narrative poetry describing Aurora’s feelings before his appearance on the scene – almost as though he were a reader of *Aurora Leigh* as well as a character in it.


1. See Benedict Anderson’s discussion of how poetry and national anthems create “unisonality,” “the echoed physical realization of the imagined community” (*Imagined Communities*, p. 145).


3. Arnold, Preface to the first edition of *Poems* (1853), in *Matthew Arnold: Selected Poems and Prose*, p. 118. For Arnold’s feelings about the war, see D. S. Neff, “The Times, the Crimean War, and ‘Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse,’” *Papers on Language and Literature* 33.2 (1997), 174. Neff reads “Stanzas” as a response to the war, arguing that Achilles can be seen as a stand-in for Raglan.

4. For more on the debate, see my chapter on Clough in *The Crisis of Action*.

5. See [Charles Kingsley], “Thoughts on Shelley and Byron,” *Fraser’s Magazine* 48 (November, 1853), 568–76.


10. All references to Tennyson’s verse are from *The Poems of Tennyson*, ed. Ricks, and will be internally documented by part (where relevant) and line number.


12. [Hamley], “Poetry of the War,” 531.

13. [Goldwin Smith], “The War Passages in *Maud*,” *Saturday Review* 1 (November 3, 1855), 14–15. In its argument for cultural relativism (“a nation which may not be in need of the same regimen as ourselves”), this passage presents an unusual level of protest against the Crimean War: it protests not only *how* the war was fought but *that* it was fought.


16. Painters also favored this subject during the war. Consider Ford Madox Brown’s Waiting: An English Fireside of 1854–5 (1855). Originally intended as a domestic idyll of a woman sewing while her baby sleeps on her lap, the “subject was modified in 1854 . . . and reworked . . . to represent ‘an officer’s wife thinking of him at Sevastopol’” (a bundle of letters and a miniature portrait of the husband were added). Tim Barringer, Reading the Pre-Raphaelites (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 91–92.

17. Florence Nightingale provides the exception to this rule, and almost every Crimean War poet wrote about her. These poems form a distinct sub-category within the war poetry – poets writing about Nightingale may have struggled with the implications of her work for gender-roles (as my discussion in chapter 2 suggests), but they did not question her heroism or value. For an extensive list of poems about Nightingale, see Dereli, “Gender Issues,” pp. 78–79, n. 26.


22. [Adelaide Anne Procter], “Waiting,” Household Words 10 (1854), 204–05.

23. For “Waiting” as a war poem, see Dereli, “Gender Issues,” 74.


27. The volume’s tone can be deduced from the fact that the sisters omitted all but three of their Crimean poems in their Collected Poems (1897), explaining, “we have learned to regard the Crimean war, in spite of the heroism of our soldiers, not as a just cause and a glorious achievement so much as a deplorable blunder.” Arabella and Louisa Shore, Poems by A. and L. (London: Grant Richards, 1897), p. 335. Quoted in Lootens, “Patriotism,” p. 268. Note the mention of Tennysonian “blunder.”

28. Linda Hughes calls Alan Sinfield (author of Dramatic Monologue [London: Methuen, 1977]) “the foremost spokesman” for this “inclusive” understanding of the dramatic monologue, which should be contrasted with Langbaum’s “ironic framework.” Linda K. Hughes, The Manyfaced Glass: Tennyson’s Dramatic Monologues (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1987), p. 7. Generally speaking, the stricter definition is associated with Browning’s monologues while the looser seems more descriptive of Tennyson’s (see Manyfaced Glass, esp. ch. 1).
29. Lootens notes, citing Van Wyk Smith, that after the Crimean War, "much of the patriotic poetry of war would be spoken through, if not always by, soldiers" ("Patriotism," p. 268).


31. The name for a type of musket used in the war, a heavier gun than the modern Minie rifle.

32. See Paul Fussell’s moving account in The Great War and Modern Memory (pp. 243–54). "The Moral of this Year" (discussed in the previous chapter) also compares "poppy-banded grain" to "crimson War" (Household Words to [1854], 276). The poppy as symbol of doomed youth had of course appeared as early as the Aeneid, when Virgil memorably describes the dying Euryalus (bk. 9).


34. Natalie Houston, "Reading the Victorian Souvenir: Sonnets and Photographs of the Crimean War," Yale Journal of Criticism 14.2 (2001), 362. This claim has also been made of Maud.

35. Martha Westwater describes how the poets decided to "leave their heroes in their towers and consider the heroes on the battlefields" (Spasmodic Career, p. 102). Kingsley's Two Years Ago also suggests war poetry as a cure for spasmodism, although there the cure depends on the poet's actually going to war. As Tom Thurnall proposes to the ailing Elsley Vavasour: "Why don't you become our war poet? . . . There will be a dozen Cockneys writing battle songs, I'll warrant, who never saw a man shot in their lives, not even a hare. Come and give us the real genuine grit of it." To which Elsley responds enthusiastically — "It is a grand thought! The true war poets, after all, have been warriors themselves" — before succumbing once again to an opium stupor (II:230).

36. Alexander Smith and the Author of Balder and The Roman [Sydney Dobell], Sonnets on the War (London: David Bogue, 1855), pp. 15–16. Future references to the Sonnets will be to page numbers in this edition. Both sonnets
can be attributed to Dobell by their inclusion in his *Poetical Works* of 1875; further attributions have the same source.

37. Urquhart, *Misuse of Familiar Words*; see especially the chapters “Public Opinion and Private Judgment” and “Organs of Public Opinion.”


39. [Hamley], “Poetry of the War,” 531.


45. [Hamley], “Poetry of the War,” 533.


52. [Russell], “The Operations of the Siege,” *The Times*, November 14, 1854, 7.


55. *Ibid.*

56. The phrase “the reason why” became common in contemporary accounts of the war. See, for example, the illustration in *Punch* 28 (1855), 85, “Mr. Bull wants to know ‘The Reason Why.’”


60. See also Tate, “On Not Knowing Why,” pp. 165–66.

61. *Illustrated Times*, June 9, 1855; see Keller, *Ultimate Spectacle*, p. 11.


63. Waddington, “Thiers But To Do and Die”, p. 75.

64. Leader, *The Times*, November 13, 1854, 6. See also Tate, who discusses in detail the newspaper reports’ awareness of the “disparity between the deed and the outcome” and the “anti-utilitarian” aspect of the charge in the
context of her reading of Tennyson’s poem (‘On Not Knowing Why,’ pp. 169, 175).


67. Sydney Dobell, “A Hero’s Grave,” in England In Time of War, p. 92. See [George Eliot], “Contemporary Literature,” *Westminster Review* 65 o.s., 9 n.s. (October, 1856), 566–70. Yet even this poem ends on a much more martial note. Another voice enters to teach the old man a lesson in appropriate mourning: “Pity thee? / A son is lost to thine infirmity; / Poor fool, what then? A son thou hast resigned / To give a father to the virtues of mankind” (lines 153–56). Still, the use of repetition, the doubt regarding the value of glory, the resistance to the idea of monuments (marble), and the mode of questioning and answering, followed by the starkness of the father’s final line – all these aspects of the poem offer arguments against the majority of verses written about the charge, not only Dobell’s but also Tennyson’s.


69. See Houston, “Victorian Souvenir,” 361; Houston contrasts this anti-aristocratic sensibility with Tennyson’s perspective in “The Charge,” a poem that she reads as upholding the aristocratic military code. Actually, as I note above, Dobell admired Tennyson’s ballad.


71. One exception to this general rule comes in Westland Marston’s *The Death-Ride: A Tale of the Light Brigade* (London: C. Mitchell, 1855), which is written from the perspective of a cavalry-member. This poem is discussed by Tate (“On Not Knowing Why,” pp. 177–78) and Waddington (“Theirs But To Do and Die”, pp. 37–39).


73. Leader, *The Times*, November 13, 1854, 6.

74. [Russell], “The Operations of the Siege,” *The Times*, November 14, 1854, 7.

75. See, for example, Woodham-Smith, *The Reason Why*, p. 216.


77. Charles Kingsley wrote in Fraser’s that the “transcendental and inexhaustible” subject of the charge deserved a “monument worthy of [the participants’] deed.” Review of Tennyson’s *Maud*, 273.

relation to Smith and Dobell’s sonnets, suggesting that the “recognition of the eventual effacement of the experience of history is the impulse behind the collecting of the souvenir. To know that what seems currently affecting and immediate will not seem so in the future, and to believe that it is worth documenting, is the impulse underlying this collection of sonnets” (“Victorian Souvenir,” 376–77).

84. Many of these references to the poem as ballad occur in the correspondence between the Tennysons (Emily often wrote the letters) and John Forster, the editor of the Examiner, about the publication of the poem. See the Tennysons’ letters of December 7, 1854, December 9, 1854, and August 6, 1855, in Letters, ii:102, ii:117.
85. McGann, Beauty of Inflections, p. 195. For a later, nostalgic treatment of Balaklava, see George Meredith’s Beauchamp’s Career (1876), where the eponymous hero’s participation in the charge of the Light Brigade serves as a symbol of innocent action, uncorrupted by the cautiousness and political realities that will hamper his future deeds. That is, the charge offers an opposing model of action to the failed career, its very failure representing a kind of success that the conditions of modern life have rendered impossible. For a purely ironic response, we can look to Beryl Bainbridge’s magnificent Master Georgie (Gerald Duckworth & Co., 1998), in which the charge is noticed only for the influx of riderless horses it provided to those in the camps.
86. Of course, within the narrative of the poem, historical timing would have precluded both Maud and the speaker from knowing Tennyson’s ballad: “The Charge” was published months after the Baltic force that the narrator joins in the conclusion of the poem leaves British shores.
87. The elision was not complete in that a version of “The Charge” was republished in the same volume as Maud. But as my discussion will indicate, this version of the ballad was significantly bowdlerized through its erasure of the concept of “blunder.”
88. [William Gladstone], “Tennyson’s Poems,” Quarterly Review 106 (October, 1859), 461–64. He later changed his views (see his Gleanings of Past Years [London: John Murray, 1879], ii:146–47).
89. [G. Smith], “The War Passages in Maud,” 14–15. While Smith seems to be blaming Tennyson for designating the long peace a “canker,” the
metaphor – from 1 Henry IV, iv.ii.29 (“The cankers of a calm world and a long peace”) – was actually more generally current during the period. The quotation “the canker of a long peace” comes up in leaders in The Times of October 9, 1854 and February 14, 1855 (both p. 6). As James Bennet has shown, though, far more early reviewers approved of the poem’s pro-war expressions than disapproved of them. See James Bennett, “The Historical Abuse of Literature: Tennyson’s Maud: A Monodrama and the Crimean War,” English Studies 62 (1981), 34. See also Michael C. C. Addams’s argument that in the context of the war, many of the opinions expressed in the poem in favor of war were commonplace (“Tennyson’s Crimean War Poetry: a Cross-Cultural Approach,” Journal of the History of Ideas 40.3 [1979], 405–22).

90. See Tennyson’s letter to Robert James Mann of September, 1855 (in Letters II:127) and Hallam Tennyson’s record of his father’s comments quoted in Ricks’s head-note to the poem in Poems of Tennyson, II:517–18.


92. For the use of monodrama as a synonym for dramatic monologue, see Ricks’s head-note in Poems of Tennyson, II:515. In his much-cited essay “Monodrama and the Dramatic Monologue” (PMLA 90.3 [May, 1975], 366–85), Dwight Culler argues for the monodrama as a distinct form, with its own historical origins (crucially, in music), and discusses Maud as an example (378–82). Herbert Tucker also prefers to call the poem a monodrama: “In dramatic monologues we require to know more firmly whether and when speakers know what they are talking about; Maud very often leaves this question wide open” (“Doom of Culture,” p. 177). But critics differ on the point. According to James Bennet, “Maud possesses, I believe, all the major signals of a dramatic monologue” (“The Historical Abuse of Literature,” 41). Linda Hughes also disagrees with Culler, seeing Maud as an expanded monologue in the loose sense of the term: first-person effusions in a voice not the poet’s own (Manyfaced Glass, p. 165).

93. Tennyson, letter to Archer Thompson Gurney, December 6, 1855, in Letters, II:137–38.


95. McGann, Beauty of Inflections, p. 195. Notably, Maud’s song is almost immediately recognized as arousing similar nostalgia for heroic leadership: “I wish I could hear again / The chivalrous battle-song / That she warbled / Alone in her joy! / I might persuade myself then / She would not do herself this great wrong, / To take a wanton dissolute boy / For a man and a leader of men.” (1.382–88; added in second edition, 1856). But such “simple” nostalgia is complicated by its context in the larger work.

96. See Shannon and Ricks, “Creation of a Poem,” 31. McGann sees a reterential pun in Light, rendering it adjectival (Beauty of Inflections, p. 201).
98. See ibid., 17.
100. Leader, The Times, November 13, 1854, 6. See Hallam, Lord Tennyson, Alfred, Lord Tennyson: A Memoir by his Son, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1897), which recalls the phrase as Tennyson’s own “some one had blundered” (1:381).
101. Kingsley adds a partial defense of Tennyson: “He is no Tyrtaeus, though he has a glimpse of what Tyrtaeus ought to be.” C. Kingsley, letter to Thomas Hughes, December 18, 1854, in Letters and Memories, 1:434.
104. See Shannon and Ricks for the reasons for the changes (“Creation of a Poem,” 6–7). Tennyson soon recognized his mistake; the entire meaning of the poem depended upon its genesis in error. For all his work, though, something in Tennyson’s ballad resists authorial control. So, for example, in Virginia Woolf’s version of it in To the Lighthouse (1927), Mr. Ramsay misquotes the line “Boldly they rode and well” as “boldly we rode and well” during his reenactment of the charge on the front lawn of his house. In the process, he nearly upsets Lily Briscoe’s easel — and her own efforts at a perfect composition, efforts that stand in for those of her creator, and, by extension, of Tennyson as well. Virginia Woolf, To the Lighthouse (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1989), p. 17. Tate discusses this mis-remembering (“On Not Knowing Why,” pp. 160–61); Lootens also mentions the episode (“Patriotism,” p. 255).
105. So, as Shannon and Ricks suggest (“Creation of a Poem,” 32), making the dissemination of feeling about the war much simpler, since the soldiers, unproblematically admirable in themselves, presented him with a uniform set of expectations and responses to the poem.
106. See D. G. Rossetti’s comments after a reading of the poem at the Brownings’ on September 27, 1855: “I was never more amused in my life than by Tennyson’s groanings and horrors over the reviews of Maud, which poem he read through to us, spouting also several sections to be introduced in a new edition.” Rossetti, letter to William Allingham, November 25, 1855, quoted in Tennyson’s Letters, 11:128.
107. Sometimes, the attempt is to clarify plot, as in the addition of the “Courage, poor heart of Stone!” verse, discussed below, which was to make Maud’s death more obvious. See Shatto’s edition of Maud, p. 203.
108. Consider the changes to the end of Part III, including the removal of the offending phrase, “the long, long canker of peace,” its replacement with “the peace that I deem’d no peace,” and the addition of a new final stanza of the poem, so as to avoid ending on the note of a “blood-red blossom of war with a heart of fire.” See Shatto’s edition of Maud, pp. 221–22, and
Edgar F. Shannon, Jr., "The Critical Reception of Tennyson's *Maud*," *PMLA* 68 (June, 1953), 410.


111. [Coventry Patmore], review of *In Memoriam* and *Maud, and Other Poems*, *Edinburgh Review* 102 (October, 1855), 498–519; quoted in Shannon, "Critical Reception," 413.


117. Tucker, "Doom of Culture," p. 190. See also Matthew Allen, *Essay on the Classification of the Insane* (1817): "One part of society, as well as one part of the mind, is at war with another" (quoted in Shatto's edition of *Maud*, p. 168). This book was in Tennyson's possession.

118. See his comments to Henry Van Dyke, quoted in Shatto's edition of *Maud*, pp. 163–64.

119. See, for example, Smith and Dobell's "The Army Surgeon," lines 5–6: "The fearful moorland where the myriads lay / Moved as a moving field of mangled worms" (*Sonnets*, p. 14); or Fred Dallas's account of Mrs. Duberly's (to his mind) horrific and un-"womanly" pleasure at being a tourist of war, watching the "poor mangled wretches" being carried out of the trenches (letter to his family, January 30, 1855, in *Eyewitness*, p. 78).

120. [Russell], "The Operations of the Siege," *The Times*, November 14, 1854, 7.


123. See Shannon and Ricks, "Creation of a Poem," p. 44 (note 50).


127. [Russell], "The Operations of the Siege," *The Times*, November 14, 1854, 7.


129. See H. Tennyson, *Memoir*, I:411; Ruskin, letter to Tennyson, November 12, 1855, quoted in Shannon and Ricks, "Creation of a Poem," 10. Ruskin called it "the most tragical line in the poem."


132. Armstrong, Victorian Poetry, p. 316. The poem was published in Men and Women.


136. Ibid., 80, 82.


138. Ricks, Tennyson, p. 231.

139. [Walter Bagehot], review of Tennyson's Idylls of the King, National Review 9 (October, 1859), 378.

140. See my discussion in chapter 2 of the "civil war" between rich and poor that had been obscured by the Pax Britannica and that – it was hoped – the Crimean War would help to end.

141. Shannon and Ricks, "Creation of a Poem," 11–12.


145. The poem was divided into two parts in 1859 and into three parts in 1865 – largely, it seems, in response to critics' complaints about its impenetrability. See Shatto's edition of Maud, p. 28.

146. According to McGann, Tennyson's poetry always attempts to achieve synthesis, even if it fails to do so because "it remains subject to those (self-generated and unapparent) limitations which bring into focus the social and psychological conflicts which the poetry struggles with, and is itself a part of" (Beauty of Inflections, p. 182).

147. This fact seems to belie the commonly made claim that Tennyson disliked the poem. Actually, the much-quoted remark by him – "not a poem on which I pique myself" (H. Tennyson, Memoir, 1:409–10) – was made in the context of his mangling of the poem (by removing the "blundered" stanza that had offended some readers) for publication along with Maud in 1855. There is no reason to think that Tennyson disliked what he came to call "the soldier's version" after hearing of their great enthusiasm. See Ricks's headnote to the poem in The Poems of Tennyson (11:511) and Shannon and Ricks ("Creation of a Poem," 6–7).

148. For details of this recording and its connection to the Fund, see Bennett Maxwell, "The Steyler Recordings of Alfred, Lord Tennyson: A History," Tennyson Research Bulletin 3.4 (1980), 150–57. A very brief recording of parts of "Come into the Garden, Maud" (Maud, 1.850-921) was also made.
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1. The play describes the romantic entanglements of officers belonging to a regiment ("Ours") that is sent out to the Crimea at the end of Act I; in Act II, the women follow their men to the battlefront. Ours thus resonates with my discussion of heroism in chapter 2. Its title also recalls both the difficulties Tennyson faced in juggling pronouns in his Crimean War poems and the designation of "our own correspondent." For more on Crimean War drama, see J. S. Bratton, "Theatre of War: The Crimea on the London Stage 1854–5," in Performance and Politics in Popular Drama, ed. David Bradby et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 119–37. Bratton’s fascinating account focuses on popular dramas staged even as the war was taking place (with special attention to the spectacles at Astley’s) and does not consider the later Ours. She concludes that "Reciprocity between the press, the stage and the public mood resulted in the creation of a myth of the war which, while it dealt with new kinds of information from the scene of war, much of it shocking and profoundly anti-heroic, nevertheless cast it into forms consonant with the old heroic models" (p. 135).