1854; 'Soldiers' Sick and Wounded Fund', 9 November 1854, p.6.

<sup>21</sup> 'The Sick and Wounded Fund', *The Times*, 23 November 1854, p.7.

<sup>22</sup> Kevin McSorley and Sarah Maltby, 'War and the Body: Cultural and Military Practices', *Journal of War and Cultural Studies*, 5 (2012), p.3.



The Queen was alive to the dominance of the broken, suffering soldier in the press, whose condition was compromised by an ineffective administration as much as it was by the natural consequences of a 'bloody drama' with the foe. In order to distance itself from accusations levied against leading aristocratic figures of the War, such as Lord Raglan and the Secretary of State for War, the Duke of Newcastle, the monarchy recognised a need to harness a restorative, public profile. It therefore took a leading role in growing media agitation surrounding the Army's welfare. The establishment of the Royal Patriotic Fund (RPF) for military orphans and widows, on the 13<sup>th</sup> October 1854, coincided with that of the 'Sick and Wounded Fund', the timing arguably restricting the RPF's momentum by diverting focus to the pressing wants of the soldier himself. Over subsequent weeks, the Queen concentrated her personal efforts on convalescent soldiers abroad, staking a royal claim in the soldier's welfare during the mounting political crisis, which reached an apogee in January 1855. The Queen's authority and sympathy had to work as a distant force, as she was unable to assist the troops at the seat of war, a source of personal frustration. On the 8 December 1854, the Queen wrote of her envy of Florence Nightingale and her good work amongst the 'noble brave heroes'.<sup>23</sup> The Queen had been reading copied extracts of Nightingale's letters, which she found 'most touching'.<sup>24</sup> The role of the monarchy was put under pressure by Nightingale's symbolic success as the government's restorer, especially in view of the gendered appraisal of Nightingale's work as a 'ministering angel' and her perceived authority in representing the Protestant faith. *The Times* correspondent marked the lively interest attending Nightingale's undertaking as proof of 'Protestant England's' high benevolence, capable of matching the reputation of Catholic Sisters of Mercy.<sup>25</sup> The unprecedented mission of nurses to the seat of war on the 23 November 1854 did not elicit universal encouragement but it was one which attracted much interest as an 'experiment' and was repeatedly reported as successful.<sup>26</sup> Nightingale attracted powerful supporters, who were able to vouch for her effectiveness. Not least amongst her advocates was *The Times*, whose 'Sick and Wounded Fund' had supported the nursing mission to Scutari and was therefore keen to report upon its success and

<sup>23</sup> Royal Archives (RA) VIC/MAIN/QVJ/1854: 8 December. All archival material quoted to the permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

<sup>24</sup> RA QVJ, 8 December 1854

<sup>25</sup> 'The Sick and Wounded Fund', *The Times*, 23 November 1854, p.7.

<sup>26</sup> An anonymous letter from a nurse was published in *The Times*, 8 December 1854, reporting upon Nightingale's suitability for the role and the skill of her fellow nurses.

immediate benefits.<sup>27</sup> There was a danger that the Queen's status as figurehead and chief advocate of the Army would be supplanted in soldiers' eyes by those attending to their immediate needs.

Royal anxiety about its wartime contribution is seen in efforts to distribute gifts to soldiers and publicise their source. In December, the Queen arranged for books, newspapers, periodicals, air cushions and woollen blankets to be sent out to Scutari Hospital.<sup>28</sup> On 2 December 1854, the Keeper of the Privy Purse, Colonel Phipps, reported that he had written to the Chief of the Medical Department 'begging that the patients may know that these papers and books [...] come direct from Your Majesty; which [...] will more than double their value in the eyes of the wounded & sick [...]'<sup>29</sup> Over 224 pounds of Windsor soap was sent out and 144 bottles of aromatic vinegar.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, towards the end of the War, Phipps approved two libraries of books to be sent out to the Crimea, with the proviso that it was made clear that the books were a gift from the Queen and inscribed with her name.<sup>31</sup> Although it is doubtful whether all of these supplies were fundamental to the care of the troops, knowledge of the Queen's own personal contribution demonstrated her generosity and the luxurious nature of the gifts conveyed to the soldier that he was deserving of the best of comforts.

Phipps was a courtier and advisor to the Queen and Prince Albert, co-ordinating numerous gifts and enquiries into the condition of troops over the course of the War. He had served in the Scots Fusilier Guards in peace time, retiring as a Colonel 'unattached' in 1851.<sup>32</sup> He was an important arbiter of royal interests, and was protective of the Queen's prerogative in Army affairs. Whilst he respected Nightingale's personal qualities, he was dubious of the nursing mission and the 'Sick and Wounded Fund' as suitable remedies for supply failure:

There must be something judicially wrong in a service in which no order, arrangement, or comfort is attained except under the fortuitous instruction of a

<sup>27</sup> 'The Sick and Wounded Fund', *The Times*, 30 November 1854, p.8.

<sup>28</sup> RA, PPTO/PP/QV/PP2/8/5011, 5016, 5017, 5111, statement of accounts. The newspapers sent for December represented the most widely dailies read for England, Scotland and Ireland – *The Times*, *The Dublin Evening Mail* and *The Edinburgh Scotsman*. Of the weeklies, *Punch* and the *Illustrated London News* were deemed the most popular.

<sup>29</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/F/1/67, Letter from Colonel Phipps to Queen, 2 December 1854

<sup>30</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/F/1/77, List of articles sent out to Scutari, 12 December 1854

<sup>31</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/F/4/29, Letter from Colonel Phipps to Queen, 23 December 1855

<sup>32</sup> K. D Reynolds, 'Phipps, Sir Charles Beaumont', in *Dictionary of National Biography* <[www.oxforddnb.com](http://www.oxforddnb.com)> [accessed 2 January 2014]

volunteer Lady – and when it is found best to procure what is wanted from “The Times” correspondent, because the official dispensers of the supplies sent are found rather to be a hindrance [...]<sup>33</sup>

Phipps’ view of Nightingale as an honourable but unprofessional ‘volunteer Lady’ acts as an unflattering benchmark for the extent of deficiency, demonstrating his wariness of outside intervention in Army administration. His letter goes on to outline a need for internal accountability. Two days after receiving Phipps’ letter, the Queen lobbied Newcastle to address dire reports about the condition of the troops, whereupon Newcastle reassured her that his commission into the state of the Medical Department was due to report its findings.<sup>34</sup> Despite Newcastle’s attempts to reform from within, favourable reports of Nightingale’s mission created a need to display outward royal duty and feeling as an antidote to personal suffering.

A striking example of royalist intervention followed the first distribution of royal gifts, articulating the dedication of the monarch from afar. The Queen wrote an anxious letter requesting information about the wounded at Scutari Hospital and expressed her concern for the men. The letter was leaked to the press, first appearing in the conservative daily, the *Morning Post*, on 4 January 1855. Whilst recognising misconduct during the war, the *Morning Post* objected to *The Times*’ practice of only publishing letters from soldiers expressing pessimistic views. The Queen’s letter complemented its own agenda of selecting letters from contented soldiers for its columns.<sup>35</sup> The ‘autograph letter’, as it was styled, emphasising the personal stamp of the Queen, repeatedly asserted the over-riding right of the monarch to feel for the troops: ‘*no one* takes a warmer interest or feels *more* for their sufferings, or admires their courage or heroism *more* than their Queen’.<sup>36</sup> Whilst there is no explicit frustration vented towards Nightingale’s unique position, the Queen’s recurrent declaration that the state of the wounded interests ‘*me* more than anyone’ seems a pointed reminder of a superior claim. The letter was wrongly attributed as being addressed to Sidney Herbert in the newspaper. A copy of the original letter in the Royal Archives reveals that it was sent to the Queen’s governess, Miss Hildyard, who was

<sup>33</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/F/1/81, Letter from Phipps to Queen, 20 December 1854

<sup>34</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/B/13/219, Letter from the Duke of Newcastle to the Queen, 22 December 1854

<sup>35</sup> ‘Facts from the Crimea’, *Morning Post*, 6 January 1855, p.2.

<sup>36</sup> ‘Autograph Letter of the Queen’, *Morning Post*, 4 January 1855, p.4. Emphasis original. Interestingly, *The Times* re-printed the letter but did not pass comment on it, perhaps recognizing the tension between its own attack on aristocratic influence in the Army and Crown prerogative.

asked to forward it on to Mrs Herbert. Crucially, the Queen added at the end of the original version: ‘You can copy these words & beg Mrs Herbert to communicate them [...]’<sup>37</sup> The printed version condensed this request, omitting ‘you can copy these words’. Although the Queen records in her journal that she was startled by the appearance of the letter in the press, she sanctioned direct, written dissemination at a time of national discord. The timing of the letter was significant, as Mrs Herbert explained to Miss Hildyard: ‘Sidney says that the very fact of the letter being evidently to a Private and non-official will do such immense good. Especially in the Crimea where the “Times” has been doing its best to make the poor fellows believe they are uncared for’.<sup>38</sup> The Herberts denied leaking the royal letter and it is not known who disclosed it. The *Morning Post* stated that it received a copy of the letter from a special correspondent in the Crimea. The letter’s publication prompted patriotic reports describing its reception at the front and these reports provided a media thread promoting the Queen’s positive intervention.

Relevant accounts from hospital workers were recorded by the Queen, which were retained by the royal family as lasting testimonials of the letter’s impact. Mr Bracebridge, Nightingale’s guardian, reported as follows:

The Queen’s letter has been copied in large numbers, and has been stuck up in every ward [...] It has been received with the greatest enthusiasm – many beg for a copy to keep as their greatest treasure – some say “we will learn it by heart” some, “how very feeling it is”.<sup>39</sup>

A copied letter from the Reverend J. Sabin confirmed wide circulation at Scutari. He added a note of religious zeal: ‘One of the clergy (Mr Hadow) went into most of the wards and read the letter; ending with the prayer “God Save the Queen”, to which the response was almost startling, so hearty and vigorous from the lungs of sick and dying men came the sincere Amen’.<sup>40</sup> Sabin sent the letter to the Chaplain of the Armed Forces, the Reverend George Gleig, and so it is possible the Queen had access to the original version. However, it could well have been copied from *The Morning Chronicle*, which printed Sabin’s letter on 16 January 1855, revealing the fluidity

<sup>37</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/F/1/102, Copy of letter from Queen to Miss Hildyard, 6 December 1854

<sup>38</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/F/1/104, Letter from Mrs Herbert to Miss Hildyard, January 1855

<sup>39</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/F/1/80, Extract from a letter from Mr Bracebridge

<sup>40</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/F/1/88, Copy of letter from Rev J. Sabin to Rev G. Gleig, 27 December 1854

between public and private forms of comment.<sup>41</sup> Nurse Stanley noted the patriotic exclamation of one soldier: “I only wish I could go and fight for her again. We’d all fight whilst we’ve a drop of blood left – to think of her thinking of us”.<sup>42</sup> She described patients reading the letter to those unable to read, as shown in the Marchioness of Waterford’s watercolour, *Reading the Queen’s Letter*. A lithograph version was purchased by the Queen, revealing her investment in the letter’s cultural status (Fig.33).

The scene, like the copied reports, acts as propaganda, presenting suffering that is responsive to the distant and imaginary figure of the Queen. All the figures in the watercolour are subjugated and attentive to the focus of the picture, the illuminated letter, including the crouching figure of Nightingale straining to listen on the lower right. The painting presents the Queen, through her letter, as a source of light and hope, casting Nightingale’s figure on the periphery. There is a quasi-religious aspect to the scene, a patient reaching for the china cup held by Nightingale in a manner reminiscent of receiving communion, his hands also resembling prayer. The enlightened recipient of the Queen’s message, cast in a warm glow and wearing a pure white tunic, bears a Christ-like appearance.<sup>43</sup> These accounts of the letter’s impact stem from official sources and reveal a remarkably consistent narrative of receptiveness, fervent patriotism and faith. What is lacking, as with curative accounts of Tennyson’s poem, are first-hand accounts from soldiers substantiating the letter’s reception.

The publicity surrounding the letter generated favourable publicity for the monarchy as an institution. The *Morning Post* extolled the letter as the most gratifying document yet of the War, viewing it both as a fillip to the War effort and a turning point in constitutional politics.<sup>44</sup> It praised Victoria for breaking down the barrier created by government relations, separating royal feeling from the populace: ‘[...] the present is the first instance of a direct communication having been opened between the individual who occupies the Throne and the nation at large – the first assurance of a community of

<sup>41</sup> ‘The Hospitals at Scutari’, *Morning Chronicle*, 16 January 1855, p.3.

<sup>42</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/F/1/90, Extract from a letter by Miss Stanley, 30 December 1854. The recipient is unknown.

<sup>43</sup> Waterford’s setting and focus of the bed-bound soldier bears a striking resemblance to the print after A. Laby, *The Wounded Soldier’s Dream* (Royal Collection), which represents the royal family’s distribution of the Crimean Medal as the distant and dreamed of soldiers’ homecoming. Laby’s print is dated 27 June 1855, a month after the Crimean Medal ceremony on 18 May 1855.

<sup>44</sup> ‘Autograph Letter of the Queen’, *Morning Post*, 4 January 1855, p.4.

feeling in the Sovereign and the People'.<sup>45</sup> Similarly, the *Morning Chronicle* dwelled on a constitutional shift in an opening editorial, which viewed the letter as a throw-back to a time 'when Kings and Queens were not ashamed to have hearts [...] and welcome evidence of the Queen's "secret feelings"'.<sup>46</sup> A community of feeling between a personal monarch and the 'People' emphasised both national unity and royal legitimacy. Yet, what was really at stake was the Queen's special relationship with the Army, a relationship seen by some as a vestige of unconstitutional power due to the Crown's control over aspects of Army administration. Lord Grey was a vocal critic of Crown influence, which he viewed as a threat to civil liberty. He frequently called for the transfer of Army control to a civilian board under the House of Commons, a proposal which was successfully rebuffed by Prince Albert.<sup>47</sup> Two different poems were printed under the title 'The Queen's Letter', one expressing the soldier's renewed fighting spirit whilst the other, kept for posterity in the royal collection, re-asserts a special, royal-military relationship. Speaking from the Queen's perspective in first person throughout, this poem's final lines read: 'Tho' all England holds them dear, Tis their Queen who loves them best'.<sup>48</sup> These responses to the letter position the Queen as the soldier's foremost well-wisher, supported in this endeavour by a loyal and unified 'People'. Propaganda like this upheld royal prerogative, but also presented it as complementary to the British constitution.

The Queen's letter worked to close the social gap between monarch and regular soldier, but not all critics were seduced by its power. *Reynolds's Newspaper*, a republican weekly, had no patience for what it termed 'The Queen's Epistle'. Chastising the letter's enthusiasts, it stated: 'None but the veriest greenhorn can doubt that it was meant for publication, and few but thorough-paced simpletons will believe in its sincerity'.<sup>49</sup> On the same page as this indictment is a gloomy appraisal of the War's progress and the conflict's senior officers, including the Queen's cousin, the Duke of Cambridge. Cambridge had obtained a certificate of sick leave during the winter, along with a number of other officers and the paper seized the opportunity to brand him a shirker and call for his dismissal. The Queen had recognised privately that the Duke's

<sup>45</sup> 'The Queen's Autograph Letter', *Morning Post*, 5 January 1855, p.4.

<sup>46</sup> Leader, *Morning Chronicle*, 5 January 1855, p.4.

<sup>47</sup> John Sweetman, *War and Administration* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1984), p.84.

<sup>48</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/F/1/101. Also appeared in *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 20 January 1855, p.6.

<sup>49</sup> 'The Queen's Epistle — Hypocrisy and Humbug Exposed', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 7 January 1855, n.p.

retreat would have ‘the worst effect’ and so royal intervention, in addition to asserting royal prerogative, could be seen to compensate for absent leadership.<sup>50</sup> The fragile position of leading figures of the War has already been demonstrated in Chapters 1 and 2 with the diminished reputations of Lord Raglan and Lord Cardigan. The Queen’s journal for January reveals royal sympathy for the Duke of Newcastle, who was forced to stand down as a member of Lord Aberdeen’s condemned cabinet, whilst the appointment of Lord Palmerston as Prime Minister was not at first favoured by the Queen due to historical differences.<sup>51</sup> The winter troubles called for remedial action and the leaked letter, whether intended for press publication or not, constituted a first attempt to exercise royal control and harness unity in an unstable climate. *Reynolds*’ challenge that the Queen should convert her ‘twaddle’ into action was met with partial success.

### **Facing her Subjects: The Politics of Wounding**

In February 1855, the new war secretary, Lord Panmure, wrote to the Queen about the ‘mischievous’ articles in *The Times* contrasting the condition of the officers and men in the Army: ‘With such articles as these, it is not surprising to see recruiting fall off, and zeal & even loyalty itself paralyzed’.<sup>52</sup> The health of British soldiers continued to be a pressing issue for the new administration, which put in motion a Sanitary Commission in February 1855.<sup>53</sup> On 3 February 1855, the *ILN* published a moving illustration of a wounded private of the 23<sup>rd</sup> Regiment (Fig.34). The amputee is presented in ordered surroundings at Hasler Hospital in Portsmouth, but the depiction of his body and the use of the image as an illustration for the leading article on the resignation of Aberdeen’s administration, shows how mutilation was being used to heighten response to political events. The image is described as an ‘afflicting scene of suffering’, this emotive caption emphasising despair, not hope.<sup>54</sup> The soldier’s gaze is averted and in looking down, he assumes an air of melancholy and despondence. The full frontal portrait reveals the impact of his disability, his reliance on the crutches and the visual jolt of one

<sup>50</sup> RA, QVJ, 30 December 1854

<sup>51</sup> RA, QVJ, 28 January 1855. For the chequered relationship with Palmerston, see David Urquhart, *The Queen and the Premier: A Statement of Their Struggle and its Results* (London: D. Bryce, 1857)

<sup>52</sup> *The Panmure Papers*, ed. by Sir George Douglas and Sir George Dalhousie Ramsay, 2 vols (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908), I, 66.

<sup>53</sup> *The Panmure Papers*, ed. by Douglas and Ramsay, I, 66.

<sup>54</sup> ‘Fall of the Aberdeen Administration’, *ILN*, 3 February 1855, p.97.

leg emerging from the over-sized coat. The *ILN* evinces here the personal affliction of war and uses it as a synecdoche for national discord and fracture. Growing interest in the rank and file, together with investigations into their health and public pressure for reform, led to royal initiatives to seek out and be seen with the regular soldier in person.

Over the course of 1855, the Queen performed public and private displays of maternal duty towards the wounded, no doubt encouraged by more favourable responses to the leaked letter and a particular admiration for open and gendered compassion. The Queen's womanly qualities were emphasised over her aristocratic status. The *Morning Chronicle* praised the Queen's feeling for the wounded in particular: 'There is fame for the dead. For the wounded there is Queenly and womanly sympathy'.<sup>55</sup> Even *Punch* proclaimed that the letter was 'all womanhood', with 'nothing of the ermine but its softness and purity'.<sup>56</sup> The ermine is a symbol of nobility and purity, dating back to the Renaissance period, and its fur was commonly used for ceremonial dress. An ermine featured in a portrait of Elizabeth I, now held at Hatfield House, who also attracted mythical status for the 'Gloriana' devotion of her subjects, particularly following the Spanish Armada. In the absence of being able to lead troops out to battle, female monarchs used other powers at their disposal to cement ancient ties between royalty and the Army.<sup>57</sup> In Queen Victoria's case, this involved creating a sense of belonging, a family unit, of which she was the matriarchal head.

Responses to the 'leaked' letter were commensurate with *Punch's* image of the Queen waving goodbye to the Guards as they filed past Buckingham Palace (Fig.35) at the outbreak of war. In this illustration, ceremony is collapsed and the Queen is seen close-up on the balcony surrounded by her children, throwing an old shoe as a gesture of good luck to the departing Guards. This action of release is juxtaposed with a restraining arm around the youngest member of the royal family, Prince Leopold, who is perilously close to the edge of the balcony. The emphasis here is not on the Guards and their expression of loyalty to the monarch but on an accessible Queen whose familial responsibilities coalesce with royal duty towards the Army. The Queen's farewell to 'her Guards' is presented as a natural extension of motherly instinct, so that soldiering is

<sup>55</sup> Leader, *Morning Chronicle*, 5 January 1855, p.4.

<sup>56</sup> 'Royal Letters – Victoria', *Punch*, 20 January 1855, p.21.

<sup>57</sup> Rappaport refers to the 'mystical bond' between the Army and its female monarch and the Queen's own military ties. Rappaport, pp.6-7.



recalibrated as a defence of the home and not the killing of others.<sup>58</sup> Victoria is the archetypal woman anxiously waiting at home in accordance with the popular folk-song of the period 'The Girl I Left Behind Me'. An emphasis on Victoria as lady, wife and mother projected the Crown as an agent of social harmony.<sup>59</sup> Also, as Anderson has observed, the family unit is associated with 'disinterested love and solidarity' and therefore representations of Victoria's domesticity during the Crimean War also perpetuated the monarchy's apolitical standing.<sup>60</sup> In adopting a close view of the family gathering, the illustrator avoids a grand view of 'home', Buckingham Palace. *Punch's* image proved an influential template for royal 'womanly sympathy', which was utilized to great effect in the weeks and months following the leaked letter, in the privileged space of Buckingham Palace and later at military hospitals in Chatham and Portsmouth. The wounded soldier in this period is seen either with the Queen or Nightingale and not the numerous vicars, doctors and surgeons also caring for their needs. Gender was empowering and disempowering, on the one hand allowing demonstrative feeling prohibited in kingly martial representation, but on the other hand championing an exclusive narrative of female care, the vogue for which is explored further in Chapter 4.

The Queen extended her patronage to the artist-illustrators George Housman Thomas, John Gilbert and John Tenniel. Thomas and Gilbert both contributed frequently to the *ILN* and although Tenniel was a chief cartoonist for *Punch* from 1851 onwards, he also worked for the *ILN*.<sup>61</sup> As Plunkett has shown, the *ILN* was pro-monarchy and generally eschewed a political alignment in preference for portraying domestic harmony.<sup>62</sup> In March 1855, the *ILN* printed evidence of the Queen's interactions with wounded soldiers at Buckingham Palace in February 1855, heralding a trend for warming scenes of the Queen's charitable and domestic figure, replete with younger members of the royal family (Fig.36). The Queen's encounters at Buckingham Palace mark an unprecedented act of royal favour towards the sick and wounded Guardsmen, who were amongst the first to return to England.<sup>63</sup> The Queen hosted the Grenadier Guards on the

<sup>58</sup> Mary Favret elucidates on this recasting of war in Romantic texts. See 'Coming Home', p.543.

<sup>59</sup> Williams, pp.195-200.

<sup>60</sup> Anderson, p.144.

<sup>61</sup> L. Perry Curtis jun., 'Tenniel, Sir John (1820–1914)', in *Dictionary of National Biography* <[www.oxforddnb.com](http://www.oxforddnb.com)> [accessed 4 January 2014]; Delia Millar, *The Victorian Watercolours and Drawings in the Collection of her Majesty the Queen*, 2 vols (London: Philip Wilson Ltd, 2001), II, 856.

<sup>62</sup> Plunkett, pp.99-100.

<sup>63</sup> RA, QVJ, 20 February 1855

20<sup>th</sup> February, the Coldstream Guards on the 22<sup>nd</sup> February and the Scots Fusilier Guards on the 23<sup>rd</sup> February. The *ILN* reported that the Queen addressed each man, asking about his wounds, how long he had been ill and whether he felt any pain and that in return they had demonstrated their wounds and holes in their clothing where bullets had passed through.<sup>64</sup> Such accounts highlight the Queen's indiscriminate and avid attention, enhancing the powerful trope that all soldiers were special and intrinsic to the royal family.

The *ILN* illustration features the inspection of the Coldstream Guards, who the Queen had noted looked more 'suffering and sickly' than the Grenadiers in her journal.<sup>65</sup> The beleaguered men, still wearing the clothes they had fought in, present an aspect of vulnerability in the grand surround of the Palace's Marble Hall, which was maximized to varying degrees in other representations.<sup>66</sup> The *ILN* print is noticeable for its flattened perspective of the Hall to accentuate a more intimate, but staged gathering. The viewer feels party to a tableau vivant of carefully arranged figures, the royal gathering balancing out the wounded party. Rather than showing soldiers simply being paraded in front of the monarch, the print conveys interaction and homely belonging. The royal party's attention is focused upon greeting the saluting Guardsman and Prince Alfred gazes up at the Guardsman with youthful interest. Many of the soldiers are seated, not standing to attention, and the casually discarded attire upon the chairs in the foreground augments the scene's domestic and informal qualities. This image conveys a unity and understanding between benign monarch and humble soldier, which transcended class and position.

The *ILN* scene and its choice of moment is the basis for a lost painting by Gilbert, which caused a sensation at the Old Watercolour Society exhibition of 1856 and was reproduced in print form in 1903 by Vincent Brooks (Fig.37).<sup>67</sup> John Ruskin considered the painting a success, *The Art Journal* admired the lack of sentimental heroism and 'undue refinement' and the *Athenaeum* noted its power as a 'study of contrasts of well-

<sup>64</sup> 'The Wounded Guards at Buckingham Palace', *ILN*, 10 March 1855, p.238.

<sup>65</sup> RA, QVJ, 22 February 1855

<sup>66</sup> The artist present for the first encounter with the Grenadier Guards was George Housman Thomas, who produced a detailed watercolour for the royal collection. Thompson provided a ceremonial view of the occasion, with the men neatly lined-up and standing stiffly to attention. The Queen and Prince Albert are dressed plainly in dark colours, which enhance the ornate setting.

<sup>67</sup> Lalumia, *Realism and Politics*, pp.77-78.

dressed courtiers and bandaged veterans'.<sup>68</sup> Lalumia outlines the important alterations attending the transfer of the scene from print to watercolour, the increased weight given to the Guardsmen, who exceed the twenty six actually present, the greater attention to their individual character and the movement of the officers to the rear of the scene. In the royal party, Prince Albert is also moved behind the Queen, who is the only non-intersecting figure and thus emerges as the main protagonist.<sup>69</sup> This accentuates the 'study of contrasts' identified by the *Athenaeum* between the radiant presence of the Sovereign and her children dressed in pure white and the ragged forms of the soldiers.<sup>70</sup> Gilbert undoubtedly glorified the presence of the Queen for his painting to accentuate the meeting of bodies, whole and suffering, and spaces, the public sphere of war and the archetypal private sphere of royal domesticity. As Mary Favret has shown, the juxtaposition of the mangled body with the maternal body has a strong antecedent during the Napoleonic Wars, when images of mothers and children absorbed and filtered the body of the private soldier to heal the pains of war.<sup>71</sup> Gilbert's scene suspends the royal family as a stabilising presence against vulnerable bodies. In doing so, Gilbert both collapses the distance between home and war and underscores it, by interpreting wounding through the comforting lens of domestic security.

Class, as well as gender, played its part in images of royalty encountering the wounded. Physical proximity was important to the Queen's image as a way of communicating royal kinship, Victoria's public presence not one of aristocratic distance but personal intimacy. The Queen's 'hands on' participation featured in coverage of the distribution of Crimean Medals at Horse Guards parade on 18 May 1855, a ceremony full of pomp and circumstance but projected as a close encounter. The Queen's journal devoted considerable coverage to the occasion, as one that brought together all ranks equally as heroes.<sup>72</sup> Physical contact with officers and privates alike was an important and planned feature of the ceremony. The Queen recorded her satisfaction with this arrangement: '[...] all touched my hand, the 1st time that a simple Private has touched the hand of his Sovereign, & that, a Queen! I am proud of it, proud of this tie which

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<sup>68</sup> Lalumia, p.80.

<sup>69</sup> Lalumia, p.79.

<sup>70</sup> An earlier study of contrasts, between the young Queen and her Privy Councillors, is employed in David Wilkie's *Queen Victoria's First Council* (1838), which reinforces Victoria's constitutional status. See Plunkett, p.88.

<sup>71</sup> Favret, 'Coming Home', p.545.

<sup>72</sup> RA, QVJ, 18 May 1855

links the lowly brave to his Sovereign'.<sup>73</sup> It was also rumoured that soldiers were reluctant to give their medal up for engraving, for fear they would not get the original, bearing the touch of the Queen, back.<sup>74</sup> The Crimean Medal was given to all soldiers who served in the War, but this ceremony targeted wounded and sick soldiers who had been sent home. It was an opportunity for unmediated public engagement with the wounded, with temporary stalls accommodating families and spectators, including members of the press. Journalists described the ceremony as unique and heartfelt. *The Times'* leader was marked by emotion, recording, somewhat inappropriately, the 'electric thrill' as the public witnessed the pallid forms and scarred features of the recipients, which told of their 'manly' endurance.<sup>75</sup> It wrote of a reciprocal affection: 'Many of the poor fellows were almost overcome by their emotion and by the sweetness of her Majesty's condescension, and many a moistened eye on the royal dais bore witness to the intimate sympathy that exists between the Palace and the Camp'.<sup>76</sup> It proclaimed the Ceremony the first military spectacle of the age, unsurpassed in inspiring loyalty to the Queen and national gratitude towards the soldier and believed the occasion ushered in a new era in the history of the British soldier:

They who were fortunate enough to be present saw several hundred soldiers of all ranks and all arms of the service suffering from a community of sickness and wounds – all alike men and Englishmen, and receiving from the same Royal hand the same token of honour.<sup>77</sup>

The recurrence of the word 'community' is significant here, used previously by *The Morning Post* to describe a 'community of feeling' in response to the leaked letter. Royal advisors had sought to achieve a sense of belonging and intimacy alongside the pomp of the day. Writing to the Queen, Phipps wrote of the dinner afterwards for NCOs and privates at the Queen's Riding School:

The only thing in the day to be regretted was that a permanent record could not be kept of what may be called the "domestic" scene, in the most glorious Military Pageant that England has seen: the scene in the Garden was an episode that should not be lost.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> RA, QVJ, 18 May 1855

<sup>74</sup> RA, QVJ, 18 May 1855

<sup>75</sup> Leader, *The Times*, 19 May 1855, p.8.

<sup>76</sup> Leader, p.8.

<sup>77</sup> Leader, p.8.

<sup>78</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/F/2/70 Letter from Col. Phipps to Queen, 18 May 1855

Phipps' description of this 'domestic' scene demonstrates a vision of the rank and file at home under the patronage and direction of the royal family and their officers.

Two different prints of the same moment during the ceremony are held at NAM, Robert Hind's *Her Majesty Distributing the Crimean Medals*, which adopts a more intimate and focused view (Fig.38), and *Distribution of War Medals by the Queen*, published by Read and Co., which is more akin to a reportage style giving a sense of scale and the numbers present (Fig.39).<sup>79</sup> Both prints feature the Queen's presentation of a medal to a disabled Colonel Thomas Troubridge of the 7<sup>th</sup> Fusiliers. The inspiration for this was likely a watercolour by Tenniel, commissioned by the Queen, entitled *Distribution of Crimean Medals at Horse Guards Parade*.<sup>80</sup> Another copy of Hind's engraving exists in the Royal Collection, along with an almost identical depiction published by James Virtue Co., attesting to the popularity of this particular interaction between monarch and soldier.<sup>81</sup> Figs 38-39 capture the moment prior to touch, the Queen's hands reaching out to present the medal to a receptive Troubridge, who was wheeled in a bath chair as a result of losing his left leg and right foot at Inkerman. That the prints depict the prospect of touch and not touch itself allows for a clear delineation, particularly in Fig. 38, of the Queen's slender hands, which are offered palms-down in the form of a 'laying-on' of hands or a blessing. The prints foreground the Queen's will to touch and her potential for healing.

Troubridge was conferred the honour of Aide-de-Camp to the Queen during the ceremony. In her account of the ceremony, the Queen wrote: 'Most moving was the sight of that gallant hero Sir T. Troubridge [...] I told him, as he passed, that I should make him one of my A.D.C.'s, & his answer, with a bright & smiling countenance, was: "I am amply repaid!"'<sup>82</sup> Figs 38-39 commemorate the honour in their accompanying descriptions, although the representations of Troubridge differ greatly. The differences in uniform and the addition of a moustache in Fig.38 suggest Troubridge's likeness was confused with one of the other officers present. Troubridge was one of three wounded officers to be wheeled in a bath chair and to receive the special concern of the Queen,

<sup>79</sup> The *ILN* used variations on both views to illustrate its report of 26 May 1855.

<sup>80</sup> Millar, II, 857-58.

<sup>81</sup> Royal Collections Trust database, <<http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection>> [accessed 2 January 2015]

<sup>82</sup> RA, QVJ, 18 May 1855

although the only one to receive an honorific appointment.<sup>83</sup> It is probable that the Queen's prior knowledge of Troubridge's feats made him the beneficiary of the honour. Prince Albert had visited Troubridge earlier in the year at Admiralty House, Portsmouth, upon his return from the Crimea.<sup>84</sup> Troubridge had developed a reputation for his perseverance when it was reported he had rested his maimed legs on a gun following his injury to prevent loss of blood, whilst continuing to command.<sup>85</sup> He therefore provided an example of an exemplary officer and leader, who put his men and the operation before his own needs.

A focus on Troubridge's disability served a number of timely functions when the Army was gearing up for what it hoped would be the final bombardment of Sevastopol. It demonstrated to the public that officers were exposed to the same dangers as ordinary soldiers and NCOs, countervailing presentations of disproportionate suffering in the ranks. The Queen regularly encountered wounded officers at private receptions known as levees, but in raising the profile of the officer in publicly evocative terms, Troubridge supplied a counter-narrative to reports that a number of officers had abandoned the theatre of war on 'urgent private affairs' during the harsh winter months.<sup>86</sup> The ceremony may also have spoken directly to disillusioned or fearful officers and their families facing service at the front, by balancing the dangers of battle with the prospect of royal recognition and promotion. Figs 38-39 promote a neat hierarchy, the loyal private pulling along his wounded officer, who in turn interacts with the Queen against the backdrop of the British Flag and Royal Standard and powerful symbol of royal prerogative, the Horse Guards building.

The Commander-in-Chief's office resided at Horse Guards and was particularly precious to the Crown, which was keen to preserve the office as a locus for royal influence amidst structural changes taking place under Panmure in 1855. These changes included the consolidation of the Secretary of State for War's office and the disbanding of the Board of Ordnance, which had wide-ranging responsibilities for the Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers and Royal Sappers and Miners, arms and

<sup>83</sup> 'Distribution of War Medals by the Queen at the Horse Guards', *The Times*, 19 May 1855, p.11.

<sup>84</sup> RA, QVJ, 19 March 1855

<sup>85</sup> 'The War in the East', *Morning Post*, 10 January 1855, p.6.

<sup>86</sup> The concept gained such notoriety, that the Queen attended a comedy entitled 'Urgent Private Affairs' at the Adelphi Theatre. RA, QVJ, 17 April 1856

fortifications.<sup>87</sup> The reorganisation of the Ordnance prompted renewed attention on Horse Guards. On the day of the Medal Ceremony, Lord Grey called in Parliament for its re-organisation, in order to eliminate its controversial access to the Queen.<sup>88</sup> Grey's calls were resisted and in 1856 the Crown consolidated its control over Horse Guards by appointing the Duke of Cambridge, the Queen's cousin, as Commander-in-Chief.<sup>89</sup> Cambridge was given authority over the medal ceremony's proceedings.<sup>90</sup> The ceremony and royal commemoration of Troubridge sent a clear signal that merit was not lacking in the officer-corps and recognition of conduct and ability were a matter of royal discretion and not a cause for state interference or legislative change.

With the emphasis on a personal monarchy and the mingling of 'high' and 'low' during the ceremony, *Punch* found a humorous flaw to the rosy picture of an accessible Queen hosting a family reunion of afflicted officers and privates alike. In Figs 38-39, a brass railing is visible at the royal dais. Using satirical verse, *Punch* criticised the decision to rail the Queen off from her soldiers, ridiculing the unknown mastermind ('Whose was this sorry job?') behind the ceremony: 'Did the creature suppose, They would stamp on her toes, Upon wooden legs hobbling especially those? Did he fear they would press, If permitted access, To her person so close as to rumple her dress?'<sup>91</sup> The platform would have served the practical purpose of providing extra height to a petite Queen and the railing no doubt gave physical support whilst she reached down to award the medals. *Punch*'s satire is light-hearted, but the underlying message points to a tension between projected royal feeling and royal duty as carefully managed intervention. It is unlikely that the Queen attended this ceremony without adhering to the etiquette of wearing gloves, which thus guarded against direct contact during the distribution of the medals. The wounded may have been given greater access to the Queen, but access is conditioned and social cohesion limited.

Media focus on Troubridge also reveals how class norms kept injury at a distance. The Medal Ceremony prints unusually foreground Troubridge's disability, but the extent of his bodily loss is concealed by a luxurious blanket neatly tucked around the lower body,

<sup>87</sup> Sweetman, *War and Administration*, p.59.

<sup>88</sup> Sweetman, *War and Administration*, p.94.

<sup>89</sup> Strachan, p.62.

<sup>90</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/F/2/68 General Order, written by G Wetherall from Horse Guards, 16<sup>th</sup> May 1855

<sup>91</sup> 'A Brass Railing in Bad Taste', *Punch*, 26 May 1855, p.210.

and his smiling countenance alleviates discomfort.<sup>92</sup> The effect is demure, the bath chair and the blanket a sign of Troubridge's social status. There is a conscious effort to preserve Troubridge's gentlemanly appearance in spite of his injury. This mid-Victorian depiction of an officer's disability masks the true suffering of war in a similar fashion to depictions of disabled officers emerging from the Napoleonic Wars.<sup>93</sup> Troubridge's relative comfort is underscored by an extraordinary set of photographs (Figs 40-43) commissioned by the Queen and taken by Joseph Cundall and Robert Howlett. As well as receiving wounded soldiers in the comfort of Buckingham Palace, the royal family visited those convalescing at hospitals in Chatham, Woolwich and Portsmouth.

The photographs were taken during widely publicised royal visits to makeshift hospitals at Chatham, which focused on wounded men and not the greater proportion of sick men.<sup>94</sup> Printed returns from Fort Pitt Hospital and Brompton Barracks at the time of the Queen's visit reveal that although there were marginally more wounded cases at Fort Pitt, the number of sick at Brompton was almost double that of wounded cases.<sup>95</sup> Concerns about infection were probably foremost in the minds of the authorities, but a lone letter from an anonymous sick soldier at Fort Pitt expressed his disappointment that the Queen did not 'so much as to deign to look upon them'.<sup>96</sup> More died from exposure, typhoid, fever and dysentery in the Crimea than from physical injury and so whilst the sick were no doubt avoided for practical reasons, it is possible that they were overlooked for political reasons too. It was also a lot harder to depict sickness, not having the immediate emotive appeal of wounds and disability, which is exploited in the Haslar image and in Cundall and Howlett's photographs.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>92</sup> The war produced few public images of injured officers. The exceptions to this rule avoid an aspect of vulnerability, the officers maintaining an active role. For example, Jerry Barratt inserts a pointing officer, seated on a stretcher, for his painting *The Mission of Mercy* (1857). A strikingly similar pose can be found in Captain Wilkinson's unpublished watercolour sketch, showing a gesturing Captain Agar on a stretcher during the first attack on the Redan on 18 June 1855. NAM: 1972-07-06-23.

<sup>93</sup> See Philip Shaw, *Suffering and Sentiment in Romantic Military Art* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013) and his analysis of Constantin Coene's painting of the imaginary visit of the Duke of Wellington to the Marquess of Anglesey, who lost his right leg at Waterloo. Anglesey's stump is clearly visible but the brightly illuminated bandages and the reverential aspect of onlookers precludes discomfort. pp.179-80.

<sup>94</sup> Fever cases were avoided. 'Royal Visit to the Chatham Hospitals', *The Times*, 5 March 1855, p.7.

<sup>95</sup> 'Royal Visit to the Military Hospitals at Chatham', *Morning Post*, 5 March 1855, p.5.

<sup>96</sup> 'The Hospital at Chatham', *The Times*, 8 March 1855, p.5.

<sup>97</sup> The Hunterian Museum has addressed this problem of representation by displaying a section of discoloured intestine from a dysentery sufferer.



Cundall and Howlett's photographs are startlingly clear, capturing an unprecedented testimony to the bodily effects of war in photographic form. Cundall was a leading British photographer, founding the Photographic Institution in 1852 and the Photographic Society in 1853.<sup>98</sup> His partnership with Howlett was one of many formed under the auspices of the Photographic Institution. The photographs form a private, royal album entitled 'Crimean Portraits 1854-56' comprising men of the rank and file. A separate, royal album entitled 'Crimean Officers: Portraits 1854-1856' features photographs of leisurely officers in camp, taken by Roger Fenton. The respective presence and absence of injury in these hierarchical albums has led Ulrich Keller to argue, in a rare analysis of Cundall and Howlett's images, that mutilation and suffering belonged solely to the private soldier in the royal consciousness.<sup>99</sup> The Queen's concern for Troubridge and other officers at the Crimean Medal Ceremony complicates this claim. However, Cundall and Howlett's photographs display a greater license than the Medal Ceremony prints, providing a stark record of full-frontal injury and mutilation. The Queen added notes around the photographs in the royal album, stating the cause and nature of injury. What do these photographs memorialise? Who and what is historically interesting, the medical case or the person, feats of injury or recovery, or the Queen's humanitarian aid?

These questions address the complex area of how humans perceive and respond to the suffering and pain of others, on which there is a growing body of scholarship.<sup>100</sup> This scholarship engages with the tenets of Elaine Scarry's ground-breaking work on the subject of the body in pain, which begins by explaining the inexpressibility of pain and

<sup>98</sup> Frances Diamond and Roger Taylor, *Crown & Camera: The Royal Family and Photography 1842-1910* (Viking: Middlesex, 1987), p.216.

<sup>99</sup> Ulrich Keller, *The Ultimate Spectacle: A Visual History of the Crimean War* (Amsterdam: Overseas Publishers Association, 2001), p.202. The rarity of the photographs accounts for the lack of critical discourse. Outside the Royal Collection, I know of only one copy of the photograph of O'Brien and Lockhurst, held at NAM. Exhibitions and associated publications have increased awareness of the photographs. The photograph of O'Brien and Lockhurst has reached public view in at least one exhibition showcasing the royal photograph collection ('Crown and Camera', 1987) and was displayed at the Getty Museum ('A Royal Passion: Queen Victoria and Photography', 2014). The photograph of Young, Burland and Connery and another of Clemence Brophy are included as illustrations in the Wellcome Trust's exhibition guide, *War and Medicine* (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2008)

<sup>100</sup> Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985); Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (London: Penguin, 2003); Judith Butler, *Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?* (London: Verso, 2010); Joanna Bourke, 'Pain, Sympathy, and the Medial Encounter Between the Mid Eighteenth and Mid Twentieth Centuries', *Historical Research*, 85 (2012), pp.430-52.

therefore the inability of humans to comprehend the pain of others.<sup>101</sup> For Bourke, this ‘cliche’ of championing ‘pain, rather than the person in pain’, is troubling, undermining cultural and historical responses to bodily suffering, including medical mediations to alleviate it.<sup>102</sup> However, whilst Scarry overstates the peculiarity of pain, she is right to point out the ‘practical and ethical consequences’ of attempts to represent pain.<sup>103</sup> It is our ability to respond ethically to the sufferings of others that has guided the writings of Judith Butler and Susan Sontag. Their studies deal with the effects of bearing witness to suffering in war and the extent to which response is shaped by the normative values of a given cultural context. Sontag grapples with the photographic medium, doubting its ability to transmit pain in a meaningful manner. She repeatedly consigns photographs more often than not to superficial response, imbuing them with an ‘iconic’ status functioning for ‘collective remembrance’ but not for full understanding. Human sympathy in this account is invariably inadequate and shallow. Sontag writes: ‘The problem is not that people remember through photographs, but that they remember only the photographs [...] To remember, more and more, is not to recall a story but to be able to call up a picture’.<sup>104</sup> Yet, Sontag’s separation of story, or narrative, and image is simplistic. Whilst photographs as records of conflict may be unreliable, written interpretation can be just as problematic.

When one considers those photographs by Cundall and Howlett which reached the public domain and their accompanying descriptions of injury, written narrative can also seem inadequate or incomplete. The *ILN* published in July 1855 engraved copies of the less troubling images with an accompanying report. The appearance of these engravings, which were identified as copies of photographs by Cundall and Howlett, anticipate the appearance of photographs in newspapers, which Sontag dates to the 1880s.<sup>105</sup> The engravings included a large group shot of men gathered outside Brompton Barracks and a close-up view of John Daniels, 55<sup>th</sup> Regiment and Robert Evans, 13<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons, sitting side-by-side at Brompton (Fig.40). The *ILN* wrote of the ‘cheerful’ countenances amongst the larger group gathering, noting, much to its

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<sup>101</sup> Scarry, pp.3-11.

<sup>102</sup> Joanna Bourke, ‘Pain and the Politics of Sympathy, 1789 to the Present’, lecture given at IHR Anglo-American Conference *Health in History* (July, 2011)

<sup>103</sup> Scarry, p.6.

<sup>104</sup> Sontag, pp.79-80.

<sup>105</sup> Sontag, p.23.

surprise, that the happiest men were those who had lost a leg.<sup>106</sup> Yet, the expressions of Daniels and Evans show no pretence of cheeriness and both suffered amputations of the leg, a risky procedure which caused intense after-shock.<sup>107</sup> The Queen's annotations in the royal photograph album reveal Daniels lost his leg at Alma and Evans was shot during the Charge of the Light Brigade.<sup>108</sup> For the *ILN*, these close-up shots revealed the 'costume' of the men and the shock of 'foreign' beards, which were made acceptable and familiar by the 'honest British faces'.<sup>109</sup> The *ILN* ignores this image's more uncomfortable aspects, including the institutionalised, floppy, dress caps, finding solace in a brand of British stoicism. Evans' refusal to acknowledge the viewer, the protective positioning of his hand, the crutches just visible under the arms of both men and most of all, the troubled facial expressions, are left for the viewer to apprehend. The written accompaniment narrows the interpretive scope of the images to reassurance. Similarly, the Queen's own descriptions of patients she had seen do not shy away from shocking detail, but are often followed with reassuring statements about the recovery of the soldier and his ability to bear suffering. In her journal she wrote:

One man showed us his cloak with the holes in it, from 2 bayonet thrusts. One who had been shot in the leg, & was lying on the ground, said "they beat me about the head with the butt ends of their muskets, until I was insensible & then gave me 10 bayonet cuts!" He looked quite well.<sup>110</sup>

The Queen's journal entry shares many features with the *Morning Post's* report, which reproduced more details than other newspapers of the royal party's hospital visits. Like the Queen, the reporter employed an encouraging, casual tone whilst describing most injuries, declaring 20 year old Private Thomas Jones, shot through the face below the ear at Inkerman, 'recovered' apart from a 'slight contraction of the jaw, and almost deafness'.<sup>111</sup> The order of the clauses, the lasting effects of injury reading as an afterthought and the use of adjectives such as 'slight' and 'almost' downplays the trauma. These written interpretations reveal a tension between the powerful effects of direct personal encounter with the wounded and the constraints of an organised royal visit, designed to be curative.

<sup>106</sup> 'Her Majesty's Inspection of the Wounded Troops at Chatham', *ILN*, 21 July 1855, n.p.

<sup>107</sup> George Macleod, *Notes on the Surgery of the War in the Crimea with Remarks on the Treatment of Gunshot Wounds* (London: John Churchill, 1858), p.104.

<sup>108</sup> Royal Photograph Collection, 'Crimean Portraits 1854 to 1856' (2500155)

<sup>109</sup> 'Her Majesty's Inspection of the Wounded Troops at Chatham', n.p.

<sup>110</sup> RA, QVJ, 3 March 1855

<sup>111</sup> 'Royal Visit to the Military Hospitals at Chatham', *Morning Post*, 5 March 1855, p.5.

At the end of her book, Sontag admits that complete understanding of another person's suffering is a misnomer and therefore the focus shifts to degrees of recognition. Butler contests Sontag's argument that a one-dimensional presentation of suffering precludes meaningful response.<sup>112</sup> She points to a tension in Sontag's work between 'being affected and being able to think and understand [...]'<sup>113</sup> Butler articulates the importance of being moved by an image as well as being alert to how a war photograph shows what it shows and the impact this has on perception, feeling and understanding.<sup>114</sup> The following considers both the surgical and human interpretative 'frames' structuring responses to Cundall and Howlett's photographs and the extent to which the suffering of the soldiers is muted or accentuated as a result.

Fig.41 depicts Private Jesse Lockhurst of the 31<sup>st</sup> Regiment, seated, and Private Thomas O'Brien of the First Royals, who were photographed at Chatham in April 1856.<sup>115</sup> According to the Queen's notes around her photograph, Lockhurst was wounded in the trenches before the Redan on the 16 August 1855, receiving a grape shot in his right eye. The 18.5 ounce shot destroyed his sight and his upper jaw bone. O'Brien was wounded by grape shot during the ill-managed final assault on the Redan on the 8 September 1855. The weight of the ball was 6.5 ounces, which similarly destroyed his left eye and part of his jaw bone. The photograph presents an example of the effects of grape shot, compressed iron balls that wrought multiple injuries with a scattering effect once fired from cannon, bringing together similar facial injuries. Aspects of the scene are clearly artificial to aid the impact and clarity of the photograph. The bed and chair appear to have been transferred outside onto a wooden platform, whilst a white sheet frames the scene to obscure the outside location and aid optimum lighting. The upright Lockhurst has donned his military uniform for the occasion, providing a smart contrast to a reclining O'Brien in the blue woollen overcoats and dress caps worn by patients. The expressions of both men are direct, although their gaze is interrupted by the clear disfigurement around Lockhurst's right eye and the patch over O'Brien's left eye. What is particularly striking about the photograph is the inclusion of a clear narrative device, the presentation of the shot, which, according to the Queen, was extracted from their

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<sup>112</sup> Butler, p.71.

<sup>113</sup> Butler, p.70.

<sup>114</sup> Butler, p.71.

<sup>115</sup> RA, QVJ, 16 April 1856

faces and left a ‘fearful hole’ in Lockhurst’s face.<sup>116</sup> The Queen viewed Lockhurst and O’Brien as ‘extraordinary examples of recovery’ and her awareness of their ordeal was sharpened by being allowed to handle both grape shots: she repeats in her journal, ‘I had it in my hand’. Her description of the shots, O’Brien’s an inch in width and Lockhurst’s two inches in width, corresponds with those held by Lockhurst and O’Brien in the photograph, though it seems incredible that these sizeable battlefield relics were the actual shots extracted. Army surgeons did preserve extracted balls to learn about the consequences of a more modern style of warfare upon the human body. As George McLeod, a surgeon of the Crimea, reflected: ‘[the war] has shown us wounds of a severity, perhaps, never before equalled; it has enabled us to observe the effects of missiles introduced for the first time into warfare [...]’<sup>117</sup> Cannons and mortars were of an unprecedented calibre and range, with fragments of shells as weighty as whole projectiles known to previous generations. McLeod further observed that siege warfare, the close proximity of batteries and the prolonged nature of fighting, led to more casualties and a greater severity of wounds than field battle.<sup>118</sup> Lockhurst and O’Brien are victims of increasingly intense warfare, but they calmly address the viewer, who is encouraged to reflect upon their survival against unlikely odds. Whether the immediate cause of injury or props, the shots act as a curious souvenir of the soldier’s exposure to unpredictable weaponry and as a unique, tangible source of understanding between soldier and monarch.

The artificial setting used for Fig.41 was also deployed for the photograph of Private William Young, Corporal Henry Burland and Private John Connery (Fig.42). These men suffered multiple leg amputations as a result of preventable and non-preventable causes. According to the Queen’s notes on this photograph, Young, of the 23<sup>rd</sup> Regiment, smoking a pipe on the left, was wounded by a shell in the trenches during the first ill-fated assault on the Redan on 18 June 1855. Young’s bandaged stumps are closest to the viewer and it is clear that he has suffered an amputation of the right foot and an amputation of the lower left leg. Next to Young is a despondent-looking Burland of the 34<sup>th</sup> Regiment, who, as a result of frost-bite, underwent the trauma of two operations and four amputations. Frost-bite, caused by exposure to freezing temperatures, resulted in the cessation of blood circulation and loss of all sensation in

<sup>116</sup> RA, QVJ, 16 April 1856

<sup>117</sup> Macleod, p.7.

<sup>118</sup> Macleod, p.95.

the most severe of instances. To Burland's right is Connery, who is recorded as suffering from frost-bite in the trenches and underwent three amputations to remove his left leg and possibly his right foot. Whilst smoking a pipe, he explores the workings of a prosthetic limb, one of many aids gifted to patients from the Queen. Recipients of the newly improved 'mechanical devices' were listed in *The Lancet*, the chief periodical for the medical profession, and Burland was listed amongst them.<sup>119</sup>

Taken together, the photographs frame the endurance of human life in the face of extreme adversity, sensationalising an appreciation of warfare and memorialising royal acts dealing with the consequences of mutilation. In his analysis of the photographs, Keller focuses upon the Queen's personal sense of responsibility towards the men, arguing the photographs signal an 'inheritance of suffering' on behalf of the Queen and act to assuage her sense of personal liability.<sup>120</sup> For Keller, they serve a complex ideological function, a cathartic means of reconciling an intact monarch to the suffering she has witnessed. However, Keller's psychoanalytical approach to the photographs ignores other parameters for analysis, not least the political symbolism of the photographs as evidence of royal benevolence and medical achievement. While the Queen's sense of obligation can be verified, questions of guilt are difficult to ascertain. Curators have been keen to stress the Queen's humanitarian impulses in relation to the photographs rather than unseemly curiosity and exploitation of subject.<sup>121</sup> The two interpretations address what Philip Shaw has identified as the relationship between individual suffering and the impersonal nature of medical categorisation.<sup>122</sup> The photographs acknowledge this tension, testament to both the Queen's continued altruism and concern for the after-care of the wounded, and thus her recognition of the suffering of others, but also to the wounded soldier as medical case study. These comfortable and uncomfortable frames of reference are explored in turn.

The photographs demonstrate royal awareness of the problems surrounding the afterlife of the wounded soldier. Royal correspondence reveals that the Queen took a genuine interest in the fate of the wounded and their transition to civilian life. She confided to Phipps on the subject, feeling she could 'never do enough for those poor men'.<sup>123</sup> In

<sup>119</sup> 'Her Majesty's Benevolence', *Lancet*, 5 April 1856, p.387.

<sup>120</sup> Keller, p.202.

<sup>121</sup> Diamond and Taylor, p.39.

<sup>122</sup> Shaw, pp.186-89.

<sup>123</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/F/2/135, Letter from Queen to Col. Phipps, 24 June 1855

early-1856, roughly a hundred men a week were being discharged from the Army on account of wounds or other causes from the Crimea and the Chelsea Commissioners met weekly instead of monthly to distribute pensions of 2d to 6d per day.<sup>124</sup> Characterised as ‘invalids’, discharged soldiers struggled to make a living to supplement their meagre pension. Procuring prosthetic limbs, or ‘mechanical appliances’ as they were known, costing on average £5, was one way in which the Queen targeted her concern on a practical and individual level.<sup>125</sup> These aids were designed to enable men to retain a level of independence. Reassuring letters from grateful recipients attest to the difference prosthetic limbs and supports made. A letter from Private Edward Sharpe described the benefits of a belt support for his spine, damaged as a result of a fall from his horse. In addition to allowing him to sit and stand, it enabled Sharpe to ‘take care of myself and not be so helpless or dependant as I should have been had it not been for the kind Present [...]’<sup>126</sup> Sharpe alludes also to the mental effects of physical injury, which are just as profound, resulting in loss of pride, feelings of helplessness and even embarrassment. The effect of disfigurement on the soldier’s mental health is expressed earnestly by Private Callaghan, who contracted gum disease during Russian imprisonment and lost all his teeth:

Your Majesty found me suffering in body but suffering far more in mind, unable any longer to serve in Your Majesty’s army. I was about to be thrown on the world broken in health, crushed in spirit [...] but Your Majesty was graciously pleased to order that I should be placed under the care of a dentist and furnished with artificial teeth [...] I can now mix in the world and return to my home without shame.<sup>127</sup>

The shock and disenchantment brought about by injury is not hidden in Fig.42, but in the spirit of Callaghan’s letter, positive intervention directs the narrative. The viewer’s eye is drawn to the prosthetic limb, the culmination of the troubling scene when viewed from left to right. The limb is therefore made integral to the viewer’s negotiation of this unsettling scene of loss, including the distant and disinterested gazes of Young and Burland. It is not just held, but appraised by Connery and thus he assumes a hopeful

<sup>124</sup> ‘The Sick and Wounded’, *Lancet*, 5 January 1856, p.27.

<sup>125</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/F/3/131, Invoice, Messrs H. Bigg and Son. The Queen also secured employment for a small number of individuals in the Office of Works and the Royal Parks, as well as giving occasional cash bounties.

<sup>126</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/F/4/37, Letter from Private Edward Sharpe, 10th Royal Hussars, to Queen, from Brompton, 14 January 1856

<sup>127</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/F/4/118 Letter from T. Callaghan, 50<sup>th</sup> Regiment, to Queen, from Brompton, 30 June 1856

and active role in his recovery. All three men become accessories to the Queen's humanitarian assistance and tangible ethical response is encapsulated in the photograph. Yet, alongside royal benevolence, the photographs record medical intervention, which also distances the viewer from suffering by exhibiting the soldier's body as a surgical experiment.

Fig.41 projects not only recovery, but bodily defiance in the face of adversity. Lockhurst's inclination of the head invites the viewer to inspect the cause of injury. Surgical skill is signified, the viewer sought out to marvel at the apparent extraction of such weighty objects from the delicate area of the face. However, the viewer's focus is consequently drawn to the shot, rather than the lasting signs of facial disfigurement on display. The choice of patients for the photographs would have been influenced by the medical professional, drawing the Queen's attention to those men displaying feats of recovery. The framing of medical intervention and treatment is especially apparent from the disconcerting photograph of Private Thomas McKavery (Fig.43). McKavery suffered the removal of 5 inches of bone from his hip, which resulted in one leg being shorter than the other. He is propped-up against an outside wall, which gives the scene a quasi-scientific aspect. The photograph records the means of alleviating McKavery's bodily imbalance, via a special, raised boot. Yet, his gaze is averted and he requires the support of two crutches and the grim wall he leans against for additional support. The inclusion of an empty chair in the shot seems incongruous, a further prop, and McKavery's stance and expression does not proclaim triumph, but grim resignation and discomfort. He complies with the request to stand, but he is not an active participant in the narrative. However, the Queen described McKavery, as one of the 'most interesting and wonderful cases of recovery' in her journal.<sup>128</sup> She marvelled that his left leg still remained intact and was moveable, and she quoted Dr Dartnell's characterisation of him as a "triumph of surgery". This photograph exposes an uneasy tension between medical interest and individual suffering.

Similarly, the troubling central figure of Burland in Fig.42, who looks away from the viewer, reached the attention of the wider medical profession due to the severity of his physical loss. Surgical statistics show that of all amputations between 1 April 1855 and the end of the War, those of the leg resulted in the highest death rates, ranging from

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<sup>128</sup> RA, QVJ, 16 April 1856



22.2% at the ankle joint to 50% at the lower thigh and 86.8% when performed upon the upper thigh.<sup>129</sup> Surgeons categorized operations as primary (those operations taking place soon after injury in camp) and secondary (those operations taking place away from camp) and a higher overall death rate attended secondary operations.<sup>130</sup> Burland was not only subjected to multiple serious procedures, like his fellow sitters, but two secondary operations. He was one of the featured ‘sketches’ in Dr Thomas Burgess’ summary of cases to emerge from the war.<sup>131</sup> Burgess’ notes are categorised according to type of injury or ailment and describe in detail the cause of injury, the different stages of treatment received and the level of recovery at each stage, including relapses. During a voyage from Balaclava to Scutari, Burgess reports that Burland’s frost bitten toes sloughed extensively. Burland remained at Scutari for four months before he underwent an operation to have his feet removed. However, the stumps never healed, bearing large, angry ulcers, and were monitored upon Burland’s admittance to Portsmouth Military Hospital in May 1855. After weeks of discomfort and pain, his left leg was amputated below the knee and healed. In November 1855, the fragile right stump was aggravated by trying a ‘boot, the imitation of a foot’, given by the Queen. As a result of premature use of the artificial limb, Burland’s right leg was also amputated below the knee and once the stump healed, he was sent to Chatham in February 1856 to recuperate.<sup>132</sup> This case history affords a deep irony to Connery’s examination of the artificial limb in the photograph. However, it was a paradox lost on contemporaries, since the photograph did not reach the public domain until 1857 at an exhibition of the Photographic Society.<sup>133</sup> Despite his physical endurance, Burland’s traumatic loss is discernible to the viewer. The frank, unsentimental approach of Cundall and Howlett’s photographs and their use of objects as props, acknowledge to varying degrees that surgical gain is built upon human loss.

Whilst it is questionable whether Cundall and Howlett’s photographs of the wounded display a ‘triumph of surgery’ in all cases, they demonstrated royal support for the integrity of the Army medical profession. The Army Medical Department, like every other military body, had come under attack during the War. As a result of the steady

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<sup>129</sup> Macleod, pp.368-69.

<sup>130</sup> Macleod, p.368.

<sup>131</sup> ‘Sketches on the Surgery of the War’, *Lancet*, 19 July 1856, p.68

<sup>132</sup> ‘Sketches on the Surgery of the War’, p.68.

<sup>133</sup> Lalumia, *Realism and Politics*, p.126.

criticism regarding medical arrangements and supplies and the shocking statistics on sickness, which dominated the *Lancet's* regular column 'Surgery of the War', many doctors and surgeons felt their efforts on the front line went unappreciated. A member of the Royal College of Surgeons wrote to the editor of the *Lancet* at the height of the winter troubles, deploring Parliament's refusal to honour Army and Navy medics for their work: 'Shall it be said that, whilst France raises statues to her army surgeons, England cannot afford merely to thank them for their services?'<sup>134</sup> Subsequent visits to Chatham alleviated public and professional fears about military medical practice, with surgeons and the Queen reporting favourably upon arrangements and the state of the men. A civil surgeon visited in May 1855 and found it 'gratifying' to see that 'the real, personal duties of surgeons' were performed with all 'the cool judgement and knowledge of metropolitan operators'.<sup>135</sup> The Queen's account of her visits to Chatham were on the whole positive, testifying to the good care soldiers received upon returning home: 'The poor men have recovered wonderfully [...] gaining, in no time, as much as a stone in weight, but of course there are some, who having bad constitutions, recover less well'.<sup>136</sup> However, the royal visits also enabled the Queen to comment on hospital arrangements for the Army. The visits prompted the monarchy to preside over a major investment in army medical care and its own army privileges, the building of the Royal Victoria Hospital at Netley. The birth of the Hospital was contentious, since it was the product of royal/military initiative to satisfy demand for medical reform and not part of a wider reform package delivered by civilians.

### **Hospital Provision: The Battle for Netley**

Following her first visit to Fort Pitt Military Hospital and temporary wards at Brompton Barracks, the Queen noted that the rooms in the latter 'were unfortunately small' and some crowded.<sup>137</sup> The press enlarged upon the issue and if the royal party had hoped to assuage concern about the care of soldiers, they were disappointed. *The Times* used the visit in support of its argument, a view shared by Nightingale and her supporters, that the whole Medical Department needed over-hauling to make it fit for the challenges of

<sup>134</sup> 'The Services of Army and Navy Medical Officers', *The Lancet*, 6 January 1855, pp.20-21.

<sup>135</sup> 'Military Surgery', *The Lancet*, 5 May 1855, p.470.

<sup>136</sup> RA, QVJ, 3 March 1855

<sup>137</sup> RA, QVJ, 3 March 1855

war.<sup>138</sup> Although managed well internally by Dr. Dartnell and his staff, the hospital buildings were only capable of holding a small proportion of the sick and wounded, 300. Fort Pitt represented one of the few General Military Hospitals yet it was inadequate for demand, as evidenced by the need to convert Brompton Barracks and the use of nearby St Mary's Barracks as an 'invalid's depot'.<sup>139</sup> *The Times* was therefore wary of the visit being used as evidence of the success of the medical treatment of the soldier, even if it was sympathetic to the monarch's intentions and the appropriateness of bestowing royal sympathy on the humbler ranks. This view was reinforced in a letter to *The Times* on the subject of the royal visit, which praised the personal motives and character of the Queen, her 'womanly solicitude and maternal sympathy', but proceeded to highlight poor conditions for convalescents at St Mary's Barracks.<sup>140</sup> The letter claimed that the authorities deliberately avoided a royal visit to St Mary's, where the draughty and insanitary conditions made it even less appealing than a military prison. The Queen was enjoined by the press to act upon her sympathetic concerns.

As Mark Bostridge notes, royal notions of reform did not extend to the overhaul of the medical system and so it was important to be seen to be taking action in other ways.<sup>141</sup> On the same day as *The Times* report, the Queen expressed her concerns to Panmure, using the prison analogy:

[...] the wards more like prisons than hospitals with the windows so high that no one can look out of them [...] there is no dining room or Hall – so that the poor men must have their dinners in the same room in which they sleep - & in which some may be dying [...]<sup>142</sup>

Royal lobbying was responsible for an impressive Military Hospital at Netley, Southampton, which opened in 1863. The Hospital was designed on a grand scale to accommodate over 1,000 patients and represented the largest military hospital of its time. The building was completed at a staggering cost of £332,172.<sup>143</sup> An 1857 print gives an early impression of the Hospital and the site along Southampton Water, chosen for ease of landing from transport ships, revealing its grandeur and the spectacle of its central dome and towers (Fig.44). There were 200 windows to the front of the building

<sup>138</sup> 'Royal Visit to the Chatham Hospitals', *The Times*, 5 March 1855, p.7.

<sup>139</sup> 'Royal Visit to the Chatham Hospitals', p.7.

<sup>140</sup> 'Her Majesty and the Wounded', *The Times*, 10 March 1855, p.12.

<sup>141</sup> Mark Bostridge, *Florence Nightingale: The Woman and her Legend* (London: Penguin, 2009), p.308.

<sup>142</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/E/5/59 Queen to Lord Panmure, 5 March 1855

<sup>143</sup> Charles Clode, *The Military Forces of the Crown: Their Administration and Government*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1869), II, 463.

alone, 138 wards and over 200 acres of grounds hosting support services such as a mortuary, bakery, stables and chapel.<sup>144</sup> However, the bold architectural statement celebrated in the print was not universally admired. This royal initiative, whilst leaving a concrete legacy of royal concern, became a site of controversy, illustrating a competition for care between the royal and military establishment and reformist civilians.

The Queen lobbied Panmure for the Hospital and in May 1856 the plans for it were published.<sup>145</sup> The royals were anxious to push a bold measure in relation to army health at a time when the Army Medical Service was being scrutinised by a Parliamentary Select Committee for its conduct during the War.<sup>146</sup> The Queen demonstrated her prerogative by being privy to the plans at this early stage and whilst she may not have been directly responsible for them, they were drawn-up by trusted military men; Colonel Terence O'Brien (Assistant Quarter-Master General) Surgeon Henry Mapleton (15<sup>th</sup> Hussars) and Captain R. Laffan (Deputy Inspector-General of Fortifications).<sup>147</sup> Laffan was also involved in the design of permanent barracks at the royal camp at Aldershot, another royal initiative of the Crimean War. The Queen gave momentum to the hospital plans on 19 May 1856 by laying a foundation stone, an event which represented her first official act after the declaration of peace in April 1856. William Simpson was commissioned to paint the scene, which he did in minute detail, depicting the point at which the Queen, Prince Albert and Panmure jointly touched the stone as it was winched into the ground (Fig.45). Members of the royal family are present and military personnel dominate those in attendance, including the Duke of Cambridge standing on the far right. The watercolour appeared as an engraving in the *ILN*, which reveals an interesting alteration (Fig.46). The conspicuous figure of Panmure in plain, civilian dress is replaced with that of the Duke of Cambridge, so that the establishment of the Hospital is presented as a royal/military act and not a venture that was in reality shared and funded by civilians at the War Department. The *ILN*'s written report confirms Panmure's presence but the engraving relegates him to that of an attendant rather than a principal player. The coverage highlighted the picturesque qualities of the

<sup>144</sup> Wellcome Library (WL), RAMC/1403

<sup>145</sup> *The Panmure Papers*, ed. by Douglas and Ramsay, II, 197.

<sup>146</sup> John Shepherd, *The Crimean Doctors: A History of the British Medical Services in the Crimean War*, 2 vols (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1991), II, 592.

<sup>147</sup> WL, RAMC/1191

Southampton site and described a ceremony of pomp and patriotism.<sup>148</sup> The Hospital was proclaimed the 'Royal Victoria Hospital' by Panmure, which was met with cheers, a naval gun salute and the national anthem.<sup>149</sup> In both the watercolour and the print, the plans for the hospital and a quill are clearly visible next to the Queen's person, signalling her sanction of them. Yet, royal attempts to move quickly with the plans were compromised by intense scrutiny and criticism from civilian experts between 1856 and 1858, so much so that on 17 January 1857 the Prime Minister, Palmerston, intervened to recommend scrapping them:

It seems to me that at Netley all consideration of what would best tend to the comfort and recovery of patients has been sacrificed to the vanity of the architect, whose sole object has been to make a building which should cut a dash when looked at from Southampton River.<sup>150</sup>

Palmerston requested that Panmure halt work on the Hospital, eager to get the arrangements right for such a large project. Palmerston's views, as he openly stated in his letter to Panmure, were influenced by a discussion with Nightingale upon her return from the Crimea. The plans did not conform to Nightingale's outlook on hospital sanitation and management, since they were drawn up without her input. Whether the plans represented the best course at the time is debatable, since public health was an evolving science, but they were nevertheless based on judgements made for the benefit of the patient. For instance, minimum space requirements were stipulated and special ventilation tubes were proposed to carry away hot or vitiated air from wards.<sup>151</sup> Numerous windows were incorporated into the design to ensure plenty of light. Palmerston's, or rather Nightingale's, concerns were consolidated in the *Report of the Barrack and Hospital Improvement Committee* of March 1857, which was written by civilians closely allied to Nightingale, such as Dr John Sutherland and Sidney Herbert.<sup>152</sup> In response to this report, Panmure launched an investigation, which involved a consultation with six London hospitals and resulted in some minor modifications to the plans in May 1857. The final investigative report of 1858 reveals a deep intellectual division over the sanitary aspects of the site, such as its soil content

<sup>148</sup> 'The Victoria Military Hospital at Hamble', *ILN*, 24 May 1856, p.547.

<sup>149</sup> 'The Victoria Military Hospital at Hamble', p.547.

<sup>150</sup> *The Panmure Papers*, ed. by Douglas and Ramsay, II, 333.

<sup>151</sup> WL, RAMC/1191

<sup>152</sup> This background is set-out in the final Netley report: *Report on the Site etc. of the Royal Victoria Hospital, presented to the House of Commons by Command of Her Majesty* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1858)

and position by open water as well as the ward sizes and layouts.<sup>153</sup> Nevertheless, the report represented a royal/military victory, having largely endorsed the suitability of existing plans.

This outcome is unsurprising in view of the fact that the review was led and presented to Panmure by O'Brien, who was responsible for drawing-up the original plans. Having invested considerable time and effort on the project, O'Brien was bound to seek evidence in support of the status-quo, although the report did acknowledge that 'a great difference of opinion existed amongst the most eminent medical men as to the proper mode of construction of Hospitals'.<sup>154</sup> Also, royal appreciation of Nightingale's personal qualities did not extend to promoting her views upon her return from the Crimea. The royal circle's wariness of a 'volunteer Lady' was still apparent towards the end of the War. Whilst acknowledging Nightingale's 'eminently practical mind', Phipps had advised the Queen: 'Miss Nightingale and her friends should not become military reformers, if they do, in doing some good, they will do incalculably more harm'.<sup>155</sup> He cautioned the Queen against being over-looked by the military authorities and forced to 'contribute to the welfare or improvements of an army in the field through the medium of Miss Nightingale'.<sup>156</sup> The limits of royal interest in Nightingale are explored further in the next chapter but Nightingale nevertheless realised her vision with separate hospital builds.<sup>157</sup>

Despite the controversy, the Royal Victoria Hospital went ahead and operated well into the mid-twentieth century. The Hospital was an important base for medical training. Upon opening in 1863, it hosted an Army Medical School to train young candidates in military hygiene, surgery and sanitation. It also accommodated the first Army Nursing Service made up of female nurses under the superintendence of Lady Jane Stewart.<sup>158</sup> Over the course of her reign, the Queen demonstrated her continued interest in the Hospital and its wounded, print-makers finding her solicitude just as appealing during the Boer War, by which time the Queen was herself disabled (Fig.47). The Hospital was full to capacity during WW1, but its scale proved its downfall in the twentieth

<sup>153</sup> *Report on the Site etc. of the Royal Victoria Hospital* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1858)

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>155</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/F/3/130, Letter from Col. Phipps to Queen, 17 November 1855

<sup>156</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/F/3/130, Letter from Col. Phipps to Queen, 17 November 1855

<sup>157</sup> Nightingale helped to design the Herbert Hospital, Woolwich, which utilised the pavilion layout she championed.

<sup>158</sup> WL, RAMC/1403

century when it became increasingly difficult to maintain. By 1958, the main building was empty and dilapidated and in 1963 a 'mystery' fire damaged the building, precipitating moves to demolish it.<sup>159</sup> Although the building itself has not survived as a reminder of Victorian ambition, it was a major local landmark and attraction, appearing on postcards.<sup>160</sup> The chapel remains, forming a heritage centre at Royal Victoria Country Park, as do the contents of a copper box salvaged from the foundation stone during demolition in 1966.<sup>161</sup> The box contained a Crimean War Medal, the original plans for the hospital, 16 coins and a Victoria Cross, placed there by the Queen during the foundation stone ceremony.<sup>162</sup> The contents of the box ensured that the Hospital's royal and Crimean genesis would be known to future generations and viewed with the same pride as another development in support of the Army, the Victoria Cross (VC).

In the aftermath of hostilities, royalty was deployed frequently to bolster military spectacle and achievements. It will be shown how the vision of the caring, maternal monarch, responding to the plight of the soldier, was replaced with a more assertive and distant royal presence presiding over the Army. The institution of the VC on 29 January 1856 allowed royalty to make a strong statement about its prerogative, whilst also, as Melvin Smith points out, lending authority to mythical constructs of the Victorian soldier-hero.<sup>163</sup> The VC continues to be awarded for meritorious conduct in the field regardless of rank. The Cross has been seen as a key legacy not just of the Crimean War but of Victoria's reign. In 1887, twelve VC prints of 'Deeds of Daring Valour' from the Crimean War onwards were published to commemorate the Queen's Golden Jubilee.<sup>164</sup> A twentieth-century report, marking the centenary of the VC, described it as a 'revolutionary event' due to the 'democratic' status of the medal.<sup>165</sup> It will be argued that the VC demonstrated outward royal appreciation of democratic feeling but that the Cross in itself was a concessionary measure. The inception and reception of the VC is explored next, emphasising that the VC was a subtle, royal

<sup>159</sup> WL, RAMC/1403

<sup>160</sup> NAM:1985-9-68-8

<sup>161</sup> WL, RAMC/1403. The box and its contents are held at the Army Medical Services Museum.

<sup>162</sup> WL, RAMC/1403; RA, QVJ 19 May 1856

<sup>163</sup> Melvin Smith, *Awarded for Valour: A History of the Victoria Cross and the Evolution of British Heroism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), p.25. One of the few studies exploring the VC's inception and its cultural significance. Existing literature comprises of patriotic literature, reference works, administrative histories and biographical studies.

<sup>164</sup> NAM: 2002-07-06, *Heroes of the Victoria Cross* (London: Kensington Fine Art Association, 1887)

<sup>165</sup> 'Unsullied and Supreme', *The Manchester Guardian*, 26 June 1956, p.5.

instrument for directing positive perceptions of soldiers and hence for validating the monarchy's special relationship with the Army.

### **Distinguished Deeds: Royal Heroes**

Victoria gave her first public address to the Crimean Army on 8 July 1856 at Aldershot. Aldershot was then a newly established army base and training ground, a vision realised by Prince Albert.<sup>166</sup> It was a poignant event, gathering together all those who had safely returned from the Crimea. Despite the dismal weather, the Queen overcame her nerves and delivered brief but profound words of concern and understanding to the gathered troops.<sup>167</sup> The speech comprised a variety of emotions, including her maternal regard for the soldier's plight, anxious watchfulness, deep mourning, pride and thankfulness for a safe return, cementing the 'girl left behind' trope used throughout the War. So pleased was the Queen with her words that she annexed them to her journal, but the newspapers also printed the speech. *The Times* reported its welcome reception, the eager cry of 'God Save the Queen!' from the troops and the spread of loyal acclamation and gestures from line to line, concluding that it was 'not to be witnessed without deep emotion'.<sup>168</sup> The Queen's subsequent appearances in military costume at Aldershot (Fig.48), resplendent on horseback and sporting a unique military uniform, were an outward statement of royal leadership. The scarlet riding-habit comprised a general's sash, a blue ribbon of the garter and a general's plume of red and white feathers. The Queen's dresser noted drolly that, for once, her dress attracted universal admiration.<sup>169</sup> This carefully constructed presence marked a shift in royal representation, from womanly responsiveness to confident leadership. The uniform was worn again for the distribution of the first VCs at Hyde Park on 26 June 1857.<sup>170</sup>

For the press, the first VC presentation ceremony at Hyde Park affirmed the military feeling of the nation. The Queen chose the site of Hyde Park, so that she could attend

<sup>166</sup> Martin, III, 85.

<sup>167</sup> RA, QVJ, 8 July 1856

<sup>168</sup> 'The Queen at Aldershot', *The Times*, 9 July 1856, p.12.

<sup>169</sup> *My Mistress the Queen: The Letters of Frieda Arnold, Dresser to Queen Victoria 1854-9*, ed. by Benita Storey and Heinrich Weltzein (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1994), p.19.

<sup>170</sup> An engraving of the Queen on horseback appears in the *Children's Picture Book of English History*, a Whig account culminating with the reign of Queen Victoria. It is based upon a royal print by George Thomas. Millar, II, 869.



on horseback and as a space at which large crowds could gather for the ceremony.<sup>171</sup> The military spectacle of the occasion was universally admired, the reviews and marches featuring different branches of the service and the uniforms of the royal entourage. The royal gathering was dressed in a manner fit for the occasion, the Queen in her striking riding habit, Prince Albert in his Field-Marshal uniform and the Prince of Wales and Prince Alfred in their Highlander costumes.<sup>172</sup> The *Daily News* challenged the myth of the nation's anti-militarism on the basis of the thousands of people who had flocked for the event, whilst *The Times* proclaimed the event a 'new epoch in our military history', in a similar fashion to the Crimean Medal ceremony.<sup>173</sup> Although the royal family's entrance in a cavalcade elicited an enthusiastic response from the crowd, the occasion did not produce the same admiration for the Queen's personal interactions, largely because many people, including journalists, could not witness proceedings. The Queen remained seated on her small mare for the occasion, her riding companions blocking her from being seen by a number of ticket-holders in special galleries. For the *Daily News*, this was the one draw-back of the occasion, whilst an MP writing to *The Times* summed-up his disappointment: 'It was *Hamlet* with the part of Hamlet omitted'.<sup>174</sup> *Reynolds's* sympathies lay with the distant crowd on the outskirts of the Park in a largely descriptive report that opened with the ceremony's exclusive viewing arrangements.<sup>175</sup> However, *The Times* could not criticise the VC itself and its egalitarian symbolism: 'A path is left open to the ambition of the humblest soldier [...] Let us hope that with this last bright episode of the great Russian War, the old regime under which the heroism of the private soldier was ignored is at an end [...]'<sup>176</sup> Indeed, whilst the ceremony itself may have been mis-managed, the VC had been carefully crafted to appeal to the developments of the Crimean War, to middle-class values of individual merit and progress, whilst simultaneously promoting royal prerogative.

The Queen underscored the 'voluntary' nature of VC acts in a letter to Panmure, emphasising individuals using their initiative, a principle which did not accord with traditional military perceptions of the lower ranks but certainly appealed to middle-class

<sup>171</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/B/16/47, Letter from Queen Victoria to Lord Panmure, 12 June 1857

<sup>172</sup> 'Distribution of the Victoria Cross for Valour', *The Times*, 27 June 1857, p.5.

<sup>173</sup> 'Distribution of the Victoria Cross', *Daily News*, 27 June 1857, p.5; Leader, *The Times*, 27 June 1857, p.9.

<sup>174</sup> 'Distribution of the Victoria Cross', *Daily News*, 27 June 1857, p.5; 'Distribution of the Victoria Cross', *The Times*, 29 June 1857, p.12.

<sup>175</sup> 'Distribution of the Victoria Cross', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 28 June 1857, p.5.

<sup>176</sup> 'Distribution of the Victoria Cross for Valour', *The Times*, 27 June 1857, p.5.

notions of enterprise.<sup>177</sup> National celebration of personal initiative was not welcomed by a minority of elitists. Arguments against the VC, similar to those against purchase, focused on the threat to discipline and efficiency as a result of men straining to do something extraordinary. Lord Elcho, who later opposed the franchise bill of 1866, argued in the House of Commons that ‘the Victoria Cross had a direct tendency to induce young men in the army to do things, gallant they might be, but still rash and contrary to discipline, in the hope of obtaining the reward and the honour which it conferred’.<sup>178</sup> He called instead for an extension to the Order of Bath. General Codrington conceded that the VC might threaten discipline and unity, whilst the staunch Conservative Sir William Fraser invoked the Duke of Wellington in support of Elcho: ‘[...] of all the despatches written by that great man there was not one in which the word “glory” did occur, nor one in which the word “duty” did not occur’.<sup>179</sup> It will be argued that the VC’s focus on individual valour channelled the charged emotions of defeat and disillusionment with military strategy into positive appreciation of personal endeavour.

On the 20 January 1855, the pressurised Duke of Newcastle approached Prince Albert for a new Order of Merit open to all ranks of the Army and Navy, acknowledging that the War’s deeds of heroism should not go unrewarded because they are performed by ‘Privates or those below the rank of Major’.<sup>180</sup> For Newcastle, writing at the height of public censure, the patriotic benefits of a new order were clear. Not only would it encourage the individual efforts of the soldier, the democratic status of the medal would boost morale and recruitment at home.<sup>181</sup> In addition to this, Britain lagged behind its French allies, who had established the Médaille Militaire in 1852 for heroism in the ranks as a counterpart to the Legion d’Honor for officers.<sup>182</sup> The VC trumped this development symbolically, as a medal worn and treasured by officers and privates alike. Whilst the VC may have borne the name of the Queen, detailed preparations and stipulations for the medal were laid down by Prince Albert. The Prince was fully aware of the difficulties surrounding military awards and the potential for causing resentment. He noted that the Order of Bath had been granted too freely, due to unwillingness on the

<sup>177</sup> *The Panmure Papers*, ed. by Douglas and Ramsay, II, 355.

<sup>178</sup> Hansard, ‘House of Commons, 30 July 1858, vol. 151 cc.2360-7’

<<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1858/jul/30/observations>> [accessed 3 June 2014]

<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

<sup>180</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/E/5/16, Duke of Newcastle to Prince Albert, 20 January 1855

<sup>181</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/E/5/16, Duke of Newcastle to Prince Albert, 20 January 1855

<sup>182</sup> Smith, p.27.

part of Commanders to incur ‘the odium of making the distinction’ between the merits of officers.<sup>183</sup> Discriminatory recognition of personal valour was seen as the best way forward, as opposed to medals based on collective endeavour during specific campaigns. Drawing upon contemporary controversy over the Crimean Medal, the Prince noted the difficulty of defining a successful battle and the injustice of punishing troops for the mistakes of their commanders in defeated action.<sup>184</sup> The dubious status of the Battle of Balaclava and the celebrated bravery of the Light Brigade informed this insight.<sup>185</sup> Implementation of the award was thwarted by the political crisis terminating Aberdeen’s administration in February 1855, but minor loss of powers under the new Palmerston administration and low morale at the end of the War hardened royal resolve on the matter.

The second-half of the War had proven uninspiring for the British public, who had been eager to celebrate the first battles of the War but found little to redeem the final, embarrassing defeats upon the Redan. William Russell found the ‘trench-bred’ recruits who fought at the Redan no match for the heroes of Alma, Balaclava and Inkerman.<sup>186</sup> The VC therefore fulfilled ongoing attempts to distract from military failure and reaffirm the Army’s national standing. The VC also coincided with political developments that posed a threat to royal prerogative. The VC’s institution on 29 January 1856 followed the publication of a report by Captain Alexander Tulloch and Sir John McNeill on 20 January 1856, the product of a Parliamentary investigation into supply failure in the Crimea. The report attacked Lord Raglan’s staff and Commissary General William Filder, leading to calls for the latter’s replacement. Palmerston had submitted the report to Parliament without the consent of the Queen, causing great anxiety about the royal balance of power.<sup>187</sup> In a letter to the then Commander-in-Chief, Codrington, Panmure noted that ‘high personages are fearful lest this opportunity be seized to get the administration of the Army placed under control of Parliament’ and he expressed a desire to see the Queen’s authority upheld.<sup>188</sup> A Royal Commission was therefore set up, resulting in the infamous Chelsea Board of Inquiry of April 1856. The

<sup>183</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/E/5/18, Memorandum by Prince Albert, 22 January 1855

<sup>184</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/E/5/18, Memorandum by Prince Albert, 22 January 1855

<sup>185</sup> *The Times* printed a letter to the editor asking ‘Why is there no clasp for Balaklava?’ on 8 January 1855, p.5.

<sup>186</sup> ‘The Fall of Sebastopol’, *The Times*, 26 September 1855, p.7.

<sup>187</sup> Hugh Small, *The Crimean War: Queen Victoria’s War with the Russian Tsars* (Stroud:Tempus Publishing, 2007), p.194.

<sup>188</sup> *The Panmure Papers*, ed. by Douglas and Ramsay, II, 105.

Inquiry exonerated the officers accused and shifted blame onto the civilian departments in Whitehall, demonstrating an unhelpful tussle between the two sides of the Army's administration.

Panmure was sensitive to royal concerns about loss of control over Army matters and endorsed the VC as an expression of royal authority. He wrote to the Prince: 'It must declare throughout the Royal Will and Pleasure of the Queen – and bear the stamp of an act of her own prerogative'.<sup>189</sup> Prince Albert urged Panmure to issue the warrant prior to the re-convening of Parliament on 31 January 1856, to prevent political interference.<sup>190</sup> The VC warrant placed the selection process in the hands of the military and gave the Queen final jurisdiction, protecting, as Smith elucidates, what was increasingly an abstract link between the Crown and the Army.<sup>191</sup> Through the use of first person plural, royal conviction and possession pervades the warrant, the VC arising from 'Our Royal consideration' and the rules subject to 'confirmation by Us'.<sup>192</sup> Royal prerogative was maintained when the first names were presented for approval to the Queen and the War Office in February 1857. Panmure's suggestion of gazetting the names before Parliament was rejected by the Queen in no uncertain terms: 'To make such a report to Parliament by laying it on the table of the House would look like an appeal to its decision in a matter which clearly belongs solely and entirely to the discretion of the Crown'.<sup>193</sup> Panmure relented on this matter too. His position was a difficult one, acting as a mediator between Crown and Parliament, and he had more controversial matters in hand which required a delicate balancing act, not least the reduction of the Army in peace-time.

Altogether 111 VCs were awarded for service during the Crimean War, of which 84 were won by the Army, 24 by the Royal Navy and 3 by the Royal Marines.<sup>194</sup> Over the course of 1856, the military authorities interpreted the warrant according to certain ideals of heroic conduct. The warrant focused both on combat as the sole arena for

<sup>189</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/E/6/78, Panmure to Prince Albert, 14 January 1856

<sup>190</sup> Smith, p.41.

<sup>191</sup> Smith, p.39.

<sup>192</sup> *The V.C and D.S.O.*, ed. by Creagh O'Moore and E. Humphris, 3 vols (London: The Standard Art Book Co., 1924), I, n.p. The warrant set out fifteen clauses for selection, de-selection and pension benefits of £10 per annum.

<sup>193</sup> *The Panmure Papers*, ed. by Douglas and Ramsay, II, 355.

<sup>194</sup> Lesley Smurthwaite, 'How the Crimean War helped to shape the development of Britain's system of Military Awards', in *A Most Desperate Undertaking: The British Army in the Crimea 1854-56*, ed. by Alastair Massie (London: National Army Museum, 2003), p.384.

heroism and a chivalrous ideal of the Army and Navy as deeply patriotic and selflessly brave. The early awards are notable for supporting abstract notions of battle-field honour and recognising humanitarian efforts. The showcasing of bravery in the press and in later publications demonstrates similar actions were honoured across the different theatres of the Baltic and the Crimea, and across different parts of the service.<sup>195</sup> The *ILN* celebrated the occasion by publishing a four page spread comprising vignettes of choice acts of valour across the Army and Navy.<sup>196</sup> The vignettes depict fearless attempts to gain tactical advantage, such as dangerous reconnaissance, efforts to guard military honour and property, such as defending the regimental colours or reclaiming British guns, and successful attempts to rescue injured or surrounded comrades at great personal risk. Saving of life accounted for a number of awards, counter-acting the notion of impersonal warfare. In a leading editorial, *The Times* welcomed the VC awards as a reminder that ‘in spite of science, the struggles of nations are not reduced to a mere mechanical destruction of human life’.<sup>197</sup> The VC was seen to relate the human face of war, bridging civil-military relations.

Rarely were singularly aggressive acts against the Russians celebrated as examples of martial prowess at this time. Parry cites the VC and other wartime developments as presenting the Army in a more respectable and attractive light, rather than an arm of state violence.<sup>198</sup> The case of Private McGuire, one of the few instances in which the Queen asserted her right to over-rule a recommendation, supports this supposition. McGuire, of the 33<sup>rd</sup> Regiment, was taken prisoner by the Russians whilst on sharpshooter duty but promptly evaded capture. According to the testimony of his commanding officer, Major George Mundy, McGuire noticed that the Russian on his right was carrying his firelock ‘very clumsily’ and so sprang forward, ‘wrested the firelock from him & shot him dead, then swung the firelock round’ and hit the other Russian in the stomach before re-joining his regiment.<sup>199</sup> A print released to commemorate the action, number eight in Lloyd’s print series entitled ‘Incidents from the War in the Crimea’, is held at NAM (Fig.49). It shows the point at which McGuire

<sup>195</sup> ‘The Victoria Cross’, *The Times*, 26 February 1857, p.6; ‘The Victoria Cross’, *ILN*, 20 June 1857, n.p.; *The Victoria Cross: An Official Chronicle* (London: O’Byrne Brothers, 1865)

<sup>196</sup> ‘The Victoria Cross’, *ILN*, 20 June 1857, n.p.

<sup>197</sup> Leader, *The Times*, 26 February 1857, p.8.

<sup>198</sup> Jonathan Parry, *The Politics of Patriotism: English Liberalism, National Identity and Europe 1830-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.72.

<sup>199</sup> NAM: 2002-03-36, Journal of Major George Mundy, 31 October 1854

leapt between his assailants and shot his foe in the face. The print bears a cartoon quality and the brutality of the act is disguised by the discharge of crudely depicted smoke from the rifle, which conveniently obscures the face of the Russian. The print contrasts the liveliness of McGuire, wearing brightly coloured uniform, against his shocked Russian captors. At best the act was born of heightened fear of the consequences of capture and at worst it was an unnecessary demonstration of violent bravado. Yet, McGuire's initiative found an admiring audience in military circles, showing how a private soldier could be rewarded for gallant action prior to the institution of the VC. Mundy viewed McGuire's act as demonstrating 'great pluck and presence of mind, for if he had failed he would certainly have been shot'.<sup>200</sup> McGuire received a gratuity of £5 from Lord Raglan for gallant conduct in the field. The description accompanying the print exhibits pride in the cool, routine nature of the act: 'Calmly picking up his own Minnie, our friend returned to his regiment'.<sup>201</sup> However, the Queen and Prince Albert considered McGuire's case as one of 'doubtful morality', since it encouraged people to kill rather than make their enemy prisoner.<sup>202</sup> The Queen's authority on this was upheld and so McGuire was prevented from receiving a VC. Instead, the public were presented with men who had confidently taken Russian prisoners, as in 'W. Norman Bringing in Single-Handedly Two Russian Prisoners' (Fig.50) or were taken prisoner as a result of assisting others. The case highlights that the Queen was not willing to be associated with acts which presented combat as anything other than an honourable and meaningful pursuit. Defence rather than offense was championed as fitting criteria for royal recognition. A late-Victorian writer welcomed the VC's redemption of the British soldier and sailor, in view of the likely continuance of wars, but he recognised the contradictions and complexities of wartime endeavour:

It does seem an extraordinary comment on human nature, that, amid the clash of arms and the fury of battle, men can be bold as lions – aye, ferocious as tigers – one minute, and gentle as lambs – loving as women – the next, and are willing to sacrifice their own lives in their eagerness to save others, and to alleviate similar suffering in their comrades to that which they have done their best to cause in the heat of battle [...]<sup>203</sup>

<sup>200</sup> NAM: 2002-03-36, Journal of Major George Mundy, 31 October 1854

<sup>201</sup> *A Most Desperate Undertaking*, ed. by Massie, p.97.

<sup>202</sup> *The Panmure Papers*, ed. by Douglas and Ramsay, II, 355.

<sup>203</sup> T.E. Toomey, *Victoria Cross and How Won* (London: Alfred Boot and Son, 1889), p.13.

The institution of the VC coincided with another important royal assignment that displaced the War's failures and losses by celebrating the innate character of the regular soldier, not just approved deeds of valour. The Queen had praised publicly the Crimean soldier's 'instinctive determination' to overcome the evils of war.<sup>204</sup> This flattering and reassuring assessment was embedded in another Cundall and Howlett photographic assignment, commissioned by the Queen, which presented the soldier as a paragon of steely virtue. The 'Crimean Heroes' series, as they were styled when released commercially, consist of individual and group shots of unshaven, ruddy-looking soldiers who made an impression on the Queen as 'real fighting men' during publicised victory parades (Fig.51).<sup>205</sup> In her eagerness to capture the warlike appearance of returning soldiers, the Queen gave a day's notice to Cundall and Howlett for the sittings for fear the men would shave their beards off.<sup>206</sup> The photographs feature her favourite regiments, the Guards and the Scottish Highlanders, who returned in July 1856, but also members of the Royal Sappers and Miners and Royal Artillery who paraded at Woolwich in March 1856. They mark the soldier's endurance of a prolonged and harsh campaign and national pride in his stoic bearing. The immediate power of 'real fighting men', fresh from the trials of war and bearing the marks of a distant clime, was appreciated more recently by the Royal Mail. In 2004, they issued six stamps featuring the faces of Cundall and Howlett's 'Crimean Heroes' to mark the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Crimean War, copied from NAM's photographs.<sup>207</sup> The Royal Mail's designer was originally intent on a wider range of images to commemorate the anniversary, depicting well-known 'soldier's friends', such as Russell, Nightingale and Seacole. However, when shown NAM's 'Crimean Heroes' album he disregarded his original brief on recognisable personalities of the War, so struck was he by Cundall and Howlett's photographs.<sup>208</sup> The photographs celebrate the workers of the War, men literally bearing the burdens and equipment of their mission.

It can be seen that the aftermath of the War supplanted visions of the soldier as a wounded victim with a more encouraging trope of the strong, selfless hero. These charismatic heroes were the saviours of the War, a product of the monarchy's attempts

<sup>204</sup> General Order issued by Horse Guards. 'The Queen to the Army', *The Times*, 7 August 1856, p.8.

<sup>205</sup> RA, QVJ, 13 March 1856

<sup>206</sup> Diamond and Taylor, p.145.

<sup>207</sup> NAM: 2005-01-75

<sup>208</sup> Email correspondence: Alastair Massie (Head of Academic Access, National Army Museum) to Rachel Bates, 24 May 2013.

to reinstate public pride in the Army and therefore secure its own authority and image. The popularity of the VC supported a resurgence of militarism and a belief in the Army's moral ascendancy. The success of this campaign is encapsulated in a *Times* leading editorial. The first VC awards were categorised as a 'cheerful subject' to round off news on returns showing overall casualty figures from the war.<sup>209</sup> An early publication on the VC enthused that the worthiest acts of civic virtue were pale in comparison to military renown and declared the award a 'new order of chivalry instituted in the nineteenth-century'.<sup>210</sup> The publication resurrected the notion of the falsity of the age, its 'glittering shams', as expressed in Tennyson's poem *Maud*, and found solace in inherently pure VC knights. As another patriotic publication stated, countering earlier concerns about the VC leading to glory-seeking, the soldier could only win the VC by 'forgetting himself, his own honour and glory, and by working for something beyond, and outside, and apart'.<sup>211</sup> The number of awards for humanitarian efforts reinforced the soldier's moral standing. However, public investment in soldiers and their vocation did not fundamentally change the make-up of the Army.

Royal investment in the VC hero undermined the work of reformers, particularly those who questioned the purchase system. During the McNeill-Tulloch investigation, the purchase question was revived, a reform the monarchy opposed. Royal influence had worked consistently to prevent critics of purchase gaining too much power. The Queen objected to the Radical Austen Henry Layard becoming Under-Secretary-for-War following the government re-shuffle in 1855.<sup>212</sup> Panmure's correspondence reveals that the Queen also prevented General De Lacy Evans from sitting on the Chelsea Board.<sup>213</sup> Evans was a well-known agitator, who called for a motion on the abolition of purchase in the House of Commons in March 1856.<sup>214</sup> The Queen's views on purchase were strong, influenced by her conservative military advisors, who argued, in a similar fashion to critics of the VC, that discipline would be compromised by the abolition of purchase. In a conversation with Lord Palmerston, she imparted the view that it would

<sup>209</sup> Leader, *The Times*, 26 February 1857, p.8. The total loss reported was 30,301 men out of 82,901.

<sup>210</sup> *The Victoria Cross*, pp.5-7.

<sup>211</sup> *The Romance of the Victoria Cross* (London: George Newnes Ltd.), p.6. Not all VC recipients fulfilled mid-Victorian ideals. Smith highlights the interesting case of Edward St. John Daniel, ADC to the celebrated Captain William Peel. He was stripped of his VC in 1861, accused of taking sexual liberties with his subordinates. Smith, 'Awarded for Valour', pp.22-23.

<sup>212</sup> RA, QVJ, 5 February 1855

<sup>213</sup> *The Panmure Papers*, ed. by Douglas and Ramsay, II, 110.

<sup>214</sup> *The Panmure Papers*, ed. by Douglas and Ramsay, II, 139.



be an 'extraordinary mistake' to think improvement could be obtained by promoting men from the ranks, whom the men never respected in the same way as they did the 'real born gentleman'.<sup>215</sup> Palmerston was sympathetic and after a debate in Parliament, the purchase question was once again brought under royal/military control through a Royal Commission, resulting in the suspension of the purchase debate until the late-1860s.<sup>216</sup> As Sweetman points out, peace re-awakened traditional prejudices that stifled progress on reform until over a decade later.<sup>217</sup> Longford argues in her biography of Victoria that the Queen relied on the aristocratic hierarchy in the Army to 'preserve her own magical balance on the point of the military pyramid'.<sup>218</sup> The monarchy, by lobbying the Palmerston ministry, prevented fundamental Army reform to protect its own prerogative and the traditional interests of the officer class. Thus, the VC was more a compensatory reward for meritorious conduct, which responded to the regular soldier's new-found status but ensured that it was celebrated in exceptional circumstances. In keeping with conservative attitudes on purchase, visual and written interpretations of the VC in the 1860s worked to blend the soldier's enhanced reputation with the Army's existing hierarchy.

Joany Hichberger has shown how Louis Desanges' VC portraits, painted between 1859 and 1862 and displayed at the Crystal Palace until the 1880s, emphasised traditional hierarchy.<sup>219</sup> Hichberger claims Desanges featured only six privates as principal, VC winners, though the number may be slightly higher since Hichberger bases this on a smaller estimate of Desanges' known works.<sup>220</sup> More revealing is Hichberger's analysis of Desanges' mode of representation. Whilst *ILN* coverage of the VC awards paid equal attention to humane acts instigated by officers towards other ranks, such as Lieutenant Gerald Graham bringing in wounded men, Desanges favours supportive gestures of the ranks towards officers.<sup>221</sup> Of the eight large paintings on display in

<sup>215</sup> RA, QVJ, 30 June 1855. The Queen repeated this view in a journal entry for the 29 July 1855.

<sup>216</sup> Carl Slater, 'The Problem of Purchase Abolition in the British Army 1856-1862', *Military History Journal*, 4 (1979) <<http://samilitaryhistory.org/vol046cs.html>> [accessed 26 April 2013] (Part V, para.19 of 19)

<sup>217</sup> Sweetman, *War and Administration*, p.132.

<sup>218</sup> Longford, p.267.

<sup>219</sup> Joany Hichberger, 'Democratising Glory? The Victoria Cross Paintings of Louis Desanges', *Oxford Art Journal*, 7 (1985), 42-51.

<sup>220</sup> Hichberger, p.45. Major Robins updates Hichberger's estimate of fifty paintings to sixty, based on the discovery of two additional exhibition catalogues. See 'Louis William Desanges and the Missing Victoria Cross Paintings', *Journal of Army Historical Research*, 90 (2012), p.142. Also, Hichberger does not take into account Desanges' more numerous studies of NCOs.

<sup>221</sup> 'The Victoria Cross', *ILN*, 20 June 1857, n.p; Hichberger, p.45.

1859, singled out as the ‘best known historical incidents’ in a contemporary review, one featured a VC hero from the ranks, Corporal Robert Shields.<sup>222</sup> Shields won his VC for bringing in a wounded officer from an exposed position. Hichberger cites a painting held at NAM, identifying it as ‘Private John Sims, 34<sup>th</sup> Regiment winning the VC during the Assault on the Redan’, trusting the catalogue record at the time of publication. The painting shows a private fiercely protecting a wounded officer by fending-off numerous Russians with his bayonet and rifle. The actual account of Sims’ winning conduct states that he brought in wounded soldiers outside the trenches in daylight whilst under heavy fire.<sup>223</sup> The painting’s imprecise location and the insertion of an officer led Hichberger to reasonably conclude that Desanges had adapted the scene in favour of feudal ideals, the private as a loyal asset to his commanding officer. The curatorial files at NAM shed new light on the painting’s subject, revealing it to be of Private McDermond of the 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment, who won the VC for coming to the assistance of Colonel Haly at Inkerman (Fig.52).<sup>224</sup> It is believed that the actual painting of Sims was distributed to the local regimental museum by mistake, assuming it was of McDermond. However, Hichberger’s point still stands, since the painting of Sims is almost identical, showing the same defensive stance, wearing the same beard and most importantly, featuring a swooning, prostrate officer.<sup>225</sup> The administrative confusion only serves to underscore Desanges’ type-casting of confident, working-class heroes and officers, who are given a bodily gracefulness preserving the Army’s officer-gentleman tradition.

Hichberger’s interpretation of Desanges’ VC series is only undermined by her premise that the heroicisation of the ranks was a strategy of the ‘upper middle classes to demonstrate the unfitness of the aristocracy to control the Army’.<sup>226</sup> The level of royal involvement in the VC means that elevation of the ranks was not simply a tool against the aristocracy, as perhaps it was during the War, but a tool for the aristocracy to control the new-found status of the soldier. The paintings were displayed at the Crystal Palace for a modest shilling entry under the patronage of the Duke of Cambridge and Prince Edward Saxe-Weimar, ADC to the Queen.<sup>227</sup> Desanges had royal connections through

<sup>222</sup> Robins, p.143.

<sup>223</sup> O’Moore and Humphris, I, 20.

<sup>224</sup> NAM Curatorial File, 1958-12-40-1

<sup>225</sup> NAM Curatorial File, 1958-12-40-1

<sup>226</sup> Hichberger, p.42.

<sup>227</sup> ‘Victoria Cross Gallery’, *The Times*, 30 March 1861, p.10.

one of his VC subjects and eventual purchaser of the series, Sir Robert Lord Lindsay. Lindsay was one of the first VC winners for his defence of the regimental colours at Alma; he was also equerry to the Prince of Wales.<sup>228</sup> Desanges' stylized historical portraits were praised by newspapers, who viewed them as important, patriotic 'records' and repeatedly commended the dedication of Desanges himself in taking up a project worthy of state patronage:

The exhibition may be considered a most remarkable instance of individual perseverance and enterprise [...] In other countries such a collection would be a result of a Government order, but here a single artist has originated and completed it at his own risk [...]<sup>229</sup>

The paper over-estimated Desanges' personal risk, owing to his connections, but in doing so privileged Desanges in similar terms to the intrepid VC hero. In reality, Desanges embarked on a piece of state propaganda that was both popular and commercially successful. In 1864, the works were purchased by a wealthy gentleman from Leeds, Henry Woods, who loaned them back to Crystal Palace for an extended period of public edification.<sup>230</sup> Enthusiastic reception of the VC and of Desanges' paintings by the middle-classes, reveal the success of an over-riding strategy on the part of the monarchy and the military authorities to extend the appeal of the Army and existing military culture.

The superior tone of an 'official' chronicle of the VC demonstrates how the VC's much vaunted democratic status was relative:

The private, graced with such a distinction, is no longer a plebeian [...] Even if his social and military rank should remain unchanged, he is raised morally much above his former self [...] we are glad to see that many of those who have earned the VC as privates, or as corporals, or as sergeants, wear it first over an officer's uniform<sup>231</sup>

This extract and another from Samuel Beeton's school-boy publication *Our Soldiers and the Victoria Cross* (1867), obviates the issue of social mobility within the Army by substituting it with the moral enhancement of the VC bearer. Describing a sergeant

<sup>228</sup> Hichberger, p.43.

<sup>229</sup> 'Victoria Cross Gallery', *The Times*, 2 April 1860, p.12. The *Morning Post* expressed similar sentiments, praising Desanges' 'untiring industry' and concluded that the pictures were not only 'national records' but 'heroic in conception.' See 'The Victoria Cross Gallery', 5 April 1860, p.5; 'The Victoria Cross Gallery', *Morning Post*, 2 April 1861, p.6.

<sup>230</sup> In 1900, Lindsay (then known as Lord Wantage) presented the paintings to Wantage Town Council for the public benefit. Robins, pp.143-44.

<sup>231</sup> *The Victoria Cross*, p.7.

wounded in the head at Inkerman, Beeton pointed out that such a hero may have been promoted to the rank of field marshal in the French Army, but, in the spirit of Elcho and Fraser, he counsels: ‘the great thing is to do our duty in the position we occupy; and our friend [...] is happier, probably than if he had had greatness thrust upon him’.<sup>232</sup> As Hichberger argues, Beeton disposes of the issue of promotion from the ranks by embracing heroism.<sup>233</sup> Beeton speaks for the NCO and crudely realigns the soldier’s aspirations for promotion with gratuitous ‘greatness’. Beeton’s view may have been ‘middle-class’, but inclusivity interpreted in narrow terms also sustained the interests of the monarchy and the military establishment.

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<sup>232</sup> S.O. Beeton, *Our Soldiers and the V.C* (London: Ward, Lock and Co., 1867), p.6.

<sup>233</sup> Hichberger, p.48.

## Conclusion

Royal influence during the Crimean War was considerable on a symbolic level and heavily mediated by the press. Popular media projected the monarchy largely as a revered sympathiser and the ultimate vessel of public sentiment in relation to the soldier, though republican newspapers were cynical of this view. Whilst the Liberal press criticised aspects of royal ceremony, on the whole it remained supportive of the monarchy during the War, focusing on the figure of the Queen and her immediate family as a welcome locus of popular feeling when disillusionment with other sectors of the mid-Victorian establishment was strong. The Queen's domestic image provided a point of unity, an imaginary extended family and a 'community of feeling'. However, representations of the Queen as an apolitical vessel for this feeling were inherently misleading, masking both variance of public opinion and a concurrent struggle between Parliament and the Crown for influence over the Army. The examples focused upon in this chapter demonstrate the importance attached to sentiment and intimacy between the monarch and the Army at a time when royal prerogative was being challenged. The 'leaked letter' was written for dissemination and provided patriotic balm to *The Times'* divisive attack over the winter of 1854, which many regarded as damaging to the War effort. Following demonstration of royal sympathy over subsequent months, the distribution of the Crimean Medals rebuffed *The Times'* class commentary altogether in a ceremony which placed the Queen as central to the interests of wounded officers and privates. Representations of the Ceremony presented both a personal, touchable monarch, whilst subtly endorsing traditional Army hierarchy between privates and officers, Horse Guards and the Queen. These representations also promoted the committed officer, equally worthy of public appreciation for front line sacrifice, by featuring a disabled officer. Unlike Cundall and Howlett's photographs of the wounded, however, the extent of injury and suffering is disguised through a smile reciprocated by the Queen. Like other prints and paintings capturing royal interaction with the wounded in this period, the Queen's aura of domestic comfort and security works to countervail the soldier's suffering for home audiences.

Nevertheless, by commissioning Cundall and Howlett's photographs of wounded soldiers recuperating at Chatham, Queen Victoria left an extraordinary record of suffering and the body in pain. The unsmiling countenances of ordinary soldiers, some desolate, some determined, and their mutilated forms acknowledge variously the

Queen's humane interest in the afterlife of the wounded soldier and surgical achievements. The photographs memorialise the Queen's close proximity to destructive war, fostering a new kind of intimacy that attests vividly to the prominence and importance of the wounded soldier in this period. Royal response had to keep pace with the Army's new followers. The wounded soldier was supported by new advocates, such as Nightingale, who were viewed as a potential threat to royal prerogative. The debate generated by new input and ideas is encapsulated in the creation of the Royal Victoria Hospital, a project which weathered criticism and allowed the Queen to preside over a bold statement of investment in the soldier and his healing.

Ultimately, however, a restorative royal presence cemented existing Army structures and its own interests. Whilst the Queen and Prince Albert assisted many individual soldiers from altruistic motives, they operated within the wider interests of the monarchy as head of the Army. As representation moved away from the politics of wounding following the War, royal intervention did not just exert a nurturing presence, but instead inspired leadership. Royal initiatives raised the profile of the Army, and in turn the monarchy, along egalitarian lines and brought to the fore the hard-working, self-sacrificing Crimean hero. However, the VC recognised personal merit in exceptional circumstances and it was not until the late-1860s that the purchase question revived debates surrounding all-round ability. The image of the regular soldier achieved unprecedented prominence as a result of the Crimean War and the privileged attentions of the Queen, as wounded victims and surgical successes, as returning 'Crimean Heroes', and as humane VC winners loyally defending comrades. Yet, these developments did not extend to revising the social code of the Army. In this sense, the soldier was the Queen's man and not in control of his own destiny.

The next chapter turns to Florence Nightingale, the other popular champion of the Crimean Army. It explores further the powerful stabilising effects of female sympathy perpetuated by the monarchy and the press in wartime and its impact on Nightingale's national image in the twentieth century. Drawing upon the relationship between touch, sentiment and political propaganda in this chapter, Chapter 4 explores the emotive power of objects and monuments as testimonials to Nightingale and her work.

## Chapter 4

### Celebrity and Reliquary: Nightingale in the Public Imagination

The “relics” of the Crimean War. What are they? They are first the tremendous lessons we have learnt from its blunders and ignorances. And next, they are Trained Nurses and the progress of Hygiene. These are the representations of the Crimean War [...] I won’t be made a sign at an Exhibition.<sup>1</sup>

Thus Florence Nightingale passionately wrote in response to a request to borrow items from her for the Victorian Era Exhibition of 1897. The exhibition, held at Earls Court, was in honour of Queen Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee and designed to showcase major advances of the age. It was privately funded but public support was relied upon for the content of the exhibition at a time when many objects relating to Nightingale were still in private hands. Requests were made for Nightingale’s ‘Crimean relics’, which were intended to shape the story of nursing up until that point, a sub-category of the ‘Women’s Work’ section.<sup>2</sup> ‘Relics’ was a common descriptor for historic artefacts but as Nightingale’s reaction demonstrates, the term is often associated with a limited, superficial sense of the past. Eva Giloi elucidates that ‘relics are fragments, isolated and unmoored objects in need of narratives to give them meaning’.<sup>3</sup> All historic artefacts are ‘unmoored’ but the narrative supplied to ‘relics’ is emotionally charged due to their direct association with a hallowed person or event. Rachel Maines and James Glynn have characterised relics as ‘numinous objects’, artefacts that are psychologically and not materially significant: ‘They are the objects we collect and preserve not for what they reveal to us as material documents, or for any visible aesthetic quality, but for their association, real or imagined, with some person, place or event endowed with special sociocultural magic’.<sup>4</sup> Nightingale’s views reveal the contested role of such objects once they reach the public arena and the responsibility

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Edward Cook, *The Life of Florence Nightingale*, 2 vols (London: MacMillan and Co., 1913), II, 409.

<sup>2</sup> The exhibition was divided into a number of broad themes, including ‘Scientific’, ‘Historical and Commemorative’ and ‘Commercial and Industrial’ and ‘Women’s Work.’ London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), LCC/AR/TH/2/22, Programme

<sup>3</sup> Eva Giloi, *Monarchy, Myth and Material Culture in Germany 1750-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p.7.

<sup>4</sup> Rachel Maines and James Glynn, ‘Numinous Objects’, *The Public Historian*, 15 (1993), p.10.

attendant upon them as ‘signs’ or symbols of past conflict. She was clearly wary of the Crimean War being viewed as a past object of curiosity, without underlining its significance or legacy for the present. In the end, touched by the personal appeals of certain individuals, an elderly Nightingale relented and loaned a bust by John Steell (Fig.58) and the battered carriage she used in the Crimea to tour military hospitals.<sup>5</sup> As her friend Matron Eva Luckes implored: ‘the public loves something tangible for its reverent loving feeling towards yourself to gather around’.<sup>6</sup> Luckes outlines vividly a form of hero-worship in which objects substitute their subject. As in the previous chapter’s consideration of the importance of touch to the Queen’s public relationship with soldiers, the bust and the carriage’s effectiveness rests upon their ability to collapse distance between Nightingale and her admirers. The requests for ‘Crimean relics’ and Nightingale’s exasperated response serve to illustrate the broader themes of this chapter concerning hero-worship of Nightingale and the status objects could assume in public-led comment.

It is ironic, in view of Nightingale’s discomfort with her public profile that few Victorians have been subject to such intense scrutiny, both in the popular imagination and in scholarly literature. The far-reaching nature of Nightingale’s work and beliefs in the nineteenth-century, which covered health care and nursing, religious and philosophical debate, the role of women, the role of government, the Army and social reforms for the poor, have attracted scholars from diverse disciplines.<sup>7</sup> Numerous biographical studies, both idealistic and derogatory, have attempted to unveil Nightingale’s personal life and her character through her work. Nineteenth-century accounts embraced hagiography, whereas late twentieth-century accounts erred towards the other extreme in de-bunking the ‘Lady with the Lamp’.<sup>8</sup> This chapter will not add much to the extensive literature assessing Nightingale’s life and work, but rather it seeks to understand the cultural significance of British, mainly posthumous, constructions of Nightingale. In doing so, it draws inspiration from approaches to the

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<sup>5</sup> Cook, II, 409.

<sup>6</sup> LMA, H1/ST/NC/2/18/1/97, Letter from Eva Luckes to Florence Nightingale, 10 April 1897

<sup>7</sup> These disciplines include nursing, sociology, theology, literary studies. Lynn McDonald’s project brings together all of Nightingale’s published and unpublished writings, exposing the range of Nightingale’s interests and pursuits in one series of volumes. *The Collected Works of Florence Nightingale*, ed. by Lynn McDonald, 16 vols (Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2001-2012)

<sup>8</sup> *Heroines Worthy of the Red Cross: Florence Nightingale, Elizabeth Bunyan and Elizabeth Fry* (London: Dean and Son, 1883); Francis Barrymore Smith, *Florence Nightingale: Reputation and Power* (London: Croom Helm, 1982)



study of historic heroes. Max Jones' article on this subject is a valuable contribution, highlighting the pitfalls of both Thomas Carlyle's hero as the divinely ordained great man of history and the more recent phenomenon of deriding past subjects of veneration in a competitive, sensation-driven, market-place.<sup>9</sup> Deriving inspiration from Geoffrey Cubitt's definition of 'hero', Jones instead argues for the study of 'collective emotional investment' in men and women, which shifts emphasis from measuring the greatness of an individual to inquiring why the individual was regarded as a hero.<sup>10</sup>

This chapter will explore the nature of collective emotional investment in Nightingale, as expressed through high-profile gifts, her funeral, literature, public art and commemorative events. It will also touch upon instances of unique individual responses to Nightingale, recognising the importance of both collective narrative and private response. Taking note of Alison Landsberg's work on 'prosthetic memory', this chapter attempts to discern personal expressions of hero-worship working within a recognised commemorative framework.<sup>11</sup> Landsberg responds to what has commonly been identified as a 'memory boom' in recent years, particularly in relation to the world wars, in which museums, commercial objects, 'souvenirs' and tourism seek ways not just to represent a past, but to connect people to a past of which they have no first-hand experience.<sup>12</sup> Landsberg addresses a troubled view of collective memory, as an imposed homogenous narrative, by looking at what individuals bring to mass narratives from their own perspectives in the present.<sup>13</sup> Essentially, she recognises people can react differently to the same stimulus. Similarly, Jones distinguishes between the public image ('representation') and its assimilation into popular culture ('reception') in order to underscore the latter.<sup>14</sup> Reception, or consumption, is particularly important when dealing with Nightingale's representation over a century and a half, during which time her image gained different currencies. The analysis that follows charts imaginary

<sup>9</sup> Max Jones, 'What Should Historians Do with Heroes?', *History Compass*, 5 (2007), p.439.

<sup>10</sup> *Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives*, ed. by Geoffrey Cubitt and Allen Warren (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p.3; Jones, p.441.

<sup>11</sup> Alison Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004)

<sup>12</sup> *War, Memory and Popular Culture*, ed. by Michael Keren and Holger Hewig (Jefferson: McFarland and Co. 2008), p.27; Landsberg, p.20.

<sup>13</sup> Landsberg, pp.9-21. A positive appreciation of the role of collective memory as a source of attachment or belief, working as 'myth' and as nostalgia, is explored in *The Myths We Live By*, ed. by Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson (London and New York: Routledge, 1990) and in Linda Austin, *Nostalgia in Transition 1780-1917* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007). Both texts also address the interaction between personal and public uses of myth and nostalgia.

<sup>14</sup> Jones, p.448.

constructions of Nightingale at critical junctures in her considerable afterlife. These steady acts of tribute and rarer acts of irreverence are revealing about the climate in which they were created.

### **Nightingale in the Nineteenth Century: Meanings and Methods**

As Mary Poovey memorably stated, Nightingale was a ‘vehicle for the aspirations and fantasies of the national character’ during the Crimean War.<sup>15</sup> Yet, for Nightingale, the War and her role in it was not to be simplified or venerated. Firstly, the War fulfilled her earnest desire for meaningful and taxing work to escape the predictable life-style of a wealthy daughter that she had come to loathe.<sup>16</sup> Secondly, the War was the beginning of her political career, a sombre lesson from which she had learned a great deal about the lack of system governing the Army on campaign. Early-on in the War she discovered the scale of the problem. On 4 January 1855, she wrote to her political ally, friend and sponsor, Sidney Herbert:

There is a far greater question to be agitated before the country [...] This is whether the system, or no-system, which is found adequate in time of peace but wholly inadequate to meet the exigencies of a time of war, is to be left as it is – *or* patched up temporarily, as you give a beggar a halfpence – *or* made equal to the wants, not diminishing, but increasing, of a time of awful pressure.<sup>17</sup>

Following the War, the government requested from her a private report on the health failings of the Army, which precipitated a Royal Sanitary Commission in 1857, instigated by Nightingale and her allies. In the prologue to her colossal report on the health of the Army, she appealed: ‘Let it not be said that “it is past – bygones are bygones.” A future war is not past. We are speaking for the future’.<sup>18</sup> Nightingale felt profoundly that the Crimean War was a template for meaningful and radical change. She was first and foremost an uncompromising reformer and strategist for the Army who worked closely with health professionals, politicians and prominent writers, such

<sup>15</sup> Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1988), p.198.

<sup>16</sup> During her early adulthood, she had bouts of depression. Cook, I, 106. The frustrations of her position were set down in her essay ‘Cassandra’.

<sup>17</sup> McDonald, *Collected Works*, XIV (2010), 103.

<sup>18</sup> Florence Nightingale, *Notes on Matters Affecting the Health, Efficiency, and Hospital Administration of the British Army* (1858), as printed in McDonald, *Collected Works*, XIV, 650.

as Harriet Martineau, to achieve her ends.<sup>19</sup> It is against this premise that the chapter explores the relationship between the ‘life as lived’ and what was from an early period a ‘life made sense of’.<sup>20</sup>

The hero-worship of Nightingale is remarkable for the currency it gained early-on in the War. The unprecedented mission of Nightingale and her thirty eight nurses to Turkey attracted a great deal of interest and any negative speculation was dismissed by the leading Liberal papers.<sup>21</sup> Upon arriving at the Barrack Hospital, Scutari, Nightingale’s main duties involved grappling with the Army’s purveying system, a constant theme in her correspondence with Herbert.<sup>22</sup> Nightingale was able to bypass the disjointed process using money from her own considerable funds and from *The Times*’ ‘Sick and Wounded Fund’. The ‘Lady with the Lamp’ myth was introduced by a civilian commissioner of the Fund, who characterised Nightingale as a virtuous and guiding presence amidst the fog of war and the entanglements of medical administration.<sup>23</sup> In a dismal report on the crowded conditions in the hospitals, increasing sickness, a shortage of medical staff and the resentment of the medical authorities towards outside assistance, Mr Macdonald turned to the comfort brought by Nightingale’s presence.<sup>24</sup> At the end of his tenure as commissioner, Macdonald summed-up his views on Nightingale, describing her as ‘that incomparable woman’ who brought relief to the men with her gentle presence. He described her gliding around the wards at night on her ‘solitary rounds’, a ‘little lamp in her hand’.<sup>25</sup> Macdonald promoted the idea that Nightingale’s service was exceptional, a lone light in the East amongst its miseries. Therefore, the mythology that built-up around Nightingale at the height of the War’s difficulties partly served to accentuate the break-down of the medical and supply systems. Only Nightingale, armed with *The Times*’ Fund and a unique combination of

<sup>19</sup> Nightingale worked with Martineau to promote the findings of the Royal Sanitary Commission. Martineau incorporated many of its tenets in her book *England and her Soldiers* (1859). See Lynn McDonald, ‘The Florence Nightingale-Harriet Martineau Collaboration’, in *Harriet Martineau: Theoretical and Methodological Perspectives*, ed. by Michael Hill and Susan Hoecker-Drysdale (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), pp.153-67.

<sup>20</sup> Cubbitt and Warren, p.3.

<sup>21</sup> *Punch* denounced objections to Nightingale, based on her religious beliefs, as ‘churlish’. See ‘Serious Objections to Miss Nightingale’, 27 January 1855, p.37.

<sup>22</sup> McDonald, *Collected Works*, XIV, p.120.

<sup>23</sup> The precise phrase ‘A Lady with a Lamp’ was used in Henry Longfellow’s poem ‘Santa Filomena’ (1857). The increasing certainty surrounding Nightingale’s iconic status over time can be seen in the replacement of indefinite article ‘a’ with definite article ‘the’.

<sup>24</sup> ‘The Sick and Wounded Fund’, *The Times*, 8 February 1855, p.8.

<sup>25</sup> ‘The Sick and Wounded Fund’, p.8.

womanly virtue and ‘surprisingly calm judgement’, could relieve suffering.<sup>26</sup> Macdonald’s description was interpreted visually in the *Illustrated London News* on 24 February 1855 (Fig.53). The accompanying article to the illustration acknowledged its debt to Macdonald’s report.

The *ILN* print depicts Nightingale on a solitary late night round, lighting upon a patient. Later wartime prints depicting Nightingale at Scutari reveal a more collaborative effort, with male orderlies, doctors and other nurses in the background, but the lamp persists as a prominent attribute of Nightingale’s figure (Fig.54). The artist-illustrators of these prints invented the appearance of Nightingale and her lamp, due to her aversion to publicity. The light Nightingale is likely to have used at the Barrack Hospital was not a lamp but a lantern, and an example can be seen at NAM (Fig.55).<sup>27</sup> This lantern was donated to the Royal United Service Institute (RUSI) after it was discovered at the home of Nightingale’s wartime companions, the Bracebridges, and was used as a prototype for the cleaner replica used in the 1951 film *The Lady with the Lamp*, starring Anna Neagle.<sup>28</sup> It is not clear whether the lantern was actually used by Nightingale or the Bracebridges but NAM attributes it to her. The shabby looking Turkish paper lantern, showing signs of heavy use, is less elegant than the small lamps deployed in popular representation, but it speaks more of the makeshift situation Nightingale encountered at the Barrack Hospital. The appearance of the lamp is less important than its representation of light. Mark Bostridge, in his excellent biography, notes how the symbolic use of light had been enhanced in the Victorian imagination by the acclaim for William Holman Hunt’s painting *The Light of the World* exhibited in spring 1854, which shows Christ holding a lantern.<sup>29</sup> The use of the lamp was therefore part of a Christian tradition symbolising hope and redemption. Light contributed to the idea that Nightingale was the War’s sole redeemer and its association with Christ imbued Nightingale’s figure with an exemplary status.

The aura surrounding Nightingale’s image gathered greater momentum as the War wore on. When Nightingale became ill with fever during her first trip to the Crimea in Spring

<sup>26</sup> ‘The Sick and Wounded Fund’, *The Times*, 8 February 1855, p.8.

<sup>27</sup> A sturdier version of the lantern can be seen at the Florence Nightingale Museum, London, donated by Sir Admiral Howard Kelly.

<sup>28</sup> NAM: 1973-06-26, Copy of a letter from J. Compton-Bracebridge, quoted by John Forsaith for his lecture ‘The Lady with a Lamp’.

<sup>29</sup> Mark Bostridge, *Florence Nightingale: The Woman and her Legend* (London: Penguin Books, 2009) p.253.

1855, she became a martyr to her work in the public imagination. News of her illness in England ushered in a new phase of appreciation for her services, strengthened by the seriousness of the fever and fears of her imminent death. Nightingale's sister, Parthenope, recorded the range of tributes she received, ranging from a Scottish ship owner's request to name a vessel after Nightingale, a 'majestic effusion from the family grocer about "heroic conduct"' and Lady Dunsany's comparison of her with Joan of Arc:

Joan's was the same unearthly influence carrying all before its spirit might - Joan's was the same strange and sexless identity, which, belonging as it were neither to man nor woman, seemed to disembody and combine the choicest results of both...Joan's mission too, was the condensation of her country's moral and intellectual power in the person of a young and single woman when the men of that country were so many of them imbecile and effete!<sup>30</sup>

As well as demonstrating the effects of the incompetency thesis outlined in Chapter 1, Lady Dunsany's androgynous vision of Nightingale reveals society's negotiation of Nightingale's unusual public status; Dunsany is unable to reconcile public duty with femininity. In articulating Nightingale's strong, 'sexless' identity, Dunsany reveals the extent to which Nightingale became appropriated for ambivalent heroic ideals.

Parthenope also recorded being sent a 'flaming extract from a County paper in a pamphlet *Stroll to Lea Hurst* [...]'<sup>31</sup> This pamphlet was inspired by a *Derby Telegraph* article and appeared in 1855 as a guide to Nightingale's childhood home at Lea, Derbyshire.<sup>32</sup> The pamphlet was priced at three pence, so marketed for a wide audience. The narrator draws prophetic connections between the aspect of the home and the surrounding countryside with the good works of its resident. The most 'charming and poetical' spot is 'peculiarly well suited to be the home of such a pure and holy character as Miss Nightingale', whilst the beautiful scenery is 'elevating' and inspirational.<sup>33</sup> This rosy view even extends to the mill-workers, who are 'linked together in one bond of love and unity'.<sup>34</sup> The descriptions of Nightingale are overwhelming in their effusiveness and all are character-driven. Her 'ministerings' are 'holy', her sympathies are generous, her zeal is 'untiring', her patience 'saint-like' and

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<sup>30</sup> Quoted in Cook, I, 265.

<sup>31</sup> Cook, I, 265.

<sup>32</sup> Llewyn Jewitt, *A Stroll to Lea Hurst, the Home of Florence Nightingale* (London: Kent and Co., 1855)

<sup>33</sup> Jewitt, p.19.

<sup>34</sup> Jewitt, p.14.

her solitudes ‘hopeful’, casting a ‘halo of light’ which will ‘for ever remain’ around anything connected with her.<sup>35</sup> Here we see an intense form of hero-worship infused with the light mythology, which sees Nightingale as an omnipresent figure. A facsimile of Nightingale’s signature is printed in the text for the scrutiny of Nightingale fans. This personal marker provides readers with a feeling of privileged access to Nightingale, although in reality the signature is merely a reproduction. This devotional piece reveals the workings of Victorian celebrity and mass consumption.

These powerful forms of hero-worship perpetuated a focus on Nightingale as the sole redeemer of the Crimean difficulties, undermining the need for wholesale reform and marginalising the contribution of others. Also, they did nothing to free the idea of nursing from its religious and charitable status. A desire to demonstrate the success of a professional, secular nursing service had been an aim of Nightingale’s and Herbert’s from the outset. Following the end of hostilities in late 1855, Herbert wrote to Prince Albert to request royal support in overcoming the ‘strong prejudice’ attached to female nurses by channelling a public subscription for a Nightingale memorial into the training of hospital nurses.<sup>36</sup> In response, Prince Albert reiterated the Queen’s gratitude towards Nightingale for her services in the East and their approval of a public tribute to this work. However, they felt unable to personally support the training scheme since ‘participation on our part [...] would not accord with a rule which we found it necessary to lay down, not to join in public memorials to persons of our time’.<sup>37</sup> However, he went on to admit exceptions made to this rule in the cases of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel. Here is a telling indication that the Prince did not view Nightingale’s work and achievements of sufficient impact to merit royal patronage. Indeed, the Prince was not convinced of the need for secular nursing. He went on to outline to Herbert the sound moral values inherent in the religious system of nursing.<sup>38</sup> The Prince therefore diplomatically evaded Herbert’s request, refusing to support the proposals of the Nightingale Fund committee as a matter of Crown principle.

Yet, the monarchy was prompted to offer a mark of its appreciation of Nightingale, following the flood of feeling sparked by her illness and recovery. A unique and

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<sup>35</sup> Jewitt, p.8.

<sup>36</sup> RA, VIC/ADDJ/1373, Letter from Sidney Herbert to Prince Albert, 27 October 1855

<sup>37</sup> RA, VIC/ADDJ/1374, Draft letter from Prince Albert to Sidney Herbert, November 1855

<sup>38</sup> RA, VIC/ADDJ/1374, Draft letter from Prince Albert to Sidney Herbert, November 1855

valuable royal gift was underway when Prince Albert wrote his reply to Herbert, undermining the notion that the royals distanced themselves from memorials to ‘persons of our time’ (Fig.56). The brooch was intended as a personal gift for Nightingale, in the absence of other forms of official recognition for women at the time, but the design for the brooch and knowledge of its royal status was publically promoted in the press.<sup>39</sup> The design was even printed on a bone china mug, one of the many pieces of merchandise building upon Nightingale’s wartime celebrity.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, the brooch was given wide public currency, even if it was not the result of a public subscription. The brooch framed the national ideal of Nightingale in the terms already encountered, stamping royal authority upon them. The Queen presented the gift in recognition of Nightingale’s ‘Christian devotion’ and in commemoration of her ‘privileged’ and ‘great and blessed work’.<sup>41</sup> Clearly, the Crown was reluctant to celebrate anything other than Nightingale’s past services, captured subtly here in exceptional and religious terms and thus diverting emphasis from trained, civilian nurses. In February 1856, the *ILN* and the *Art Journal* wrote of the brooch’s ‘chaste’ design and described the symbolism of its different elements.<sup>42</sup> The gold rays emitting from the St George’s cross were described variously as ‘rays of heavenly sympathy’ and representations of the ‘glory of England’. The black band encircling the cross, upon which is inscribed ‘Blessed are the Merciful’, represents charity and good council, whilst the green and gold palm branches signal peaceful endeavour. The three stars are interpreted by the *Art Journal* as symbolising ‘Mercy’, ‘Peace’ and ‘Charity’. However, central to the brooch’s design is not a symbol for nursing or a likeness of Nightingale, but the royal crown accompanied by the letters ‘VR’. The brooch therefore foregrounds the royal donor, from which Nightingale’s merciful and exceptional service emanates.

The phrase ‘Blessed are the Merciful’ reinforced the idea that Nightingale’s services had been a great sacrifice, that she had condescended to be compassionate towards those who are dependent on benevolence. The public’s appreciation of Nightingale’s service to the Army built on the notion of mercy, which was no doubt shaped by public

<sup>39</sup> For example, ‘The Nightingale Jewel’, *Illustrated Times*, 2 February 1856, pp.65-66; ‘The Nightingale Jewel’, *ILN*, 2 February 1856, p.109.

<sup>40</sup> NAM: 2006-08-24-1. The Florence Nightingale Museum has a number of china figurines.

<sup>41</sup> VIC/MAIN/F/4/1 Letter from the Queen to Florence Nightingale, c. November 1855. Nightingale acknowledged receipt of the brooch on 1 December 1855.

<sup>42</sup> ‘The Queen’s Present to Miss Nightingale’, *Art Journal*, 1 February 1856, p.62; ‘The Nightingale Jewel’, *ILN*, 2 February 1856, p.109.

knowledge of her privileged, bourgeois status. A number of different cultural representations subscribed to the idea, which, along with images of the Queen in Chapter 3, promoted female models of care. Lalumia has demonstrated a notable revision of male care in favour of female intervention in Jerry Barratt's *The Mission of Mercy: Florence Nightingale Receiving the Wounded at Scutari* (1857).<sup>43</sup> The scene positions Nightingale centrally amongst a host of other officials and staff outside the walls of Scutari, with a wounded soldier at her feet. In a preparatory painting, Barrett depicts male orderlies attending to a wounded soldier but in the final version they are replaced with a female nurse offering a drink.<sup>44</sup>

A commercial industry thrived upon visions of Nightingale providing direct comfort to wounded soldiers, building upon a study of contrasts identified in Chapter 3. A commercial statuette of Florence Nightingale at NAM demonstrates this commonplace view of womanly sympathy, Nightingale gently supporting and guiding a wounded soldier (Fig.57). The statuette has origins in a *Punch* illustration. In both representations the pity of the soldier's crippled state is emphasised by Nightingale's graceful frame, and in the statuette the soldier's head is lowered to increase the viewer's sympathy. The figures of the soldier and Nightingale incline towards one another, forming an arc around the central feature of the statuette, their point of contact. Nightingale's hands lightly, and tentatively, cradle the arm and the fingers of the soldier. No doubt this lightness of touch was in keeping with rules around etiquette for women of status but it also establishes a subtle power relationship. Through touch, Nightingale's soothing presence accentuates an image of dependency and need, a tactile encounter which would be less acceptable with an intact male protagonist. Emblazoned across Nightingale's chest is a sash with 'SCVTARI' written on it, which confines Nightingale's work with soldiers to the Barrack Hospital. Less refined scenes of Nightingale as the soldier's friend appeared as china figures, as illustrations for short, penny biographies and as broadsheet ballads. 'The Nightingale in the East', a cheap half-penny ballad published by Seven Dials outlines the cheering presence of Nightingale, 'beauteous and good', sent by God 'to succour the brave' and 'as a comfort to man'.<sup>45</sup> The accompanying woodcut illustration was misleading, showing, in the words of one critic, a 'fair countrywoman seated cosily by the side of a downy four-post

<sup>43</sup> Lalumia, *Realism and Politics*, p.91.

<sup>44</sup> Lalumia, p.88. The painting and its preparatory studies are held at the National Portrait Gallery.

<sup>45</sup> Lyrics printed in Cook, II, 460.



bed, and handing a Basin of Hot Gruel (with Brandy in it beyond all doubt) to a stalwart [...] Dragoon, propped up with pillows and looking the very picture of easy comfort'.<sup>46</sup> The illustration celebrates a maternal figure, the soldier transported from hospital into a luxurious home.<sup>47</sup> The examples cited here invest in Nightingale a comforting, reparative presence, which is removed from the prosecution of war.

Many of these representations conflicted with Nightingale's personal drive for her work and her desire for Army reform. By the end of the War, Nightingale had come to realise that her work and the high death rates she had witnessed would be rendered meaningless without a shift in attitudes and practices towards the ordinary soldier. Upon receipt of the royal brooch, Nightingale seized the opportunity to outline some suggestions to the Queen personally, prefixing them subtly with the statement: 'Your Majesty's beautiful present will be to me an object of tender affection recalling the assurance that our Sovereign's heart is in this cause'.<sup>48</sup> By 'cause', Nightingale was referring to the soldier and so interpreted the gift not as royal recognition of her past services, but as support for an ongoing campaign to improve the welfare of soldiers. She made a number of suggestions in the letter designed to reduce drinking, including education, plays, amusements, books, tighter control over canteens and better facilities for sending money home.<sup>49</sup> This is in stark contrast to Lord Panmure's belief that the soldier was not a 'remitting animal'.<sup>50</sup> In the context of such views at the War Office, Nightingale tended to stress the state benefits of health and welfare reform in terms of 'efficiency' and the need for 'positive inducements' for enlistment to sustain the country's considerable interests abroad.<sup>51</sup>

In view of her commitment to Army reform it seems fitting that the only portrait Nightingale sat for was the 1862 marble bust by John Steell (Fig.58), commissioned by the British Army and supported through a penny subscription by non-commissioned

<sup>46</sup> George Johns, 'The poetry of Seven Dials', *Quarterly Review*, 122 (1867), p. 386.

<sup>47</sup> For an alternative reading of masculine medical identity and the Crimean War, see Michael Brown, "'Like a Devoted Army": Medicine, Heroic Masculinity and the Military Paradigm in Victorian Britain', *Journal of British Studies*, 49 (2010), 606-22.

<sup>48</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/F/4/15, Letter from Florence Nightingale to Queen, Scutari, 1 December 1855

<sup>49</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/F/4/15, Letter from Florence Nightingale to Queen, Scutari, 1 December 1855. Nightingale was not the only person working to advocate welfare reforms. Members of the clergy and a number of officers, famously Captain Hedley Vicars, promoted temperance and literacy.

<sup>50</sup> *The Panmure Papers*, ed. by Sir George Douglas and Sir George Dalhousie Ramsay, 2 vols (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908), II, 27-28.

<sup>51</sup> See concluding remarks of *Notes on Health*, in McDonald, *Collected Works*, XIV, 876.

officers and men.<sup>52</sup> Up until this point, Nightingale had resisted the considerable interest in her figure. The choice of Steell, an eminent Scottish sculptor, was no doubt informed by his depiction of Sir John McNeill in 1859, who was one of Nightingale's closest medical allies. After Nightingale's death in 1910, the bust was donated to RUSI in accordance with a stipulation in her will that it should be seen by soldiers and sailors.<sup>53</sup> Nightingale most closely aligned her image with the Army and the bust achieves a different emotional tone when compared to popular representation.

Steell was known for his realism and Nightingale's family considered the bust to be a good likeness, displaying it in the family home at Embley.<sup>54</sup> It is clear that he has not overtly idealised his subject, showing the distinctive line of the nose and mouth. Whilst the cloak recalls classical drapery, Nightingale is shown wearing a Victorian lace cap over her hair. The most striking aspect of the bust is the manner in which Nightingale is portrayed looking pensively down to the left, which could well have been inspired by an earlier photograph (Fig.59). In the photograph, Nightingale is shown seated but wears similar head-dress and adopts an almost identical head pose. The incline of the head signals sombre reflection and humbles her before the viewer. The amplification of this aspect of the pose in the bust achieves a great deal of dignity and, paradoxically, a degree of privacy. Rather than directly confronting the viewer with Nightingale the heroine, Steell's sensitive portrayal draws the viewer into her contemplation, which signals her ongoing work. In line with some of Steell's other sculptures, for example of Walter Scott, Nightingale is shown as a thinker, a point which was not lost upon contemporaries when confronted with a rare female subject:

As a whole the bust is winning and sedentive rather than impressive and commanding, yet such is the inherent intellectuality of expression, that once seen it will not be forgotten, but will rise again and again upon the memory full of freshness of natural and characteristic beauty – soaring immeasurably above the puerilities of conventional sentimentalism.<sup>55</sup>

For this viewer, the bust is not imposing but engaging, not heady but calm and above all it emits an intellectual depth and dignity which would stand the test of time. As Nightingale sat in person for this portrait, it is likely she had a degree of input into the

<sup>52</sup> Cook, II, 469; 'Bust of Florence Nightingale', *Derby Mercury*, 2 May 1860, p.5.

<sup>53</sup> 'Bequests by Miss Florence Nightingale to the Royal United Service Institution', *British Journal of Nursing*, 47 (1911), p.170.

<sup>54</sup> Bostridge, p.266.

<sup>55</sup> 'Bust of Florence Nightingale', *Derby Mercury*, 2 May 1860, p.5.

pose. It can therefore be deemed a relatively faithful evocation of how Nightingale wanted to project her image.

The power of the bust was confirmed at the Victorian Era Exhibition in 1897, its first major public appearance. By this time, Nightingale's activities had faded from view and so the Exhibition was important in resurrecting the Nightingale legend. As her initial reaction to requests for 'Crimean relics' reveals, Nightingale was wary of the Exhibition exploiting her image in a simplistic fashion. However, the bust's appearance in the 'Women's Work' section did not entirely accord with this wish. Nightingale's work was restricted to nursing. Whilst the recognition of nursing as a suitable occupation for women should not be underestimated, in sharp contrast to the first half of the nineteenth century, Nightingale's wider work in support of the health of the Army, as purveyor, administrator, reformer and statistician was neglected. The programme's description of woman's pervading and 'softening influence' reveals that a woman's contribution was still circumscribed.<sup>56</sup> Nightingale tried to persuade exhibition organisers to substitute facts about the Royal Sanitary Commission for some of the Crimean objects. However, she was persuaded by Lady Wantage and others that a human face and an emotional connection was important; the public could not 'love' Royal Commissions.<sup>57</sup>

After the Exhibition, Nightingale wrote to her cousin in a quandary about what to do with the bust. Whilst, on iconoclastic impulse, she wished it 'smashed' she had been told someone laid flowers every day at the bust.<sup>58</sup> Here is an implicit acknowledgement that she could not control her public image or the feelings of others towards her, moreover, that such acts have value and meaning in their own right. In a private capacity, Nightingale understood that objects and material could bear strong associations for the beholder or possessor. During the re-discovery of a paper lantern used by Nightingale at the Bracebridge family home, a folded piece of paper containing dried grass was found. A note with the grass, in Nightingale's hand, read: 'Grass picked by me in the fields of Inkermann watered by my soldiers' blood'.<sup>59</sup> 'Watered by

<sup>56</sup> London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), LCC/AR/TH/2/22, Programme

<sup>57</sup> Cook, II, 409. See also Cecil Woodham-Smith, *Florence Nightingale*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, (London: Penguin, 1955), p.425.

<sup>58</sup> Cook, II, 410.

<sup>59</sup> NAM: 1973-06-26, copy of a letter from J. Compton-Bracebridge, quoted by John Forsaith for his lecture 'The Lady with a Lamp'.

my soldier's blood' reveals not only deep affection towards the soldier but also frames the soldier's sacrifice as a source of nourishment and life. Hope is implicit in the verb 'water'. The plucked grass is a poignant and personal response to a battle Nightingale viewed as strategically and morally significant. In a note to Matron Flora Masson of 1895, she drew upon the courage displayed at Inkerman as 'the battle of the common soldier', which resulted in frightful carnage but 'saved Europe from Russia'.<sup>60</sup> For her, the 'esprit de corps' of the soldiers holding their position without support or guidance, was to be emulated and possibly symbolic of her own struggles for reform.

It is fitting that at the family funeral for Nightingale nine soldiers from the Grenadier, Coldstream and Scots Guards travelled from London to bear her coffin.<sup>61</sup> Not only does this speak of the continuing esteem in which the Army held Nightingale, it was a highly symbolic gesture. The Battalion of Guards had come to represent the Crimean infantryman and particularly the Crimean dead, as the focus of the Crimean memorial at Waterloo Place. Inclusion of living members of the Guards regiments not only united Nightingale in death with the sacrifice of Crimean soldiers but with the prospects of their successors. In the years leading up to and following her death, Nightingale came to occupy formalised practices for national honour and distinction, the subject of centenary celebrations, numerous memorial services, statuary, stamps and banknotes. Both formalised and more unusual, personal responses will be explored next, in particular around the world wars, the Crimean centenary celebrations of 1954, and the notable decline in her reputation in the 1980s and 1990s. What is striking about many responses, both favourable and unfavourable, is the extent to which they were shaped by their own particular contexts. More often than not, in unsettled times, Nightingale's image was a trusted one for harnessing support for a cause or as a vehicle for self-expression.

<sup>60</sup> McDonald, *Collected Works*, XIV, 1042.

<sup>61</sup> 'Miss Nightingale's Funeral', *The Times*, 22 August 1910, p.8.

## Posthumous Responses to Nightingale

The name of Florence Nightingale would live on in many a quiet home where the memory of her goodness was the tradition passed on from father to son, taking rank with deeds of chivalry and devotion in the field. Men would still tell how soldiers would kiss her shadow as it fell upon their bed of sickness [...] they would hand down the record of ‘the Lady with the Lamp’ making her solitary rounds in the wards through the silent night.<sup>62</sup>

These are the reported words of Canon Newbolt, speaking at Nightingale’s memorial service at St Paul’s Cathedral following her death on 13 August 1910. As with any public figure, the turning point in Nightingale’s hero-worship was her passing. In the years following Nightingale’s death, her public legacy was shaped by surviving Victorians, many distilling her pre-eminent status, whilst an influential few challenged it. Newbolt’s words capture beautifully the durability of the Victorian construction of Nightingale as the super-human ‘soldier’s friend’, working single-handedly and unceasingly to achieve a great feat in the service of God. For many, it was this application and industry that fed a sense of national pride in the ‘progress’ of the Victorian era, as charted at the Victorian Era Exhibition. Newbolt’s words not only characterised Nightingale as legend, but perpetuated and re-enacted it. He outlines Nightingale’s unique place in oral history, describing her legend as a ‘record’, signalling trustworthiness and historical veracity. Newbolt’s tribute fulfilled Henry Longfellow’s words in his 1857 poem ‘Santa Filomena’: ‘That light its rays shall cast/From portals of the past’.<sup>63</sup>

The Crimean War was largely seen through the figure of Nightingale in the twentieth century. Between 1915 and 1965 alone ten productions appeared about her; three films, five radio and television plays and two stage plays.<sup>64</sup> Although a fraction of her long life, the Crimean War was a focal point of these dramatic productions, producing an image of the fearless, brave and self-sacrificing nurse.<sup>65</sup> As in the nineteenth century, Nightingale was the War’s focus and figurehead, as humanitarian remedy to its well-known sufferings. Typical of this vested status is a passage in the full-page obituary of

<sup>62</sup> ‘Miss Nightingale’s Funeral’, *The Times*, 22 August 1910, p.8.

<sup>63</sup> Henry Wordsworth Longfellow, ‘Santa Filomena’, in *Literature Online (LION)* <<http://literature.proquest.com>> [accessed 29 January 2015]

<sup>64</sup> Beatrice Kalisch and Philip Kalisch, ‘Heroine out of Focus: Media Images of Florence Nightingale, Part I’, *Journal of Nursing and Health Care*, 4 (1983), p.182.

<sup>65</sup> Beatrice Kalisch and Philip Kalisch, ‘Heroine out of Focus: Media Images of Florence Nightingale, Part II’, *Journal of Nursing and Health Care*, 5 (1983), p.276.

*The Times* narrating the rapid decrease in deaths at the Barrack Hospital over the course of Spring 1855, arguably the hub of her Crimean story in the popular imagination. The reporter attributes the turnaround solely to the ‘untiring energies’ of Nightingale, failing to mention sanitary experts Dr Sutherland and Dr Rawlinson, who oversaw major structural improvements at that time.<sup>66</sup> This trend was noted by the *British Medical Journal* (BMJ), which remarked ‘Miss Nightingale’s work is frequently described as though she had done it single-handed’.<sup>67</sup> The *BMJ* was mindful of the damaged reputations of senior medical figures as a result of the War and Nightingale’s interventions. Its frank observation is at odds with the tenor of public commemoration upon Nightingale’s death.

Despite Nightingale’s wishes for a simple and quiet funeral, her death prompted widespread feeling and rapidly became a national project. The *British Journal of Nursing* justified the remote, rural spot for the burial at East Wellow Church, near Embley, in the following terms:

It can never become a place visited by the sight-seer and the curious, but must always be the Mecca of devout pilgrims, like the grave of Charles Kingsley at Eversley, where there is no need to point the way to strangers, for it is indicated by the tiny path [...] trodden bare by hundreds of reverent feet.<sup>68</sup>

This quote demonstrates the degree to which Nightingale achieved a kind of secular canonisation upon her death. The comparison of Nightingale with Kingsley, also buried in Hampshire, alludes to their shared concern for sanitary reform and the ordinary soldier.<sup>69</sup> The reporter gave directions for those wishing to undertake a ‘pilgrimage’ to the Church from the local town of Romsey. This remarkable evocation of a hidden shrine sought out by the devoted was perhaps inspired by the appearance of the cemetery at East Wellow. Although the funeral was small and simple, wreaths and flowers filled the entire churchyard and there was an ‘unavoidable’ assemblage of local people voluntarily gathered there.<sup>70</sup> One of the more elaborate wreaths laid at Nightingale’s funeral, of white blooms surrounding a blue formation of the initial ‘B’ for Balaclava, represented the survivors of the Light Brigade in recognition of her

<sup>66</sup> ‘Death of Miss Nightingale’, *The Times*, 15 August 1910, p.8.

<sup>67</sup> Extract printed without comment in *British Journal of Nursing*, to gather together medical reaction to Nightingale’s death. ‘Florence Nightingale O.M’, *British Journal of Nursing*, 45 (1910), p.171.

<sup>68</sup> ‘Florence Nightingale O.M’, p.168.

<sup>69</sup> Charles Kingsley, *True Words for Brave Men* (New York: Thomas Whitaker, Bible House, 1886).

Based on an address Kingsley sent out to soldiers and sailors in the Crimea.

<sup>70</sup> ‘Miss Nightingale’s Funeral’, *The Times*, 22 August 1910, p.8.

contributions to the T.H Roberts Fund.<sup>71</sup> Here, at the graveside, two legends mutually reinforced one another.

In the absence of a state funeral, a national tribute to Nightingale took the form of a memorial service at St Paul's Cathedral, organised by the War Office. In scale and form, it was quite literally fit for a King, modelled on the memorial service held for King Edward VII.<sup>72</sup> Yet, it is questionable whether King Edward VII would have approved of such an undertaking for a woman. He needed persuading to confer the Order of Merit on Nightingale in 1907, a highly prestigious award for exceptional service in the Army, Navy, the arts, literature and science (Fig.60). Her name was put forward to the King by the then Prime Minister, Henry Campbell-Bannerman, who deemed Nightingale's services and example in the Crimea 'revolutionary'.<sup>73</sup> He pointed to the appropriate timing of the award in view of the conference of the Red Cross Society being held in London that year. However, the King's private secretary, Lord Knollys, wrote back to Campbell stating that 'the King has always been opposed to women being given the order'.<sup>74</sup> Five months later, the King changed his mind, but his initial prejudices were far from allayed. Former Prime Minister, A. J Balfour wrote to Knollys reassuring him and the King that Nightingale's position 'is a very exceptional one, and I do not think that similar cases are likely soon to arise'.<sup>75</sup> What prompted the change is unclear, but it is evident that the Order and national coverage of Nightingale's funeral inspired the women's movement then gaining force, sending a positive message about the government's recognition of women. A few months previous to Campbell's request, the first large-scale march of the peaceful National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) had taken place, which attracted sympathetic press coverage. In 1908, a banner with the words 'Florence Nightingale' and 'Crimea' emblazoned upon it was used in the second march of the NUWSS.<sup>76</sup>

The Order of Merit was not the only time a scheme in Nightingale's name jarred with King Edward VII. On 20 October 1911, the Florence Nightingale Memorial Committee approached the Office of Works to help erect and maintain a statue worthy of 'one of

<sup>71</sup> 'Florence Nightingale O.M', *British Journal of Nursing*, 45 (1910), p.170.

<sup>72</sup> 'Miss Nightingale and the Abbey', *The Times*, 17 August 1910, p.8.

<sup>73</sup> RA, VIC/MAIN/R/55 Letter from H. Campbell to Lord Knollys, 10 June 1907

<sup>74</sup> Bostridge, pp.518-19.

<sup>75</sup> RA, PPTO/PP/EVII/MAIN/C/23676 Letter to Lord Knollys from Rt Hon. A.J Balfour, 29 November 1907

<sup>76</sup> Bostridge, p.533.

England's greatest women'.<sup>77</sup> The result is the statue of Nightingale that stands in Waterloo Place (Fig.61), though it was initially intended a few metres away, on the spot now occupied by the equestrian statue of King Edward VII between the Athenaeum Club and United Service Club.<sup>78</sup> The choice of Waterloo Place reflected the Committee's wish that a link should be established to the Crimean Guards Memorial, so 'bound up is her memory with the Crimean War'.<sup>79</sup> However, even Nightingale's supporters could not over-ride the memorial committee for the late King, who also died in 1910. Therefore, plans emerged for the current arrangement of Nightingale and Sidney Herbert directly in front of the Guards Memorial. To carry the vision out, an existing statue of Herbert was moved from its old position outside the War Office and the pre-existing Guards Memorial moved back a few feet to accommodate the two figures in a triangular grouping.<sup>80</sup> The original suggestion of placing Nightingale's statue south of the Guards Memorial would have led to an exclusive interpretation, positioning Nightingale as equivalent to the whole Crimean enterprise, rather than a product of it. Its arrangement with Herbert's statue (Fig.62) instead celebrated their joint work on Army reform.<sup>81</sup> Work on the scheme took four years to complete and Nightingale's statue was unveiled on the 24 February 1915.

Leading players on the Memorial Committee were J. Wainwright, Treasurer to St Thomas' Hospital, Sydney Holland, Treasurer, and the Chairman, Lord Pembroke, one of Herbert's four sons. It was Holland, as chairman of the London Hospital, who requested through Luckes permission to use Nightingale's Crimean carriage for the Victorian Era Exhibition.<sup>82</sup> Holland had long been fascinated with Nightingale and in his autobiography, he describes meeting his heroine for the first time, an encounter he records vividly and clearly, from the moment he entered her South Street reception room with its faded Crimean War prints, to his first sight of her propped up in bed: 'I could have knelt down and worshipped her, but I felt that anything that might be suspected of being theatrical or not genuine would be much disliked by her [...]'<sup>83</sup>

<sup>77</sup> The National Archives (TNA), WORK 20/67. The Memorial Committee also supported an Annuity Fund, open to all nurses. LMA, H1/ST/NC/10/1, Minute book of the Florence Nightingale Memorial Fund

<sup>78</sup> TNA, WORK 20/67, Office of Works file

<sup>79</sup> TNA, WORK 20/67

<sup>80</sup> TNA, WORK 20/67

<sup>81</sup> Sydney Holland, *In Black and White* (London: Edward Arnold and Co., 1926), p.155.

<sup>82</sup> LMA, H1/ST/NC/2/18/1/97, Letter from Eva Luckes to Nightingale, 31 March 1897

<sup>83</sup> Holland, p.153.



However, Holland's drive to realise the plans for Nightingale's statue also arose from a striking preoccupation with his own personal legacy. Following a simple misunderstanding with the Office of Works, he wrote to Lord Pembroke:

To many of my friends I have said "when I am dead remember of me only this, that *I* got the Of of Wks to agree to put Florence Nightingale's statue opposite the Crimean Memorial – that *I* got the War Office to agree to allow Sidney Herbert to be removed from the War Office to stand side by side with her." [...] Now all my fame is to be dashed to the ground [...]"<sup>84</sup>

Holland's ego-centrism reveals the extent to which posthumous engagement with Nightingale, whether positive or negative, is empowering for those entrusted with her memory. Whilst Holland can claim credit for the final statue arrangement, the financial support of the committee, particularly Lord Pembroke, were crucial in realising the plans.<sup>85</sup> In 1913, the Treasury's primary justification for supporting the unprecedented re-arrangement of the Herbert statue and the movement of the Crimean Memorial was that the Office of Works got a 'quid quo pro'.<sup>86</sup> In other words, the works could be carried out without expenditure from the public purse.

The incorporation of Herbert into the scheme directly influenced the design of Nightingale's statue, the height and pedestal of which matches Herbert's. On account of Herbert's statue being modest, the Office of Works hoped there would be no excuse for 'too florid a treatment' of Nightingale.<sup>87</sup> Lord Pembroke was tasked by the Committee to recommend a sculptor.<sup>88</sup> His choice differed from the recommendations of the Office of Works and the appointment of Arthur Walker, in May 1912, was a turning point in the sculptor's career. Although he had exhibited at the Royal Academy, Walker's public commissions increased significantly following the Nightingale contract. He completed a number of war memorials after the First World War and was also selected for another high profile statue of a woman, that of Emmeline Pankhurst, in 1930. His statue of Nightingale depicts her holding an oil lamp that recalls nineteenth-century representations. Walker adopts the dignity of Steell's bust, with its intellectual expression, downcast gaze and simple contemporary dress. The panel bas reliefs of Herbert's statue, by George Frampton, are a striking feature adding an unusual level of

<sup>84</sup> TNA, WORK 20/67, File of correspondence on Waterloo Place statue

<sup>85</sup> TNA, WORK.20/67. Pembroke agreed to pay for the removal of his father's statue from the War Office. TNA, T/1/11584, Treasury file

<sup>86</sup> TNA, T/1/11584

<sup>87</sup> WORK 20/67

<sup>88</sup> LMA, H1/ST/NC/10/1, Minute book of the Florence Nightingale Memorial Fund

narrative for a single subject. To the West side of Herbert's pedestal is a bronze relief depicting a Volunteer battalion, whilst on the East side is a scene showing the manufacture of the first Armstrong gun in 1855.<sup>89</sup> On the front of the pedestal is a scene at the Herbert Hospital, Woolwich, which features Nightingale on the steps speaking to disabled soldiers (Fig.63). The design and content of this particular scene was emulated for the front of Nightingale's pedestal, one sculpture expert stating that the setting is also the Herbert Hospital (Fig.63).<sup>90</sup> However, in Herbert's scene the soldiers are shown in a state of convalescence, reading and reclining on a bench. Nightingale stands calmly, almost aloofly on the steps with another woman by her side and wears a bonnet, as if being escorted on a visit. On the Nightingale panel, the soldiers are freshly wounded and are being carried or supported to the entrance of the building in which Nightingale stands alone with an expression of concern. This scene is more likely to represent Nightingale's time at the Barrack Hospital, Scutari. Both scenes certainly recall Barrett's *Mission of Mercy* in composition, which sees Nightingale standing centrally outside the hospital entrance overseeing the intake of the wounded.

The pairing of Herbert and Nightingale achieves a powerful demonstration of partnership, though the statues emphasise Herbert as the statesman and thinker and Nightingale as the nurse, walking her rounds. Herbert is shown wearing his peer's robes and in deep thought, resting his head on his hand. A pile of books lies at his feet, signifying the detailed reports and research carried out for the Royal Sanitary Commission and other state matters. The relationship between Nightingale and Herbert was remarkable for the time as a friendship between a man and woman who treated each other as intellectual equals in work of shared undertaking. Herbert viewed Nightingale as a friend and government colleague, counselling Nightingale on one occasion that she was subject to mis-representation like anyone else in office, adding, 'and you are in office'.<sup>91</sup> It is only when the bronze panels are considered that a greater appreciation of Nightingale's public role is realised. Panels one and two give a sense of her close working relationship with government and the medical profession. Panel one

<sup>89</sup> Philip Ward-Jackson, *Public Sculptures of Historic Westminster* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), p.393. Sourced from 'The Herbert Memorial', *The Times*, 3 June 1867, p.10.

<sup>90</sup> Ward-Jackson, p.402.

<sup>91</sup> Sue Goldie, *I Have Done My Duty: The Selected Letters of Florence Nightingale* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), p.218.

shows her being greeted by Herbert at the War Office and panel two shows her in conversation with a medical officer in a Crimean hospital. Panel four, depicting her in old age surrounded by nurses of the Nightingale training school, is the only aspect of the statue which is misleading and overstated in its portrayal of Nightingale as nurse trainer (Fig.64). It is based on a photograph taken at the estate of Nightingale's brother-in-law, Harry Verney, in which the trainees look towards the camera or respectfully into the distance, but Walker has subtly adapted the scene so that all the nurses gaze reverently, even longingly at Nightingale in a manner she would no doubt have disliked. Such scenes project Nightingale's image as the founder of modern nursing, yet this was not strictly true. As Sue Goldie points out, Nightingale represented a broader movement to which her fame gave impetus.<sup>92</sup> Nightingale credited Mary Jones, Superintendent of the Anglican St John's Sisterhood, which in 1856 was attached to Kings College Hospital, as having achieved the greatest work in hospital nursing.<sup>93</sup> She took a great deal of advice from Jones for the St Thomas' training school.

Waterloo Place was one of many Nightingale statue projects, all of which take inspiration from early representations of her holding a lamp. Testament to the international character Nightingale's name assumed, a memorial was erected in the secluded cloister at Santa Croce Basilica, Italy (Fig.65) in 1913. This memorial was established by the English community in Florence, the place of Nightingale's birth and her namesake. It is a contained, demure vision of a Virgin Mary figure, replete in classical robes and holding discreetly a votive lamp. Without the accompanying plaque, dedicated in Italian to the 'Heroine of the Crimea', the statue is unrecognisable as Nightingale. This passive interpretation of Nightingale contrasts to the main memorial at Derby, Nightingale's home county town (Fig.66). Aesthetically, the two statues exemplify the gentle and forceful visions of the Crimean War, as represented in commemorative ware and Lady Dunsany's comments. Interestingly, the Derby statue was the product of another woman's imagination, Lady Feodora Gleichen, one of the few women sculptors of her time.<sup>94</sup> Gleichen presents Nightingale as an assertive figure in contemporary dress holding a light above her head, this time in the form of a Roman torch. Representations of Nightingale's lamp were the subject of a talk given at NAM

<sup>92</sup> Goldie, p.10.

<sup>93</sup> Bostridge, p.428.

<sup>94</sup> Benedict Read, *Victorian Sculpture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983), p.355.

in 1973.<sup>95</sup> John Forsaith noted that most lamps in popular representation were either incorrect, or, 'spruced up', as in the film *The Lady with the Lamp*. Yet, Forsaith took his observations further deeming the film, the Derby Memorial and many other Nightingale projects tarnished due to their portrayal of an inauthentic lamp. Forsaith's arguments conflate historical veracity with artistic truths; his preoccupation with the lamp's appearance undermines its symbolism and imputed values. Whilst it is important to consider questions of authenticity, it is clear from representation over the past one hundred and fifty years that the lamp was never regarded in fixed terms. The light deployed by Gleichen for the Derby memorial is a thoughtful interpretation of the legend. The light takes on a more active role in this statue, when compared to the Santa Croce memorial and the composed vision of Nightingale at Waterloo Place. The form of a Roman torch allows for a more triumphant pose, Nightingale brandishing it to the viewer. The importance of the light to the statue's meaning is shown by the Latin inscription above Nightingale's head, 'FIAT LVX', meaning 'let there be light'. There is a sense then of Nightingale's agency in creating light and this commitment is presented as an inspiration to future bearers of the torch.

That Nightingale was a role model whom others should seek to emulate was a theme of the statue's unveiling ceremony on 12 June 1914, which was attended by prominent figures of the town and county, including the Mayor of Derby, Bishop of Derby and the Duke of Devonshire. The service was an offering of thanks for the life of Nightingale, which focused mainly on her character, her courage and her 'selfless loving care', but it ultimately presented her Christian devotion as an example to others in their readiness to answer God's call.<sup>96</sup> The ceremony took place just prior to the outbreak of the First World War and as the War wore on, the relevance and potential of Nightingale's exemplary image became clear to contemporaries involved in war work.

### Invocations for War and Peace

The success of the nursing expedition during the Crimean War was perhaps only fully realised during the First World War, when the service of women nurses markedly increased and was celebrated. In October 1915, Nurse Edith Cavell was executed by

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<sup>95</sup> NAM: 1973-06-26, Copy of a lecture by John W. Forsaith on the origins of 'The Lady with a Lamp', March 1973

<sup>96</sup> Derbyshire Record Office (DRO), D504/141/7/7, Order of service

the Germans for assisting the escape of allied soldiers and civilians in German-occupied Belgium, turning her into a national martyr. A rapid memorial project commenced just two weeks after her death.<sup>97</sup> Designs for George Frampton's statue to Cavell, unveiled in 1920, were first publicised in 1916 and he exhibited a bust of Cavell at the Royal Academy in the same year.<sup>98</sup> The publicity surrounding Nurse Cavell's death is likely to have heightened sensitivity to her famous predecessor. Nightingale was widely celebrated as a pioneer of women's nursing from 1916 onwards. In 1916, a marble relief to Nightingale was unveiled at a ceremony in the crypt of St Paul's Cathedral (Fig.67). The memorial was designed by Arthur Walker under the jurisdiction of the Nightingale Memorial Committee and pursued once plans for the Nightingale statue were in place.<sup>99</sup> It was given a special position outside the area dedicated to Order of Merit recipients and instead placed in the archway leading from the tombs of two celebrated military figures, Viscount Nelson and the Duke of Wellington.

Both the ceremony and the memorial itself built upon Nightingale's image as a nursing icon. The unveiling ceremony was attended by Queen Mary and matrons representing world-wide nursing services in the Commonwealth, while the accompanying special service featured a number of nurses in the congregation.<sup>100</sup> The memorial shows Nightingale kneeling down to administer a drink to a wounded soldier, who is made conspicuous by the bandages around his head. The relief is headed by the words 'Blessed are the Merciful', recalling the royal brooch's terms for this tender image of Nightingale. However, it is clear from Nightingale's war correspondence that her duties were more administrative and managerial. Hands-on care, the administering of food and drink was left largely to her nurses and orderlies.<sup>101</sup> This intimate vision of Nightingale, whose head is close to the wounded soldier, is reminiscent of early commemorative ware designed to promote womanly care. Walker's twentieth-century version of womanly sympathy was endorsed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Archbishop spoke of Queen Mary's unveiling 'on behalf of English womanhood', when tens of thousands of women were following in the path of Nightingale. As a result, the

<sup>97</sup> Ward-Jackson, p.247.

<sup>98</sup> Ward-Jackson, p.247.

<sup>99</sup> TNA, WORK 20/103, File on Waterloo Place statue

<sup>100</sup> 'The Lady with the Lamp', *The Times*, 15 February 1916, p.11.

<sup>101</sup> McDonald, *Collected Works*, XIV, 89.

world could now appreciate like never before the value of the ‘gentle deftness and the tender skill of trained womanhood’.<sup>102</sup>

Later that year, Nightingale’s birthday was celebrated on a huge public scale. On 12 May 1916, the Women’s Service in War Time Movement held ‘Lamp Day’, involving the sale of miniature paper lanterns, at sixpence and three pence, to raise money for female nurses and a women’s led hospital and emergency corps.<sup>103</sup> It is not clear what form the small paper lamps took, but the advertisement for ‘Lamp Day’ depicts a lantern similar to the kind used in the trenches at the front and by nurses in the Territorial Force Nursing Service, thus bringing the legend up to date. Collection points for charitable donations were established at various locations across London, such as Hyde Park corner and Bond Street, and run by society women dressed up as Nightingale nurses.<sup>104</sup> The day was popular, more so than previous flag days. The small size and price of the lamps allowed people of all classes to purchase them and wear them as badges in a similar manner to wearers of red poppies today. *The Times* reported that the lamps sold out at Covent Garden by 7am and that by noon, ‘everybody one met appeared decorated with the little lamps’.<sup>105</sup> The editor of the *Daily Graphic* acknowledged the fittingness of Nightingale as the day’s ‘patron saint’ and viewed the occasion in terms of increasing the ability of soldiers to wage war. The editor described the lantern as a token of the public’s ‘practical appreciation’ of the work of women in ‘releasing men for the fighting line, and thus making a vital contribution to the battlefield strength of our Allies’.<sup>106</sup> The souvenir lamps acted in the present, marking out those who had actively contributed to the war effort and war-waging.

The Waterloo Place statue was used as a prominent selling place on ‘Lamp Day’. Making up for its quiet unveiling ceremony, the statue was decorated extensively with flowers. A Cambridge don, Arthur Benson, recorded in his diary his disgust with the arrangement, concluding that the English manner of honouring people was ‘infantile’.<sup>107</sup> Yet, the organisers of ‘Lamp Day’ had gone to considerable effort to decorate the statue, which, ironically, had been temporarily removed from its plinth in the days

<sup>102</sup> ‘The Lady with the Lamp’, *The Times*, 15 February 1916, p.11.

<sup>103</sup> ‘Lamp Day Appeal’, *Daily Graphic*, 12 May 1916, p.2.

<sup>104</sup> ‘Lamp Day for Woman’s Work in War Time’, *The Observer*, 7 May 1916, p.7. Lady Helen Brassey and Elizabeth Asquith were amongst the sellers, the former opening her home as a ‘depot’.

<sup>105</sup> ‘Lamp Day Scenes’, *The Times*, 13 May 1916, p.3.

<sup>106</sup> ‘Lamp Day Appeal’, *Daily Graphic*, 12 May 1916, p.2.

<sup>107</sup> Bostridge, p.525.

leading up to the big fundraiser. Shortly after the unveiling of the statue in 1915, Walker was employed again to design the fourth subject panel on the reverse of the plinth, and to incise Nightingale's name on the front to complement Herbert's statue.<sup>108</sup> Men were still carrying out these alterations on the eve of 'Lamp Day' and they worked through the night to put the statue back on its plinth.<sup>109</sup> Scaffolding remained on the day but it was put to good use by the lady organisers, who used it as a structure for a laurel shrine. The words 'Women's Services, 1854-1916' were formed with yellow flowers on the statue's plinth.<sup>110</sup> The floral statement identifies at this key historical juncture a Crimean legacy for women's war work, lending justification and authority to female contributions in 1916.

During the victory celebrations marking the end of the First World War in 1919, the statue of Nightingale was physically embraced as a sign of female contribution to the War effort. The war correspondent Philip Gibbs noted a drunken soldier who had climbed the pedestal and put his arm around Nightingale's waist.<sup>111</sup> Gibbs records that the soldier made a passionate speech to an inattentive crowd, repeating that the 'bloody war' had only been won with the help of women like 'good old Florence'.<sup>112</sup> Here again, disillusionment with the First World War, as during the Crimean War, is channelled into extolling the service of women. By offsetting Nightingale against a cursed war, he invokes her legacy as redeemer of war. Whether the soldier sought to emphasise the failures of the First World War or the pioneering services of women, his comments reinforced the vital contribution of women to war.

The end of the First World War marked a pivotal shift in assessments of Nightingale as a tender nurse and the epitome of heroic womanhood, just as it marked a shift in assessments of the Charge of the Light Brigade. In Virginia Woolf's literary circle, the Victorian example was increasingly challenged and questioned, including its vision of the morality of war. In 1918, Woolf's friend, Lytton Strachey, published his famously irreverent book, *Eminent Victorians*, featuring a short life of Nightingale, General

<sup>108</sup> WORK 20/103

<sup>109</sup> "'Lamp Day' Celebrations', *The Times*, 12 May 1916, p.11.

<sup>110</sup> 'Lamp Day Scenes', *The Times*, 13 May 1916, p.3.

<sup>111</sup> Philip Gibbs, *The Pageant of the Years* (London: William Heinemann, 1946), p.261. Incident also mentioned in Bostridge.

<sup>112</sup> Gibbs wrote: 'I never pass the statue of Florence Nightingale now without thinking of that champion of womanhood who was a little drunk'. Gibbs, p.261.

Gordon, Thomas Arnold and Cardinal Manning.<sup>113</sup> The book challenged the hypocrisy of aspects of the Victorian establishment; the Army, the Established Church and the Public School. According to Bostridge, Strachey's portrayal of Nightingale has had the most profound influence on the subsequent reputation of its subject.<sup>114</sup> Nightingale actually emerged more favourably than other Victorian subjects in the writings of Woolf, Strachey and other revisionists. Yet, to those Victorians who had grown up with the nineteenth-century legend, it dealt a blow to traditional forms of appreciation.

Strachey's sketch of Nightingale is a condensed, more exaggerated version of Edward Cook's first official biography of 1913. Cook was specially commissioned by Nightingale's family to complete a two volume edition of her life and work.<sup>115</sup> As will become apparent, Nightingale's surviving relatives were important shapers of Nightingale's posthumous reputation, as controllers not just of personal objects but of her voluminous correspondence. Cook was given special access to Nightingale's papers and he enriched the picture by requesting to see the correspondence of some of her closest colleagues and acquaintances.<sup>116</sup> The result is a comprehensive account of both her Crimean and post-Crimean work, and the first biography to steer away from the hagiographical tributes published in the nineteenth century. Cook prefaced his work by challenging these popular biographies: 'Miss Nightingale was screened from the public gaze; a somewhat legendary figure grew up, and it is that which for the most part appears in books about her'.<sup>117</sup> Cook noted the one dimensional appraisal of Nightingale's character, pointing out to his readers that the legend became fixed during the Crimean War, before Nightingale considered her best work to have begun. He treated the legend of Nightingale as a distortion of the complex reality of both Nightingale's character and the prejudices and apathy governing her work.<sup>118</sup> As a family commission, Cook's work ultimately replaces the nineteenth-century legend with an even greater person, one who was capable of battling the establishment and fulfilling a number of different roles: administrator, reformer, nurse and statistician.

<sup>113</sup> Lytton Strachey, *Eminent Victorians: The Definitive Edition* (London: Continuum, 2002)

<sup>114</sup> Afterword by Bostridge in Strachey, *The Definitive Edition*, p.171.

<sup>115</sup> Sir Edward Cook, *The Life of Florence Nightingale*, 2 vols (London: MacMillan and Co., 1913)

<sup>116</sup> NAM: 1980-6-6, Letter from Edward Cook to D. Cowie Scott, 2 June 1913

<sup>117</sup> Cook, I, Preface.

<sup>118</sup> Cook, I, p.xxxi.



Nightingale's battles, with her family, with nurses in the Crimea and with the 'Bison', Lord Panmure, at the War Office, were exploited to the full in Strachey's *Eminent Victorians*. Cook had widened the scope for creative expression, beyond the mission of mercy, the lamp and the hospital bedside. Strachey's sketch of Nightingale is relatively mild and his comedy is applied more to the supporting characters than the protagonist, such as Nightingale's mother, content with a life of embroidery, and the snarling 'angry terrier', Dr Hall.<sup>119</sup> He clearly admired Nightingale and her determination, describing her during the war years as a 'remarkable woman', 'an administrative chief' and 'a rock in the angry ocean'.<sup>120</sup> Nightingale emerges enhanced by her battle against the restrictive social norms and hopeless systems she encountered. For Strachey, Nightingale was not a conventional heroine, the nation's darling, but was made of 'sterner stuff'; an eagle rather than an angel.<sup>121</sup> Arguably, Nightingale was a model of Strachey's own frustration against the Victorian establishment. He attributed to her qualities long associated with men, building upon Dunsany's androgynous 'Joan of Arc' analogy quoted in Cook. When discussing her work with Herbert on Army reform, he describes a role reversal: 'the qualities of pliancy and sympathy fell to the man, those of command and initiative to the woman'.<sup>122</sup> This is a simplistic and binary construction of Herbert's and Nightingale's abilities but it was probably intended as a gesture to women's equality in public life. Both Strachey's sister-in-law, Ray Strachey, and his friend, Woolf, were feminist writers who went on to quote Nightingale in their writings. Ray Strachey, a suffragist, re-published Nightingale's essay 'Cassandra' in 1920. Woolf was inspired by Nightingale's remark that 'women never have an half hour they can call their own', which she quotes in her book *A Room of One's Own* (1929), a project that champions the need for women to have time and space to pursue literary careers.<sup>123</sup> Towards the end of her treatise, Woolf paid tribute to the Crimean War for having 'let Florence Nightingale out of her drawing room'.<sup>124</sup>

Lytton Strachey was more critical of Nightingale's post-war personality, identifying a passion and ruthlessness that was ironically unmerciful towards those who struggled to achieve her aims. A particularly controversial aspect of the post-war narrative was the

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<sup>119</sup> Strachey, pp.121-31.

<sup>120</sup> Strachey, p.130.

<sup>121</sup> Strachey, p.134.

<sup>122</sup> Strachey, p.147.

<sup>123</sup> Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own/Three Guineas* (London: Penguin, 1993), p.60.

<sup>124</sup> Woolf, p.97.

suggestion that Nightingale had driven Herbert to an early death in 1861, although even here Strachey softens the accusation. Without her ruthlessness, he argues, she would not have achieved all that she did: ‘the force that created was the force that destroyed’.<sup>125</sup> Strachey’s disclosure of her faults, or, her ‘demon’ as he put it, her emotional rages, the unrealistically high expectations she placed upon others and her amiable senility in old age, was shocking to the generations of people brought up on the saintly vision of Nightingale. Like any dramatic creation, the features of Nightingale’s less admirable qualities are exaggerated but even taking this less reverent treatment into account, Strachey’s work can still be construed as a feminist project. It is an important challenge to an orthodoxy surrounding Nightingale, which denied her individuality. The last half of his piece underscores the extraordinary but fallible human in Nightingale, undermining the nineteenth-century construction of her as divinely ordained. In Strachey’s project, Nightingale ceases to be hero-worshipped as a vehicle for the national character, as a redeemer of war and as an established Victorian vision of womanhood. Although Strachey underscored the achievements of his subject, it is her interior life that has proven the most fertile ground for later explorations.

A clear response to Strachey and the feminist interest in Nightingale sparked by his publication is Reginald Berkeley’s play ‘The Lady with a Lamp’, which opened at the Garrick Theatre in 1929. This play reveals how creative contemporaries negotiated their newfound image of Nightingale produced by Cook, and, on a popular level, by Strachey, with the legend they had grown up with. It was a renowned production, directed by Frank Gregory and starring the well-known English actress Edith Evans who followed the play to Broadway in 1931.<sup>126</sup> The play was conducted in a spirit of admiration for Nightingale and it was thought suitable for a special performance to mark Nightingale’s birthday and to raise funds for St Thomas’ Hospital, which was then in financial difficulties.<sup>127</sup> The director’s notes reveal the impact of the Franchise Act and Woolf’s lectures, finding in Nightingale a determined female role model: ‘The woman of today is the child of the Victorian girl, who rebelled against convention and parental authority, and, by her example, made possible the equality of the sexes’.<sup>128</sup> Revealing its clear debt to Strachey, the play was billed as a ‘psychological study’,

<sup>125</sup> Strachey, p.158.

<sup>126</sup> Kalisch and Kalisch, ‘Heroine out of Focus, I’, p.186.

<sup>127</sup> LMA, H1/ST/NC/11/001, Programme

<sup>128</sup> LMA, H1/ST/NC/11/001, Programme

emphasising a ruthless and ‘intensely human’ woman who drove Herbert to his death. The play went even further than Strachey in dismantling the Victorian myth identified by Cook. Its title was a deliberate misnomer, since the play did not include scenes of Nightingale tenderly nursing or making hospital rounds with her lamp but instead focused on supply difficulties and her battles with hospital staff. This was a more faithful representation of her time at Scutari. The end of the play drew attention to Nightingale’s achievements, showing her in old age sitting in a chair, whilst a band of people gathered around her, showering her with tributes. It is likely that this ending was in fact a subtle parody of hero-worship of Nightingale. Berkeley’s unused and more controversial final scene pictures Nightingale on her death-bed, attended by two nurses. The older nurse represents the legendary views of her Victorian upbringing, proclaiming ‘She’s a Saint’, whilst the younger nurse replies ‘I don’t believe in making idols out of people. They’ve got their faults like you and me. Why not be frank about it?’ The older nurse responds: ‘I never heard anyone say before that Florence Nightingale had a fault’.<sup>129</sup> This ending would have highlighted to the audience the difference between a form of hero-worship that sets an individual apart from mankind and a form of appreciation that puts an individual within reach. The play is a direct response to Strachey’s portrait of a fallible Nightingale.

Berkeley’s play caused a stir amongst surviving members of Nightingale’s family, who rallied to protect the reputation of their famous relative and her friends. A letter appeared in the *Morning Post* refuting any jealous friction or strain between Mrs Herbert and Nightingale, a piece of dramatic license in the play.<sup>130</sup> Similarly, an article appeared in *The Queen* directly in response to Berkeley’s play and Strachey’s sketch, asking the question who was ‘the real Miss Florence Nightingale?’<sup>131</sup> Of course, Nightingale displayed an array of characteristics that cannot be neatly packaged, but the premise of the article is a telling sign of public investment in a secure and simple vision of Nightingale. *The Queen* answered with what it described as an ‘authentic’ contribution to the debate by Nightingale’s kinswoman, Lady Stephen. Based upon her childhood memories of trips to Nightingale’s home, Stephen describes a kind, welcoming and interesting person, who had plenty of friends and managed to ‘carry her

<sup>129</sup> Kalisch and Kalisch, ‘Heroine out of Focus, I’, p.187.

<sup>130</sup> LMA. H1/ST/NC/14/1, Newspaper cuttings

<sup>131</sup> ‘Recollections of Florence Nightingale’, *The Queen*, 3 April 1929, p.11.

visitors into a new world'.<sup>132</sup> The account disputes any impression gained from Strachey and from Berkeley's play that Nightingale was a stern, uncompromising figure who alienated others. Lady Stephen's piece introduced the reader to a striking photograph of Nightingale, taken in 1856, which shows her with short hair as a result of Crimean fever (Fig.68). Lady Stephen's recollections applied to Nightingale in old age but she chose a photograph of Nightingale at the end of her service in the Crimea and highlighted the signs of hardship written on Nightingale's body in the accompanying caption. This photograph was a new release in 1929, as it does not appear in Cook's 1913 list of known portraits and photographs, compiled as an Appendix to his biography. Trustees of Nightingale's possessions could exercise a degree of control over her legacy by releasing previously unseen material into the public domain.

A year following Berkeley's play, another symbol of Nightingale's devotion to her cause, her Crimean carriage, was donated to St Thomas' Hospital by Louis Shore Nightingale. For Shore Nightingale, it was important that Nightingale's effects were made public, a wish he made explicit upon his death in 1940.<sup>133</sup> He set a major precedent with the carriage, knowing the dedication of St Thomas' Matron Alicia Lloyd-Still to Nightingale's memory and her intention of setting-up a Florence Nightingale Museum.<sup>134</sup> Lloyd-Still viewed it as incumbent on her to actively promote Nightingale's name and image. She was one of the last Nightingale nurses to be sent to South Street to receive her commission 'from the hands of the Foundress herself', a fact of which she was immensely proud and something she used to impress nursing candidates and their parents.<sup>135</sup> She was involved in the establishment of the Florence Nightingale International Foundation between 1929 and 1936 and sought out ephemera in connection with Nightingale. Within the St Thomas' archives is a major collection of photographs and postcards depicting Nightingale memorials, including the Sante Croce statue, some of which are addressed to Lloyd-Still.<sup>136</sup> The carriage, though large in size, was enthusiastically received by Lloyd-Still in 1930, who viewed it well placed in

<sup>132</sup> 'Recollections of Florence Nightingale', p.11.

<sup>133</sup> DRO, D504/1/29/11, Correspondence, 1940-1946

<sup>134</sup> The list of items drawn-up in the family papers in 1946 corresponds with many items now housed at the Florence Nightingale Museum. DRO, D504/1/29/11, Correspondence, 1940-1946

<sup>135</sup> Monica Baly, 'Still, Dame Alicia Frances Jane Lloyd' *Dictionary of National Biography*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com>> [accessed 23 July 2014]

<sup>136</sup> For example, LMA, H1/ST/NCPH/B/II/33, photograph of memorial window at Southern Hospital, Liverpool, sent by Archdeacon Howson to Alicia Lloyd-Smith.

the ‘shadow of its owner’s life work’ and made special adjustments for its display.<sup>137</sup> It is questionable how fitting a venue the Hospital really was as a centre for Nightingale’s ‘life work’. The Nightingale Training School, the product of a publically driven subscription at the end of the Crimean War in gratitude to Nightingale, was something Nightingale had little direct involvement in until the 1870s, when the School’s problems surfaced.<sup>138</sup> There is no doubt that Nightingale’s intervention and the closer interest she took in probationers made a positive difference but the training school was secondary to her work on sanitary measures, work that extended to the Indian population in the late 1850s and 1860s. However, the carriage’s connection with St Thomas’ was secured during the Second World War, when the Hospital and the Nightingale wing were bombed and the carriage was given an afterlife of its own.

Despite its status as ‘A Florence Nightingale Relic’, the carriage did not originally belong to her.<sup>139</sup> The carriage is of Russian origin, a war spoil held by the Land Transport Corps during the Crimean War. It was gifted to Nightingale by General McMurdo of the Corps during her visits to the Crimea in 1856, as a replacement for the unreliable open cart she had been using.<sup>140</sup> The carriage became associated with her determined efforts to continue her war work, at a time when she was still weak from Crimean fever. Her Crimean exertions were recorded by the chef Alexis Soyer in his *Culinary Campaign*, who wrote of her ‘dangerous returns’ late at night on the Crimea’s uneven roads. He also records how he ‘rescued’ the carriage at the end of the War, believing it to be ‘a precious relic for present and future generations’.<sup>141</sup> It was Soyer who sent the carriage back to England on the transport ship the *Argo*, and during this voyage, an artist of the *ILN* sketched an impression of Nightingale’s solitary journey in the carriage, which appeared in the *ILN* on 30 August 1856.<sup>142</sup> Like the authors of *A Guide to Lea Hurst*, the *ILN* construed a prophetic relationship between Nightingale and her physical environment, in this case, a prominent, though, everyday object. The ‘homely’ appearance of the ‘roughly built’ carriage was compared to the ‘womanly simplicity of her whom it was employed to convey’. Descriptions of the carriage’s

<sup>137</sup> LMA, H1/ST/NCPH/B/III/D/7, Correspondence regarding the carriage, 1930-1942

<sup>138</sup> The nurses were receiving little instruction or training as originally envisaged and being exploited by hospital management. See Bostridge, pp.445-55.

<sup>139</sup> Headline in *The Manchester Guardian*, 20 November 1930, p.7.

<sup>140</sup> The cart reportedly overturned on one occasion. LMA, H1/St/NCPH/B/III/D/7, Correspondence regarding carriage, 1930-1942

<sup>141</sup> Alexis Soyer, *Soyer’s Culinary Campaign* (London: G. Routledge & Co., 1857), p.418.

<sup>142</sup> ‘Miss Nightingale’s Carriage at the Seat of War’, *ILN*, 30 August 1856, p.208.

appearance increased appreciation of Nightingale's dedicated exertions. The carriage, conspicuous by its size, attracted further notice at the Victorian Era Exhibition in 1897 where it was displayed in the nursing section. In requesting the 'relic' from Nightingale, Luckes had elaborated on the 'unique pleasure' gained from 'touching that which has been in contact with yourself and with your work'.<sup>143</sup> In this case, the carriage acts as contact once removed from Nightingale's person, evincing the intense feeling her figure could still inspire. One reporter at the Exhibition noted its 'rough and ready' condition.<sup>144</sup> As can be seen from this photograph (Fig.69), 'rough and ready' took on a new meaning during the Second World War, when the carriage was damaged in the blitz. St Thomas' Hospital was struck by air raids in 1941, which destroyed most of the Nightingale Wing where the carriage was displayed. In view of the damage done to the building, it is remarkable that the carriage was not completely destroyed. From the photograph, it can be seen that its basic structure remained intact, enabling restoration work on the carriage in 1942, a process which was managed for maximum publicity.

The carriage's wartime journey, from removal to restoration, was photographed by several press agencies, including a Hollywood agency.<sup>145</sup> The latter stage of the carriage's journey espoused a new relationship between past and present, a working relationship that not only benefited St Thomas' as an institution but the war effort more generally. The restoration of the carriage to a sturdier and superior condition than the original enabled it to be driven back to St Thomas' Hospital on a kind of victory parade in April 1942. For this moment, its Crimean War context was re-enacted. Two ponies were found from a local dairy to pull the carriage and the driver of the carriage was dressed in clothing similar to the original driver depicted in the *ILN* illustration.<sup>146</sup> The carriage was occupied by a Nightingale nurse. A striking picture shows the pristine carriage making its way along the South Bank amongst bomb rubble (Fig.70). At this later stage of Nightingale's afterlife, it is possible to discern the workings of 'prosthetic' memory as a mass scale attempt to connect people to a past of which they have no first-

<sup>143</sup> LMA, H1/ST/NC/2/18/1/97, Letter from Eva Luckes to Florence Nightingale, 10 April 1897

<sup>144</sup> 'Victorian Era Exhibition', *Daily News*, 25 May 1897, p.8.

<sup>145</sup> LMA, H1/ST/NCPH/B/III/D/7, Correspondence regarding carriage, 1930-1942. Hollywood had produced a flattering version of Florence Nightingale's life in 1936. *The White Angel* starred Kay Francis and was part of a series of Warner Brothers' films in the 1930s on notable men and women. Kalisch and Kalisch, 'Heroine out of Focus II', p.272.

<sup>146</sup> LMA, H1/ST/NCPH/B/III/D/7, Correspondence regarding carriage, 1930-1942

hand experience.<sup>147</sup> It is unlikely that the carriage was returned to the Lambeth site, as the Hospital had been virtually destroyed in the blitz and the staff and patients evacuated to a temporary hospital in Surrey.<sup>148</sup> Yet, the restoration of the carriage and its public journey ‘home’ worked to alleviate this sense of loss and destruction: to use Strachey’s metaphor, it was a rock in the angry ocean. Big Ben provides an impressive backdrop for the shot, standing proudly in contrast to the bomb rubble in the foreground. The photograph frames the carriage and Parliament as symbols of hope and resistance. The photograph’s tag-line, ‘Florence Nightingale’s Coach on War Duty’, reveals its perceived contribution to the war effort. Display of the restored coach helped to raise funds for the re-building of the Hospital and for war related charities, such as the Red Cross.<sup>149</sup> Exhibiting the carriage in this way and re-enacting its journey not only augmented Nightingale’s status as an icon and wartime success story, but supported the particular needs of the Hospital.

The publicity surrounding the historic carriage also inspired at least one highly developed personal response: the creation of a lamp from a broken carriage spoke. The lamp’s creator, Mr Mumford, was a government advisor on war damage, a man therefore well versed in waste, ruin and loss. At the time of the carriage’s restoration, he was ordered to inspect the bombed site at St Thomas’ Hospital and he took the opportunity to visit the carriage being repaired nearby. In a letter to St Thomas’, Mumford describes how he picked up a discarded spoke from one of the carriage wheels and was inspired to make a lamp out of ‘this piece of salvage’ and donate it to St Thomas’.<sup>150</sup> The appearance of the lamp can be gleaned from an illustration in the *Nightingale Fellowship Journal* (Fig.71), having been displayed at a meeting of the Fellowship. The salvaged carriage spoke was re-appropriated to create a desk lamp. This unique creation is a good example of Landsberg’s theory on prosthetic memory, with its emphasis on individual engagement. She defines prosthetic memories as ‘privately felt public memories that develop after an encounter with a mass cultural representation of the past, when new images and ideas come into context with a

<sup>147</sup> Landsberg, p.20.

<sup>148</sup> Between 1950 and 1975 St Thomas’ Hospital was virtually rebuilt. LMA catalogue record, St Thomas’ Hospital (H1/ST).

<sup>149</sup> LMA, H1/ST/NCPH/B/III/D/19, Press agency photograph of coach, with notes on reverse

<sup>150</sup> LMA, H1/ST/NCPH/B/III/D/40, Letters regarding gift of a lamp made from the bomb damaged carriage

person's archive of experience'.<sup>151</sup> Mumford's lamp provides a tangible piece of meaning making in response to a distant past. The Hospital enthusiastically accepted Mumford's gift, recognising its value as a souvenir, a 'historical memento' of the carriage.<sup>152</sup> Yet, the lamp is more than just a souvenir of a relic, an object recalling another. It lent a sense of security to the present, symbolising transition from fragment to whole. The narrative around this object also invoked Mumford's own 'archive of experience'. In his letter to Matron Cullan, Mumford explained the lamp was a token of gratitude for the good accounts he had received from his mother of his father's hospital treatment 'prior to his death fifty two years ago'.<sup>153</sup> The fifty-two year time-frame indicates that Mumford was young when his father died. Mumford's unassuming lamp is a product of the subtle interaction between public 'memory', the publicity surrounding Nightingale's carriage, and the deeply felt private memories to which Landsberg alludes.

The commercial status of the restored carriage was confirmed in 1950 when it was loaned for a display in the windows at Harrods to support the book launch of Cecil Woodham-Smith's biography of Nightingale.<sup>154</sup> The carriage was rehearsed further in popular memory through the creation of smaller copies. A miniature model of the carriage exists at NAM (Fig.72), though NAM's catalogue erroneously dates it to the Crimean War. The miniature is more likely to date to the 1940s or 1950s, taking into account the publicity generated by the Second World War. A larger model of the carriage also exists, which was used at the 1954 Crimean centenary events in Turkey and brought back by Woodham-Smith, who donated it to the St Thomas' collection.<sup>155</sup> The model carriage and press photographs, depicting the wartime restoration of the original, were included in the 'Nightingale Centenary Exhibition' held at the Royal College of Surgeons (RCS) on 26 October 1954.<sup>156</sup> The RCS was approached by St

<sup>151</sup> Landsberg, p.19.

<sup>152</sup> LMA, H1/ST/NCPH/B/III/D/40, Letters RE: gift of a lamp made from the bomb damaged carriage

<sup>153</sup> LMA, H1/ST/NCPH/B/III/D/40, Letters RE: gift of a lamp made from the bomb damaged carriage

<sup>154</sup> Bostridge, p.540.

<sup>155</sup> Florence Nightingale Museum, Object Description, <<http://florence-nightingale-collections.co.uk>> [accessed 2 July 2014] Wreath laying, plaque unveilings, speeches and exhibitions took place in conjunction with the Turkish authorities and Turkish nursing associations between May and November 1954. Brigadier K.JG Garner-Smith's report concluded that the centenary events had been a diplomatic success, noting a sincere homage and affection towards Nightingale. However, the report's details on Turkish speeches were hazy: 'the frequent mention of the words "Florence Nightingale" appeared to indicate that most of the speakers were keeping to the point'. TNA, FO 371/112953

<sup>156</sup> LMA, H1/ST/NTS/Y/12/2, List of exhibits



Thomas' Hospital who wanted to showcase their considerable collection of 'Nightingale relics' for the first time.<sup>157</sup> The exhibition was by invite only, with approximately five hundred people in attendance representing the medical profession, civil servants and Nightingale descendants. The Woodham-Smiths were also on the attendance list.<sup>158</sup> The exhibition, arranged by a military colonel and his wife, can be seen as the height of material investment in Nightingale, bringing together a number of personal items both belonging to and gifted to Nightingale throughout her life. Nightingale's clothing was on display, commemorative ware, medals, the royal brooch gifted to Nightingale by the Queen and Prince Albert, songs and memoirs celebrating Nightingale, photographs of the Waterloo Place statue and prints and family drawings of Nightingale.<sup>159</sup> This exclusive exhibition served and consolidated existing interest in Nightingale, even extending the bounds of an object's associative power.

Bizarrely, a simple orange was included in the exhibition, for which the provenance is hazy. It was given to an anonymous soldier at some point during the Crimean War, who 'kept it in remembrance of her'.<sup>160</sup> However, we learn that 'years later' he gave it to 'a lady', who left it to her daughter, Mrs Pringle Ward, who in 1936 was inspired to send the orange to the grand-daughter of Harry Verney after hearing her giving a radio broadcast on Nightingale. The orange forms one of a number of Nightingale relics on display at the Verney family home at Claydon House, Buckinghamshire, which is now owned by the National Trust. There in a room labelled 'Museum', adjacent to Nightingale's old guest bedroom, the visitor can discern the small, brown and shrivelled trophy fruit through the glass of a wooden cabinet. Like the RCS exhibition, the displays at Claydon House act as a cabinet of 'curios', bringing together a number of small Nightingale-themed objects, but with no over-arching interpretative context. An old hand-written label encases the orange itself, explaining its known provenance, and is probably the original label from the RCS exhibition. Despite the orange being so commonplace, the connection with Nightingale was enough to warrant acceptance by the Verney family and inclusion in the RCS exhibition. The orange and the carriage might be seen as meaningless exhibits by Nightingale and historians who question the authenticity of the orange in particular, but they are good examples of numinous

<sup>157</sup> LMA, H1/ST/NCPH/A/V/E/4, Letters regarding the centenary exhibition

<sup>158</sup> LMA, H1/ST/NCPH/A/V/E/2, Attendance list

<sup>159</sup> LMA, H1/ST/NTS/Y/12/2, List of exhibits

<sup>160</sup> LMA, H1/ST/NTS/Y/12/2, List of exhibits

objects. Maines and Glynn argue that such objects should be appreciated for the belief invested in them and the successive layers of social meaning attached to them.<sup>161</sup> Here the museum professionals complement recent literature on hero-worship, which seeks to understand intense forms of devotion and attachment. The orange is a piece of folk lore, validating a memory passed down two generations of Nightingale's resourcefulness, kindness, wholesomeness, even imperishability, and in turn the soldier's gratitude.

### **'Shroud for a Nightingale'?**

Alongside such unexpected forms of appreciation, the practice of marking anniversaries has worked well for Nightingale's memory. Not only did Nightingale play a key role in the Crimean centenary events of 1954-56, her status as a British icon was officially endorsed in 1970 when the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of her birth was commemorated with a 9d stamp. The stamp was one of five Royal Mail issues marking famous anniversaries. Of those commemorated, Nightingale was the only individual honoured.<sup>162</sup> Yet, at this pinnacle of national approval, it is possible to discern a subtle probing of her legacy. A year later, in 1971, the popular crime writer P.D James published her provocatively titled novel *Shroud for a Nightingale*. The novel focuses on an insular nursing community at 'Nightingale House', a nurse training school that is set apart from the hospital and housed in a formidable Victorian, red-brick building. The reader is introduced to it through the eyes of Miss Beale, a nursing inspector visiting the Hospital site for the first time. She is immediately struck by its appearance: 'it blazed at her like a castle from some childhood mythology'.<sup>163</sup> James' coupling of blazing light and childhood mythology is a subtle reference to Nightingale's long-standing and cherished status. At the end of the book, Nightingale House is demolished following an arson attack, mirroring the downfall of the training school's Matron, Mary Taylor.

The Victorian 'Nightingale House' serves as a trope for the status of the past and its relevance for the present. Its name, reinforced by the book's title and the death of the talented Mary Taylor, offers a subtle commentary on the fragility of Nightingale's prized status and the erosion of Victorian values. Miss Beale's ambivalence towards

<sup>161</sup> Maines and Glynn, 'Numinous Objects', p.17.

<sup>162</sup> LMA, Ho1/ST/NC/21/5/1, Teacher's pack on Nightingale, produced by the Post Office

<sup>163</sup> Phyllis Dorothy James, *Shroud for a Nightingale*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn (London: Penguin, 1989), p.9.

the building, her feelings of awe mingling with judgements about its unsuitability, belies a straightforward verdict on Nightingale and the changes taking place at the time of the novel's publication. Interwoven with the crime narrative are discussions about hospital re-organisation and the attributes of a good nurse, informed by James' own service in the National Health Service between 1949 and 1968. James makes a number of direct references to nursing developments, including the changes to nursing structures brought about by the Salmon Report of 1967. The reader learns that Matron Taylor has a new role as 'Chief Nursing Officer', overseeing the management of several hospitals. Dogmatic Sister Brumfett defends Taylor's original role: 'If Matron was good enough for Florence Nightingale it's good enough for Mary Taylor'.<sup>164</sup> Brumfett's comment is shrugged off by her younger colleagues, who scoff at her for ranking obedience and loyalty as the foremost attributes of a nurse, rather than intelligence.<sup>165</sup> James highlights a battle between old and the new and the use, perhaps even mis-use, of Nightingale's name in conjunction with tradition, not progress.

James' thoughtful reflections on the values attached to Nightingale and nursing contrast with more recent revisionist accounts seeking to puncture Nightingale's reputation.<sup>166</sup> The book that has had the most profound effect in the late twentieth-century is Francis Smith's *Reputation and Power* (1982). Smith sets out to de-bunk Nightingale's iconic status by portraying her as self-obsessed, despotic and a hypochondriac. The opening sentence of the book establishes the derisive tone throughout: 'Florence Nightingale's first chance to deploy her talent for manipulation came in August 1853'.<sup>167</sup> Smith's arguments are poorly supported, often made without consideration of historical context and contain provocative assertions intended to shock the reader. Sweeping judgements like 'Florence Nightingale's sexual relationships remained infantile' and 'Miss Nightingale served the cause of nursing less than it served her' recur throughout.<sup>168</sup> In a misogynist reading of the public work of Nightingale and her 'loyal busybodies', Mrs Herbert and Mrs Bracebridge, he concludes that no woman of the 1850s could have demonstrated the qualities of leadership required for the difficult mission at Scutari,

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<sup>164</sup> James, p.152.

<sup>165</sup> James, p.153.

<sup>166</sup> See Clive Ponting, *The Crimean War: The Truth Behind the Myth* (London: Pimlico, 2005). Hugh Small's *Avenging Angel*, 1<sup>st</sup> edn (London: Constable, 1998) is a more balanced revisionist account, which sets out to show how Nightingale's most important work began after the Crimean War.

<sup>167</sup> Smith, p.7.

<sup>168</sup> Smith, p.23, p.178.

though he concedes Nightingale saved the nursing mission from religious strife and the 'ladies' fatuities'.<sup>169</sup> In spite of its obvious flaws, the impact of Smith's work on Nightingale scholarship and in popular media is considerable.<sup>170</sup> Smith's reading of Nightingale's personality has provided sensational content for television producers seeking to carve out their reputations in a saturated market.<sup>171</sup> The book reveals more about Smith's personality than Nightingale's.

More recently, cynical feeling towards Nightingale has increased with the rise of Mary Seacole's reputation. The Jamaican-born healer, of mixed race, was rejected by the War Office authorities at the outbreak of the Crimean War, despite having experience of nursing the British Army in Kingston and written testimony in support of her skill. Undeterred, Seacole secured a passage to the Crimea and opened up a hotel and general store with her business partner, Thomas Day. There she served mainly officers and provided herbal remedies for wounds and sickness, but also ventured out to the battle-field on occasions to assist the dying and wounded. Her wartime venture and generous spirit left her insolvent but a number of public initiatives after the War, including the publication of her book *Wonderful Adventures of Mrs Seacole in Many Lands* in 1857, saved her from economic hardship. Seacole received little in the way of official recognition until the 1980s, when in 1981 a memorial service was held in London to mark the centenary of her death and in 1984, *Wonderful Adventures* was re-published.<sup>172</sup> With the rise of Seacole's reputation, there has been a simplistic tendency to position Nightingale and Seacole as historical rivals in an attempt to re-write history and present Seacole as the true heroine of nursing. One nurses union, Unison, voted to reject Nightingale as a model figure for the profession in 1999.<sup>173</sup> In 2004, Seacole was voted 'Greatest Black Briton', sparking calls for a statue to be put up in London in her honour.<sup>174</sup> The Mary Seacole Memorial Statue Appeal is ongoing and backed strongly by the nursing profession through Unison and the Royal College of Nursing. It is a

<sup>169</sup> Smith, pp.33-52.

<sup>170</sup> Smith's impact is documented by Lynn McDonald in 'Florence Nightingale a Hundred Years on: who she was and what she was not', *Women's History Review*, 19, 5 (2010), pp.721-40.

<sup>171</sup> The BBC documentaries, *Florence Nightingale: Iron Maiden* (2001) and *Florence Nightingale: Reputations* (2008) speculate about Nightingale's character and question the impact of her work at Scutari.

<sup>172</sup> Timeline in Mary Seacole, *Wonderful Adventures of Mrs Seacole in Many Lands*, ed. by Sara Salih, 5<sup>th</sup> edn (London: Penguin Books, 2005)

<sup>173</sup> McDonald, 'Florence Nightingale a Hundred Years on', p.734.

<sup>174</sup> BBC News, 'Nurse named greatest Black Britain', <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/3475445.stm>> [accessed 24 September 2014]

controversial project due to the proposed site for the statue at St Thomas' Hospital, which has no relevance to Seacole's life and work but is home to the Florence Nightingale Museum and former home of the Nightingale Training School. Nightingale advocates, notably Lynn McDonald and the Nightingale Society, have not unreasonably seen this as a divisive move to establish Seacole's reputation by demoting Nightingale in the public imagination, though work to challenge the location has led to similarly partisan efforts to undermine Seacole.<sup>175</sup> Seacole deserves a legacy in her own unique terms without reference to Nightingale. It is questionable whether nursing was the primary function of either Nightingale or Seacole during the Crimean War, Nightingale managing Army food and medical supplies and Seacole running her hotel, but both were revered in their life-time by the public and particularly by the Army as maternal figures of comfort. If the women are compared, there is much to be celebrated in their independent spirit and shared determination in achieving their goals against difficult odds.

A strong and dedicated following still exists for Nightingale and her work, in spite of late twentieth-century cynicism about her. This is in part due to the endurance of dedicated organisations, societies and memorial committees, and, the number of artefacts and sources that survive about her. The Florence Nightingale Foundation, derived from the Florence Nightingale International Foundation that Matron Lloyd-Still helped form in the 1930s, exists today to support the professional training of nurses through research, travel and leadership scholarships. The Royal College of Nursing continues to host an international Nurses Day on the birthday of Nightingale and in 2010, on the centenary of her death, the Florence Nightingale Museum at St Thomas' Hospital re-opened to the public following a revamp of the displays. The small Museum makes good use of St Thomas' collection with an inter-active display divided into three modest circular pavilions, a reference to the hospital design Nightingale championed. The visitor's introduction to the Museum is a display case full of Nightingale relics, comprising china figurines, prints and a statuette, but the descriptions accompanying the display use them to comment on 'Nightingale mania' during the Crimean War, the management of her image and the impact of Nightingale's fame. Hence, the objects do not substitute their subject in this instance but are used to

<sup>175</sup> Lynn McDonald, 'Florence Nightingale and Mary Seacole: Nursing's Bitter Rivalry', *History Today*, 62 (2012) <<http://www.historytoday.com/lynn-mcdonald/florence-nightingale-and-mary-seacole-nursings-bitter-rivalry>> [accessed 20 July 2014]

outline the workings of her celebrity. The pavilions chart in turn Nightingale's upbringing and family connections, her Crimean War story and her post-Crimean phase of extensive research and writing on sanitation, army reform, nursing and hospitals. Central to the third pavilion is a striking installation by Susan Stockwell of a ward bed crammed with rolls of paper, which visually represents Nightingale's life writing (Fig.73). Her literary output consisted of two hundred publications and approximately fourteen thousand letters. The Crimean pavilion offers a fair account of the grave responsibilities Nightingale faced as Superintendent at Scutari, her positive intervention in providing basic supplies and her attentiveness to the soldier and army welfare issues. However, it also highlights the impact of the Sanitary Commission on falling death rates and the external sections of the pavilion deal with the wider context of the Crimean War, featuring other individuals, such as Seacole, Soyer, Raglan, Fenton and Leo Tolstoy. Therefore, a narrow interpretation of her singular impact during the Crimean War is avoided. Additionally, the walls of the Museum space feature pictures and videos devoted to advances in the medical profession since the Crimean War, such as infection control, and the professional dedication of nurses today. The Museum thus achieves a good balance between interest in Nightingale and her work, in particular, her Crimean story and post-Crimean achievements, and between past health care and its legacy today. The Museum's new display is the closest commemorative project yet to fulfil Nightingale's own perspective on the Crimean War outlined at the beginning of this chapter, as a boost to the development of hygiene and trained nursing. However, the power of relics associated with her is not lost on the Museum. One of its most prized objects, donated by a great niece of one of Nightingale's nurses, is the shell of Jimmy the tortoise. Previously displayed at the RCS exhibition of 1954, Jimmy is another example of Nightingale's associative power. Attached to the shell is a metal shield identifying Jimmy as a ward pet of the fictitiously named 'Florence Nightingale Hospital, Scutari', demonstrating the extent to which Nightingale became synonymous with the Barrack Hospital she managed. Nightingale may or may not have had contact with the tortoise but knowledge of its presence on one of her wards provides an endearing and informal image of Nightingale. It also appeals to a renewed interest in taxidermy, an unsettling means of memorialisation, especially so in this case since it is literally only the shell that is preserved.

## Conclusion

Florence Nightingale is easily the most recognisable personality of the Crimean War and its most persistent legacy. In February 1855, the image of her as a 'lady with a lamp' captured the public imagination, counterveiling the bleakness and turmoil of the Crimean winter. The mythology that built around this simple message of hope projected Nightingale as the sole redeemer of the Crimean difficulties, as a charitable and domestic figure who chose to dedicate her life to acts of benevolence. The Queen and Prince Albert's gift of a royal brooch captured public feeling and gratitude for Nightingale's exceptional, merciful service, alongside a number of objects and publications. In contrast to temporary heroes like Lord Cardigan, Nightingale's popularity increased towards the end of the War, partly owing to the shadow cast by her illness. Her wartime popularity demonstrated a vogue for female sympathy, as evinced in Chapter 3 in relation to Queen Victoria, representing early successes in justifying female involvement in predominantly male theatres: soldiering and war. In this sense, Nightingale's prolific image both worked for and against her, supporting her involvement in war but at the same time circumscribing it and simplifying it for ready consumption. Her projected image has obscured the extent of her strategic activity at Scutari, the contribution of others and her considerable passions and input into Army reform after the War.

More often than not, twentieth-century responses cleaved to the purity of Nightingale's nineteenth-century image. This was particularly the case after her death, at which point her status as a secular saint was confirmed. Yet, rehearsals of her legend were often driven by contemporary concerns. Whilst aesthetically, many monuments and reliefs recalled nineteenth-century motifs, Nightingale was consistently made relevant. It is notable that the most secure and lucid visions of Nightingale occurred during the world wars. During the First World War, the statue of Nightingale at Waterloo Place became the focal point for those seeking to present connections between her nursing example and the relief work of women nursing at the front and co-ordinating aid. Lamps became synonymous with this work, as a means of branding those who actively supported it, lending a sense of historic precedent. Post-war, Nightingale's image and her reception was complicated by Strachey and Berkeley's popular representations of Nightingale as a strong, even ruthless woman. The tender, gentle image of Nightingale, so popular in the immediate aftermath of the Crimean War and during the First World War, as in

Walker's 1916 frieze of Nightingale's bedside mercy, was supplanted by one of a more complex individual. The aim of Strachey and Berkeley was not to 'de-bunk' Nightingale's achievements, but to highlight the de-individualising effects of hagiography. Both projects were conducted in a spirit of admiration for Nightingale and both direct a feminist reading, seeking to counter the objectification of Nightingale as a national saint. Yet, in spite of Strachey's and Berkeley's complication of the simplified image of myth, the Second World War ushered a renewed period of hero-worship. Like the Waterloo Place statue during the First World War, the carriage Nightingale used during the Crimean War acted as a surrogate object of veneration and comment. The carriage's survival of the blitz and restoration for a special re-enactment along London's South Bank added to its numinous status. The carriage served the Second World War generation on a public and private level. On the one hand, it supported national propaganda designed to underline the indestructability of British establishments and British values, but it also elicited powerful responses from individuals who brought their own personal meanings and experiences to its commemoration.

The publicity surrounding Nightingale's carriage and the subsequent material interest in personal 'Nightingalia', showcased at the special RSC exhibition in the 1950s, for some time sustained a fresh mystique around Nightingale. The power of photographs and personal objects released into the public domain by surviving relatives gave fresh momentum to her hero-worship. Only in the late twentieth-century has public investment in Nightingale's image given way to public hostility. Extreme revisionist literature and the media have gone beyond questioning the usefulness of hero-worship and have attempted to undermine Nightingale's public worth altogether. Yet, Nightingale continues to attract strong advocates and institutional support. The Florence Nightingale Museum in London offers a credible and sustainable account of her life and work, by balancing her Crimean and post-Crimean work, Nightingale's contributions with the contributions of others and relics with their symbolism.

The Florence Nightingale Foundation hosts an annual commemoration service of Nightingale's life and work at Westminster Abbey where an oil lamp is lit and taken to the High Altar. In an address to guests gathered at Westminster Abbey on 8 May 2013, Bostridge asked them to view the lamp, 'not as a symbol perpetuating a simplistic, outdated legend, but as an image of the best of modern nursing, shining the light of



humanity into some of the darker and lonelier corners of human experience'.<sup>176</sup> Bostridge references contemporary ambivalence about Nightingale as an icon but what remains is the importance of objects as repositories of strong association and belief. Nightingale persists, in part, due to the power and ubiquity of her foremost material attribute, the luminous lamp, which speaks to all ages of hope in a war-torn world.

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<sup>176</sup> Florence Nightingale Foundation, 'Commemoration Service 2013', <[http://www.florence-nightingale-foundation.org.uk/uploads/Mark\\_Bostridge\\_address\\_May\\_2013.docx](http://www.florence-nightingale-foundation.org.uk/uploads/Mark_Bostridge_address_May_2013.docx)> [accessed 23 July 2014]

## Conclusion

Using NAM's previously under-explored collection as guide and inspiration, this thesis has demonstrated different ways in which the Crimean War has been negotiated by British audiences, blending social, political and cultural concerns. This project in itself can be seen as an act of cultural mediation, adding another layer of interpretation onto the War. It has reflected upon and arguably perpetuated the War's popular associations and has highlighted the contingent nature of notions of authenticity, class, progress, masculinity, femininity, nationhood, healing. Moreover, it has promoted fresh cultural emphases, namely, a historical and literary dialogue between Kinglake and Russell, the late-Victorian era as a formative period in the afterlife of the Charge, the media power of the monarchy in the aftermath of the War and the rich material context driving Nightingale's posthumous commemoration. NAM's collection, in spite of the War's more uncomfortable associations, leaves a rich material legacy. Commemorative ware, literature, prints and drawings, including the photo-print of Russell, the 'United Service' medal, the Balaclava medal, Simpson's print of the Charge, the Balaklava Banquet programme, the prints of Queen Victoria, Cundall and Howlett's photographs of wounded soldiers, the Royal 'Nightingale brooch', the statuette of Nightingale helping a wounded soldier, have been important sources for gauging strategies of public engagement towards persons and events. This diverse project has resulted in a number of findings, all of which attest to the contested nature of the War and of its selected figureheads.

The afterlife of the Crimean War demonstrates, on one level, the increased standing of the British Army in the public consciousness. Chapter 1 assesses both the elevated status of William Russell as the 'soldiers' friend', and his post-war projects that sought to promote military skill and a more professional view of soldiering. Chapter 2 highlights the Charge as a favoured public template for martial values and valour. Chapter 3 reveals how royal assignments presented Crimean soldiers as humanitarian heroes and as victims requiring public sympathy, which, as Chapter 4 reveals, gave all the more credit to those seen to make special efforts to alleviate soldiers' suffering. In recent times, Nightingale's public status has only been rivalled by Seacole, another noted 'soldier's friend.' Whilst favourable representations of officers have been considered, such as Kinglake's vision of 'young Anstruther' and the royal favourite,

Troubridge, the thesis acknowledges the truism of increased recognition of the regular soldier in the aftermath of the Crimean War. Yet, it demonstrates too that empowerment of the ordinary soldier was also illusory. His image as victim of mismanagement, as a prized relic of the Charge, as a devoted subject of the Queen, as a loyal asset to his officer in VC interpretations and a grateful recipient of Nightingale's ministrations, all served timely social and political functions that reinforced the status of the bourgeoisie and the ruling elite. Chapter 2 has highlighted a dichotomy between the Light Brigade veteran's celebrity and the difficulties faced by discharged soldiers. Chapter 3 argues that royal and public projections of the Queen as a vessel for public sentiment towards the Army need to be balanced against the vested interests of the Crown in maintaining its exclusive powers. The inauguration of the VC counter-acted agitation for reform on purchase by rewarding personal initiative, which can also be seen in royal commemoration of Nightingale as exceptional charitable giver, rather than as reformist thinker. The vivid, candid reflections of a Crimean corporal destabilise the empowering and idealising forces explored in this thesis:

Though it is the fashion to idealise the British soldier as a "hero" no one knows better than he himself the absurdity of such a term as applied to him. As a rule, when broken into the yoke of discipline, he is a good man, brave, obedient, much enduring [...] But he is not a hero, not a patriot, not moved by any feelings of "glory", honour, loyalty to his sovereign, or animated with a burning desire to great feats of arms. Poets, newspaper men, and music-hall melodists may imagine these to be his characteristics and get the unthinking public to hold the same opinion but it is pure lash [...]<sup>1</sup>

Whilst the corporal's forthright views on the wider motivations, or lack thereof, of the British soldier cannot speak for all, this passage is a rare consideration of the limits of the imposed, collective ideals offering reparatory visions of soldiering. As an object of the projected feeling he describes, the Corporal's testimony is all the more valuable. The Corporal recognises that despite the oft-quoted communication breakthroughs of the War and its uncensored reporting, it was still heavily mediated by cultural influencers; sovereign, poets, 'newspaper men', and imagined along these domestic lines. Placed in the domestic presence of the Queen, troubling visions of wounding were made acceptable, but the affective and surgical frames of reference could also de-individualise the men under scrutiny, by making them props to wider causes.

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<sup>1</sup> NAM 1983-1-7-1, Manuscript memoir of an orderly Corporal of the 49<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot entitled 'Some recollections of the Crimea.' undated

As a war that harnessed mass public feeling from its outset, the thesis demonstrates the extent to which the Crimean War was viewed through a domestic lens; through Russell's 'Greenwich Park in fair time'; through the lexical and ideological emphasis on conduct and administrative efficiency that construed war as fixable; through a redeeming vision of the Charge; through a maternal ideal of the Queen; through 'Nightingalia', the fascination with her person and everyday objects associated with her, such as the plain looking carriage, the orange and, of course, the iconic lamp. Many of these representations offered a domesticated perspective on war, framing women's role in wartime as an extension of familial and charitable responsibilities, whilst the inclusion of vulnerable soldiers bolstered these visions of female care. We might see this collection of mediations and re-mediations as understandable civilian attempts to comprehend the incomprehensible, to order the chaotic, even if they were contingent on culturally constructed ideals of care and even if, as this thesis acknowledges, there could be a gap between shared narrative and personal experiences of war.

Beyond the imaginative projections of British manhood and British womanhood driving commemoration of the War in art and literature, mass public engagement also channelled social and political unease, between reformers and conservatives, civilian and military expertise, proponents of ability and protectors of privilege, commanders and their men and Crown and Parliament. In particular, the thesis evinces the ways in which public negotiation of the War revolved less around its legitimacy and its geopolitics and more around its leadership. Chapter 1 shows how Russell consolidated wartime comment that invoked the removal and indifference of the War's leaders, and further undermined the War's commanders by drawing upon Anglo-French rivalry. In response, Kinglake's *Invasion of the Crimea* attempted to restore distance between public comment and the War's military leaders, particularly Raglan, reinforcing an ideal of commanders as apolitical figures. Kinglake's project attracted criticism for its marked bias, but also, significantly, for its 'aloofness'. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 also elucidate on the War's crisis of leadership, and how this precipitated important demonstrations of intimacy between publicly-endorsed figures and soldiers. In Chapter 2, Tennyson was motivated and personally gratified by reports that 'The Charge of the Light Brigade' was reaching and affecting soldiers on the front line and Thompson emphasised the care of NCOs towards comrades in need in *Balaclava*. Perceptions of poor leadership in public office resulted in female heroes and the realignment of public

duty in favour of a domesticated perspective. Chapters 3 and 4 reveal how the public imagination substituted indifferent male leadership with matriarchal visions of the Queen and Nightingale, who became public role models of touch, warmth and intimacy.

Whilst the ambitious time-frame covered in this thesis poses challenges, it has enabled consideration of different strategies of communication and commemoration over time. By turning to Russell's post-war writings as a point of comparison with Kinglake, in addition to his oft-quoted newspaper dispatches, Chapter 1 reveals his amplification of a denunciatory agenda that is crucial to modern-day understanding of the War and particularly the Charge. By tracing representations of the Charge both prior to and beyond the creation of Tennyson's poem, Chapter 2 reveals a marked difference between instant commemorative-ware and literature and later representations of the Charge. In this project, Tennyson's poem assumes a pivotal status, representing an important shift between individual distinction and collective recognition of the Brigade. In the late-Victorian era, this understanding was taken one step further, with cultural recognition falling entirely upon surviving members of the Light Brigade, which helped to ameliorate the Charge's status as a failure. In Chapter 3, it has been possible to demonstrate subtle shifts in representations of the Queen, from depictions of her homely and egalitarian presence in wartime through to a more assertive, quasi-military public image, which proclaimed the royal family's headship of the Army. In Chapter 4, the 150 year time-frame has enabled a rich layering of ideas about Nightingale, revealing the re-appropriation of differing ideals of heroic womanhood, such as 'Blessed are the Merciful' and a authoritative vision of Nightingale that was perceived to transcend her gender. It has revealed her enduring popularity up until the 1980s and therefore the extremity of pejorative revisionist projects from that period onwards, which replace one mythical representation of Nightingale with another.

Moreover, the expansive time-frame of the thesis shows how the Crimean War, initially shaped by allusions to men and wars preceding it, went on to become a cultural benchmark for subsequent wars. For some Victorians, drawing upon the past helped to undermine the War's status, as in Layard's allusions to commanders' past service in the Peninsular War as symptomatic of a lack of progress and in *The Times*' unfavourable comparison of Raglan with Wellington. Yet, references to a pre-Crimean past also worked to place it in a grand tradition of European warfare, as seen in Kinglake's view of Alma as a site where the 'great' nations met 'once more' for battle, in comparisons of

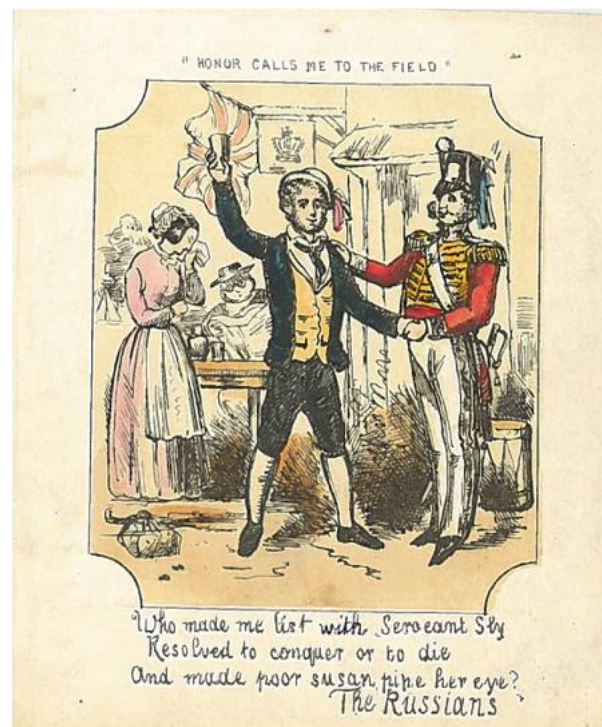
the Charge with the battle of Agincourt, and in accounts like *Battles of the Nineteenth Century*, which situated the Charge in a long tradition of British military achievements. At the end of this project, it is possible to see how later generations viewed certain aspects of the War as formative and in particular as a genesis for public war work. During the First World War, Nightingale's reputation as the founder of war nursing was impressed upon the public, legitimising propagandistic reflections on the role of women as accessories to the First World War effort and inspiring more anguished comment on women as the sole saviours of war. The status of nurses in wartime was further endorsed by the Crimean carriage during the Second World War. Its re-enactment filtered the destruction of London's built environment and provided cultural inheritance for the dislocated. This chapter also highlighted that certain tensions and oppositions identified in the thesis, between past and present, relics and authenticity, shared memory and private memory, commemoration of Seacole and commemoration of Nightingale, need not be mutually exclusive but complementary to an understanding of the War's afterlives.

The chapter on public hero-worship of Nightingale brings together a number of this thesis' general concerns, about an appropriate legacy for the Crimean War, the interaction of public and private memories and the role of the prosaic and heroic. The chapter highlights how memories of the War invoke to a much greater extent its actors, rather than its wider results, and therefore the importance of strong, personal attachments in driving the War's commemoration. This trend is seen elsewhere, in Kinglake's eagerly anticipated history of the War, which served more as a monument to his regard for Raglan; in O'Halloran's poetic dedication to Colonel de Salis; in Tennyson's poetic response to the Charge, which invoked the characteristics of the Brigade as his 'flower of men'; in late nineteenth-century representation, which etched into public consciousness the individual faces of Light Brigade veterans; in characterisations of a 'community of feeling' as a result of moving royal appearances emphasising physical and political intimacy; in VC acts, instituted to commemorate individual deeds of valour. Hero-worship of Nightingale was driven by varying forms of secular devotion to her personality. Many tributes in the early twentieth-century were shaped by those who laid special claim to having known her; her family, colleagues and brief acquaintances. Later generations collected, and even made objects that represented touch once removed from Nightingale's person.

Reflecting again on the role this thesis plays in the afterlife of the War, it inevitably offers a partial account of this far-reaching topic. Due to practical and cultural constraints, important aspects of the War have been ignored, not least other national perspectives and the effects of the War in other countries. The recent re-assimilation of Crimea into Russian hands highlights its continuing cultural and geo-political significance to Russia. Also, with its emphasis on afterlife, this project perforce represents those aspects of the War pursued to a greater or lesser extent in the Victorian imagination. Crimean associations maligned by the Victorians have largely been ignored since. Therefore, the mismanaged and tragic infantry assaults on the Redan towards the end of the War are only touched upon in this thesis as wider context for propagandistic initiatives designed to boost public and military morale. Britain's latter offensives in the Crimea gained little currency with Victorians, due to the unappealing nature of siege warfare, the heavy nature of the defeats and a creeping perception that the British fighting force, not just its commanders, was weak. These futile and devastating offensives present an opportunity to address the emerging horrors of trench warfare and the more complex challenges of the siege alongside the spectacle of open-field combat.

Instead, actions like the Charge of the Light Brigade became increasingly a source of pride in the British national consciousness, as a well-disciplined, exemplary loss. Rather than being ignored over time as a shameful episode, the Victorians, beginning with Tennyson, invested in an affirming and edifying vision of the Brigade. This vision marshalled a study of contrasts between virtuous, knowing soldiery and unscrupulous, ignorant commanders, in order to underscore the War's mismanagement and its heroism. The appeal of the Charge is rooted in its relationship to the War as a whole. The episode encompasses uncomfortable perceptions of the War's fragmented leadership, of competing testimony and of unresolved responsibility. The Charge is emblematic of the mass public engagement with the War and the mixed feelings engendered as a result, which sought, as with hero-worship of Nightingale, to counterbalance knowledge of failure with reparative narratives of success.

## Figures



**Figure 1:** 'Honour calls me to the Field', from a series of 8 lithographs entitled *The Russians*, c.1854, National Army Museum

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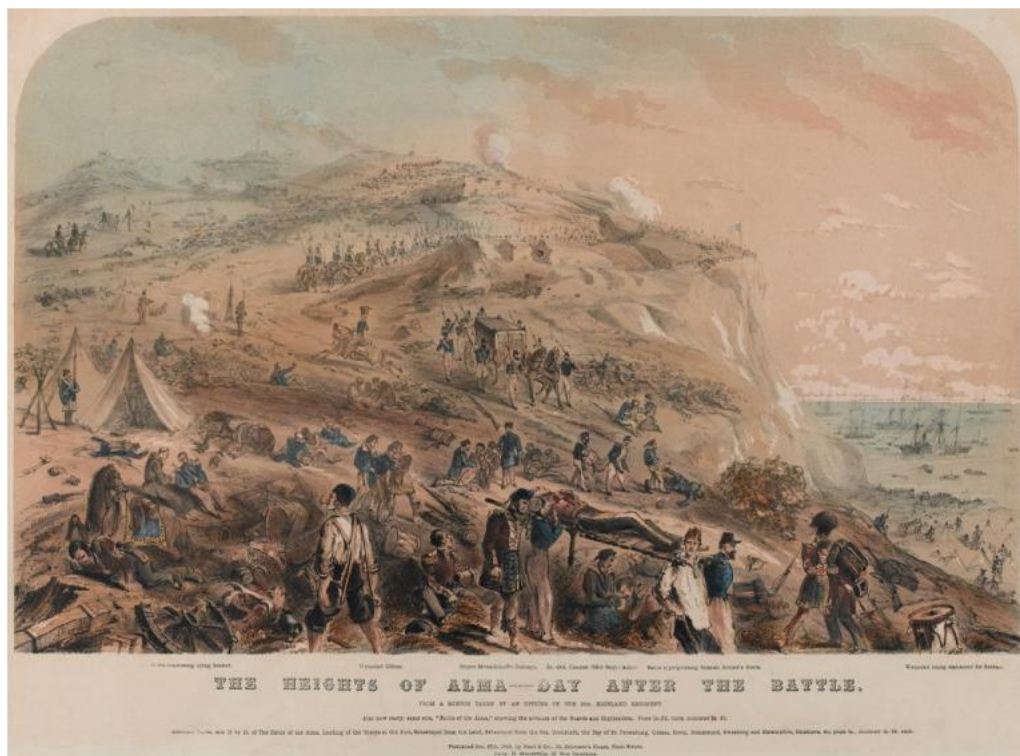
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**Figure 2:** 'Not an MP', *Vanity Fair*, 2 March 1872



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**Figure 3:** ‘Kinglake in 1870’, illustration in Rev. William Tuckwell, *A.W. Kinglake: A Biographical and Literary Study* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1902)



**Figure 4:** ‘The Heights of Alma – Day After the Battle’, tinted lithograph after Joseph Austin Benwell, published by Read and Co., 27 October 1854, National Army Museum  
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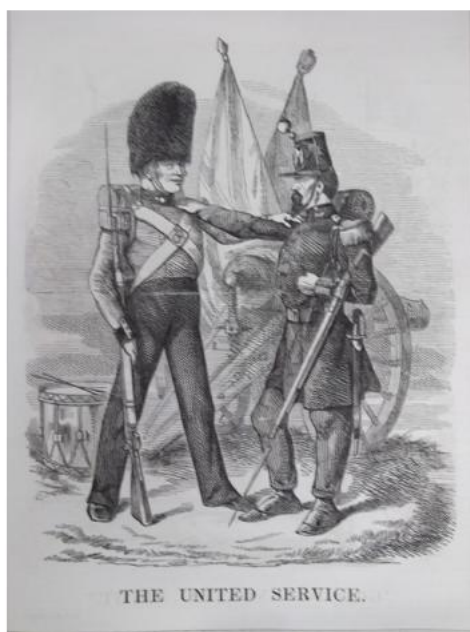
**Figure 5:** *Punch*, 15 April 1854

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**Figure 6:** ‘Death of Ensign Anstruther’, illustration in *Battles of the Nineteenth Century*, 4 vols, III (London: Cassell and Co., 1899)

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**Figure 7:** *Punch*, 24 February 1855



**Figure 8:** *Punch*, 4 March 1854 (Left); Bronze medal commemorating the alliance of Britain and France against Russia, 1854, National Army Museum (Right)

**(Right: © National Army Museum)**



**Figure 9:** Thomas Herbert Maguire, 'W. H. Russell The Times Correspondent in the Crimea, 1855', proof lithograph, published by Henry Graves and Co., 26 October 1855, National Army Museum

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**Figure 10:** Colonel George Cadogan, 'A Day Dream before Sebastopol', watercolour, c.1855, National Army Museum

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**Figure 11:** *Illustrated London News*, 7 July 1855



**Figure 12:** 'General Lord Raglan, Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies in the Crimea', c.1854, National Army Museum

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**Figure 13:** Alfred Frank de Prades, *Lieutenant-Colonel James Thomas Brudendell, 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Cardigan, 11<sup>th</sup> (Prince Albert's Own) Hussars*, oil, c.1854, National Army Museum

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**Figure 14:** Cream-ware jug, unmarked, c.1854, National Army Museum

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**Figure 15:** Bronze medal commemorating the Battle of Balaclava, struck by John Pinches Ltd, c.1855, National Army Museum

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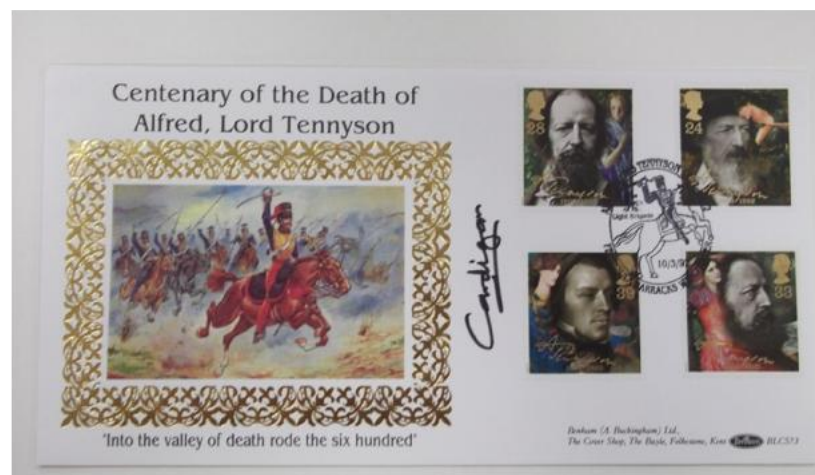
**Figure 16:** E. Walker, after William Simpson, 'Charge of the Light Brigade, 25 October 1854', from *The Seat of War in the East - First Series*, published by Paul and Dominic Colnaghi and Co., 1 March 1855, National Army Museum

(© National Army Museum)



**Figure 17:** William Simpson, 'Charge of the Light Brigade 25 October 1854', watercolour, c.1854, National Army Museum

(© National Army Museum)



**Figure 18:** Postage stamps released on the centenary of Tennyson's death, 1992, National Army Museum (1993-6-56-1)

(© National Army Museum)





**Figure 19:** Photograph of the military funeral of Sergeant Frederick Peake, 1906, National Army Museum (1956-10-47-1)  
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**Figure 20:** Exhibits on display at the Balaklava Banquet, including the ‘Balaklava Trophy’, illustration from the *Illustrated London News*, 30 October 1875

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**Figure 21:** Light Brigade veterans present at the Balaklava Banquet, illustration from *Illustrated London News*, 30 October 1875

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**Figure 22:** Herbert von Herkomer, *The Last Muster, Sunday at the Royal Hospital Chelsea*, 1875, Lady Lever Art Gallery  
(© National Museums Liverpool)



**Figure 23:** Lieutenant Henry Crealock, 'All that was Left of Them, Left of 600', 1865, Royal Collection

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**Figure 24:** Short-tailed coatee worn by Sergeant Frederick Peake, 13th Light Dragoons, at the Battle of Balaclava, 1854, National Army Museum

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**Figure 25:** Elizabeth Thompson, *Balaclava*, 1876, Manchester Art Gallery  
(© Manchester City Galleries)

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**Figure 26:** William Pennington, illustration from *Left of Six Hundred* (London: Waterloo and Sons Ltd, 1887)



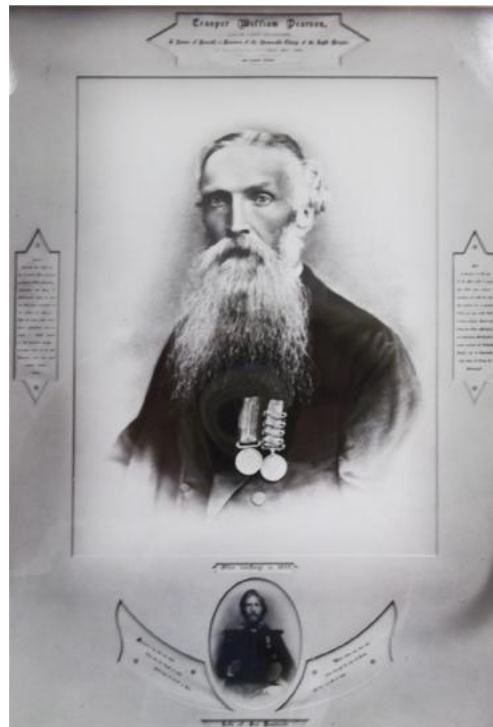
**Figure 27:** Elizabeth Thompson, ‘Study of a wounded Guardsman’, oil, 1874, National Army Museum

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**Figure 28:** A.J. Wilde, after Thomas Jones Barker, ‘The Return through the Valley of Death’, engraving, 1876, Royal Academy of Arts

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**Figure 29:** Private William Pearson, as a soldier and in old age, 1884, National Army Museum (1991-2-280)

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**Figure 30:** Richard Caton-Woodville, *The Relief of the Light Brigade*, 1897, National Army Museum

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**Figure 31:** ‘Charge of the Light Cavalry at Balaclava’, illustration from *Battles of the Nineteenth Century*, 4 vols, III (London: Cassell and Co, 1899)



**Figure 32:** Entrance to ‘Horsepower’, Museum of the King’s Royal Hussars, Winchester

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**Figure 33:** Vincent Brooks, after the Marchioness of Waterford, 'Reading the Queen's Letter', lithograph, c.1855, Royal Collection  
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**Figure 34:** *Illustrated London News*, 3 February 1855



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**Figure 35:** *Punch*, 11 March 1854

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**Figure 36:** *Illustrated London News*, 10 March 1855



**Figure 37:** Vincent Brooks, after John Gilbert, 'Queen inspecting the Guards at Buckingham Palace', lithograph, 1903, National Army Museum

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**Figure 38:** 'Her Majesty Distributing the Crimean Medals', steel engraving after R. Hind, c.1856, National Army Museum

(© National Army Museum)



**Figure 39:** ‘Distribution of War Medals by the Queen’, coloured lithograph, published by Read and Co., 4 June 1855, National Army Museum

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**Figure 40:** Joseph Cundall and Robert Howlett, ‘Private John Daniels, 55th Regiment and Private Robert Evans’, 1855, Royal Collection (Left); *Illustrated London News*, 21 July 1855 (Right)

(Left: Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015)



**Figure 41:** Joseph Cundall and Robert Howlett, ‘Private Jesse Lockhurst and Private Thomas O’Brien’, 1856, National Army Museum  
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**Figure 42:** Joseph Cundall and Robert Howlett, ‘Private William Young, Corporal Henry Burland and Private John Connery’, 1856, Royal Collection  
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**Figure 43:** Joseph Cundall and Robert Howlett, 'Private Thomas McKavery', 1856, Royal Collection

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**Figure 44:** 'Royal Victoria Military Hospital, Netley, near Southampton', 1857, Wellcome Library

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**Figure 45:** William Simpson, 'Queen laying foundation stone at Netley Hospital, 19 May 1856', watercolour, Royal Collection

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**Figure 46:** *Illustrated London News*, 24 May 1856



**Figure 47:** J. Duncan, after F. C. Dickinson, 'Her Majesty Queen Victoria and entourage visiting soldiers wounded during the Boer War, in a ward at Netley Hospital', pen and ink, c.1900, Wellcome Library

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**Figure 48:** *Illustrated London News*, 16 August 1856



**Figure 49:** M and N Hanhart after Michael Angelo Hayes, 'By a sudden spring the 33rd man seized the Russians firelock', coloured lithograph, No.8 in the second series of *Lloyd's Incidents from the War in the Crimea*, published by Lloyd Brothers and Co., 26 December 1854, National Army Museum

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**Figure 50:** *Illustrated London News*, 20 June 1857





**Figure 51:** Joseph Cundall and Robert Howlett, 'Privates Joseph Nunn, John Potter and James Deal, Coldstream Guards', for their series of portraits entitled 'Crimean Heroes', 1856, National Army Museum

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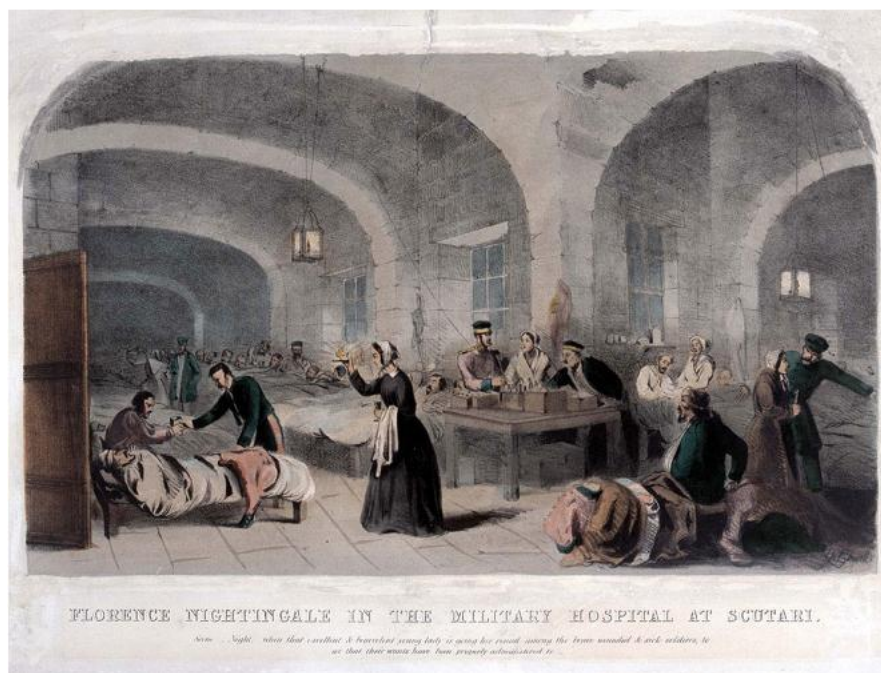


**Figure 52:** Louis William Desanges, Private John McDermond, 47th (The Lancashire) Regiment of Foot, winning the VC by saving Colonel Haly at Inkerman, on 5 November 1854, oil, c.1860, National Army Museum

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**Figure 53:** *Illustrated London News*, 24 February 1855



**Figure 54:** Joseph Austin Benwell, 'Florence Nightingale in the Military Hospital at Scutari', lithograph, published by The Caxton Press, c.1856, National Army Museum  
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**Figure 55:** Paper lantern, c.1855, National Army Museum  
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**Figure 56:** Gold enameled brooch, presented to Florence Nightingale by Queen Victoria, 1855, National Army Museum  
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**Figure 57:** Statuette of Florence Nightingale helping a wounded soldier, c. 1856, National Army Museum (Left); *Punch*, 30 August 1856 (Right)

(Left: © National Army Museum)



**Figure 58:** Sir John Robert Steell, marble bust of Florence Nightingale, 1862, National Army Museum

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**Figure 59:** Photograph of Florence Nightingale, c.1853-1859, National Army Museum  
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**Figure 60:** Order of Merit, awarded to Florence Nightingale, 1907, National Army Museum  
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**Figure 61:** Arthur Walker, Statue of Florence Nightingale, Waterloo Place, London, 1915

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**Figure 62:** John Foley, Statue of Sidney Herbert, Waterloo Place, London, 1867

(© Rachel Bates)



**Figure 63:** Herbert statue, front bas relief (Left); Nightingale statue, front bas relief (Right)

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**Figure 64:** Nightingale statue, fourth bas relief

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**Figure 65:** William Sargent, Santa Croce Memorial, 1913, London Metropolitan Archives



**Figure 66:** Lady Gleichen, Statue of Florence Nightingale, London Road, Derby  
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**Figure 67:** Arthur Walker, Marble wall relief of Florence Nightingale, 1916, St Paul's Cathedral

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**Figure 68:** Photograph of Florence Nightingale, 1856, used as an illustration in *The Queen*, 3 April 1929

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**Figure 69:** Photograph of bomb damaged carriage, 1942, London Metropolitan Archives

(© Florence Nightingale Museum)

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**Figure 70:** Photograph of restored carriage on war duty, 1942, London Metropolitan Archives

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**Figure 71:** Mr Mumford's lamp, illustration in *The Nightingale Fellowship Journal*, 29 (1943)



**Figure 72:** Model of the carriage used by Florence Nightingale during the Crimean War, c.1956, National Army Museum  
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**Figure 73:** Susan Stockwell, 'Bed book', installation, 2010, Florence Nightingale Museum

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